

LINGUISTIC & ORIENTAL ESSAYS

ROBERT NEEDHAM CUST

LINGUISTIC AND ORIENTAL ESSAYS.

WRITTEN FROM THE YEAR 1847 TO 1890.

Third Series.

BY
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*ὅμοιοι ἐστὶν ἀνθρώπων
οἰκοδεσπότῃ, ὅστις ἐκβάλλει ἐκ τοῦ θησαυροῦ
αὐτοῦ καινὰ καὶ παλαιά.*

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*TO MY VERY DEAR SISTER AND FRIEND,
ELEANOR KATHERINE SETON-KARR,
THE FAITHFUL COUNSELLOR IN ALL MY DIFFICULTIES,
THE SYMPATHETIC CONSOLER IN
ALL MY AFFLICTIONS,*

*This Volume is,
WITH FEELINGS OF SINCERE LOVE AND GRATITUDE,
DEDICATED.*

PREFACE

THE first words that flow from my pen are those of my dear Horatius Flaccus :

“ Quorsum hæc tam putida ? ”

“ What is the use of all this rubbish ? ”

It certainly is not from a desire to see my name in print, or the weakness of a first effort, for I have got beyond that stage, and I received a letter from an entire stranger yesterday, from which I quote the following passage : “ Many a happy hour have I spent in company with your book.”

But there is one motive certainly. Much of the contents of this volume is the result of weeks of study, and years of practical experience, and those, who are mounting the ladder, up which I have taken fifty years to climb, may possibly profit by my accumulated and digested knowledge, and start at once on an onward course. I feel indebted to the books of many authors, which I read in my youth or middle life, though I feel at the same time, that I have now got far beyond them, and with the usual gratitude of students kicked down the footstool, which helped my early efforts, and have even forgotten their names.

The very variety, and quaintness, of some of the papers may attract. I wrote some years ago under a different environment in a far-off land, and I could not write them again, if I tried. I

was only sure of the parentage of some by recognizing my handwriting, and the private mark, which I attached to all original work since I left Eton in 1840: they had entirely passed from my recollection: they were written

“ *Quand era in parte altr'uom di quel, che sono.* ”

I was discouraged by a Review of my honoured friend Francis Newman's *Miscellanies*: the reviewer said, that they had better not have been reprinted, and that the book was a confused medley. I do not think so: in his case at least a reprint of *Essays* is most interesting and instructive: the entirely disconnected way, in which one topic followed the other, has a charm all its own, when each subject is thoroughly and fearlessly threshed out: the reader, if he is convinced, can go on from this firm foundation: it is hopeless to hunt through the periodicals of four decades for one particular *Essay*, and yet that *Essay* perhaps clenches a subject, exposes an error, or indicates a way: if the subject therefore is of a permanent character, it is worth while to leave the labours of a life in a collective form.

I had a friend at the Royal Asiatic Society, who through a considerable period of years had published in different periodicals *Essays on Numismatics*, and *Palæographical subjects*, of the highest importance: all Scholars felt indebted to him, and his contemporaries knew where to find his *Essays*. I often suggested to him to reprint them in a collective form, but he delayed and died: his generation has passed away, and his labours have not received their full appreciation, because they are not accessible.

A great many subjects pass under review in these *Essays*: the intricacy of a language, the dogma of a Religious Belief, the details of administration of an Indian Province, the high duty, and the erroneous practice, of Christian Missionaries, in Europe, Asia, Africa, America and Oceania. In the treatment of all subjects it is hoped, that the same underlying characteristics will be found: a desire to gather information, an orderly arrangement of it when

gathered, the use of it in a liberal and sympathetic spirit, a fearlessness of assertion free from all prejudice or predilection, a profound and intelligent belief in the Divine Revelation, and a humble readiness for corrections of errors, the reception of new ideas, and the elucidation of obscurities, or doubts. Life is but a School of Instruction, and each one of us up to the last hour should be a student with eyes and ears, and intellect, open to the consideration of new phenomena.

Latin or Greek verses may seem out of place in the last decade of the Nineteenth Century : for fifty years they have been my joy and delight, and to a selection of a few lines written in 1838 I add the Sapphics written while the pages of this book were passing through the Press. I shall be glad to find, that they are criticized, as a proof that they are understood.

R. N. CUST.

LONDON, CHRISTMAS-DAY, 1890.

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On pages 46 and 80 the date “150 B.C.” for “250 B.C.” has unfortunately crept in; and on p. 78 the word *covenant* has been wrongly printed for *conscience*.

PART I.
LINGUISTIC.

I.

THE LANGUAGES OF THE BIBLE.

CHAPTER 1. THE LANGUAGE SPOKEN BY OUR LORD AND HIS APOSTLES.

CHAPTER 2. THE LANGUAGES OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

CHAPTER 3. THE LANGUAGES SPOKEN AND WRITTEN BY THE EVANGELISTS, AND THE WRITERS OF THE ACTS, THE EPISTLES, AND THE REVELATION.

CHAPTER I.—THE LANGUAGE SPOKEN BY OUR LORD AND HIS APOSTLES.

WHAT was the language spoken by our Lord? It was supposed that this question was settled, but in the pages of the *Guardian*, February, 1889, it has been re-opened. At the foot of the page¹ I notice the leading special treatises on the subject, but proceed to handle it independently. I regard the question as one of linguistic science, evidence, and careful analogy, free from all bias of theology, and excluding anything that is supernatural, or out of the ordinary current of human affairs. I am a sincere believer in the inspiration of the Holy Scriptures, but not in a narrow sense.

In the Gospel of Luke we are told that the superscription on the Cross was in letters of Greek, and Latin, and Hebrew. In the Gospel of John it is stated that it was written in Hebrew, Latin, Greek. The expressions are :

γράμμασιν Ἑλληνικοῖς καὶ Ῥωμαικοῖς καὶ Ἑβραίοις.
γεγραμμένον Ἑβραϊστί, Ῥωμαιοστί, Ἑλληνιστί.

It is fair to state, that the Revised Version of the New Testament rejects the words of Luke altogether, so the fact rests on

¹ 1. "The Language employed by our Lord and His Disciples," by Dr. ROBERTS. Second Edition, 1869.

2. Mgr. CLEMENT DAVID, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Damascus: "La langue parlée par Jesus Christ." 1885.

3. "Dialects of Palestine in the Time of Christ," by AD. NEUBAUER, of the Bodleian, Oxford. "Stadia Biblica," 1885.

4. Professor CHRYNE. 'The Expositor,' 1889, pp. 238-40.

the evidence of John alone; but he was an eye-witness. It would thus appear that the Hebrew style of writing came first, then the Roman, and lastly the Greek. This implies a threefold form of written characters, as well as of language. It may be taken as a fact, admitted beyond doubt, that the Hebrew language had long before been superseded in the mouths of men by the Aramaic vernacular. The chief priests objected to the wording of the superscription; it was Pilate's own order, to which he adhered. The languages and characters were as follows:

Line 1. Aramaic in the square Hebrew character lately introduced (*circa* 100 B.C.).

„ 2. Latin in the Roman capital letters, so well known.

„ 3. Greek in the uncial characters represented in the monumental inscriptions of the period, which are abundant.

Now, in one of these languages our Lord must have spoken: possibly, though not probably, in two, Aramaic and Greek; and words belonging to the third language, Latin, are reported as having fallen from His mouth, *e.g.* “census,” “tribute-money,” etc.; but the real question is betwixt Aramaic, a Semitic language of Asia, and Greek, an Arian language of European origin, but spoken extensively by Hellenists in Asia, Africa, and Europe.

Now, a judgment can only be formed on a question of this kind, the data of which go back to nearly two thousand years, and the venue of which is in a distant land, by a careful consideration of certain analogies, aided by a certain experience in linguistic phenomena. In Great Britain practically there is one paramount language, spoken by our rulers, the leading educated classes, and the common people. But there are few countries, where it is so; and as a fact, within the islands of Great Britain there are four other vernaculars, Welsh, Gaelic, Erse, and French (the latter in the Channel Islands).

In the Baltic provinces in Europe, Russian is the dominant language of the rulers, German is the vernacular of the immigrant landowners and merchants, but the agriculturists and the indigenous inhabitants speak Liv of the Ugro-Altaic family. In Algeria in Africa French is the dominant language of the rulers; Arabic, a Semitic language, is not only the language of the immigrant superior classes, but the religious language; but the indigenous inhabitants speak exclusively Kabáil or Tuwárik, Hamitic languages. In Asia, in the Central Provinces of British India, English is the dominant language of the rulers; the superior immigrant classes speak Hindi, or Bangáli, of the Arian family, or Télugu, of the Dravidian family, while the indigenous inhabitants speak, according to their particular tribes, Gond, or Khond, or Maler, of the Dravidian family, or Sontál and Kol, of the Kolarian group.

In the Panjáb in Northern India, when we conquered it in 1846, I was one of the first British officers employed. An amnesty was proclaimed for all political offences; but, if I had had occasion to try a native for murder or violent crime, and he was sentenced to death by hanging, had it been necessary or desirable to do so, I could have placed a superscription over the gallows in three languages in three different written characters, as follows:

- Line 1. English in the Roman character of the day, the language of the rulers.
- „ 2. Persian in the running Arabic character, the language at that time of the Judicial Courts, and of all official correspondence.
- „ 3. Hindi in the Nágari character, the language of the mass of the people, and the only one understood by them.

And if the offender were a Sikh, and if there were numerous Sikhs in the neighbourhood, whom it was desirable to awe, a fourth language would possibly have been added:

- Line 4. Sikh or Panjábí in the Gúrmúkhi character, the language of the Sikh religionists, and the people of the villages.

Now, all these languages and characters I myself could read and understand, and give orders in, though in the three latter languages the orders would have to be engrossed by native writers, *embodying my meaning in their own words*, and reading them out to me before I signed them with my name in the ordinary English character; the official seal, in one, two, or three characters, was then stamped on the paper. This was the ordinary routine, and caused no great exertion or remarkable knowledge, and we thought nothing of it. But if in conversation in a good-sized village or small town like Nazareth (which I have twice visited), with the shopkeepers, or artisans, carpenters, masons, blacksmiths, I had addressed them in English or Persian, they would have understood nothing; yet Persian had been the dominant language of the Panjáb, and, until the arrival of the British, the sole vehicle of literature and correspondence for more than seven hundred years. A long residence in the midst of a mixed population, such as the one described, generates a kind of sympathetic intelligence, for one has to talk down to the level of each particular person: an educated person, or a villager, who would like to be addressed in patois; a Hindu or a Mahometan; a mountaineer or a religious devotee. The vocal chord has to be tuned to be acceptable and intelligible to each ear. To a chief, who came across the river Indus to visit me, I should speak Persian; to my own countrymen and English-speaking clerks, English; to the educated people, Hindustani; to the rough villagers or mountaineers, their patois; to the learned priests, pure Hindi. The population amounts to seventeen millions, and is far more

enlightened than similar classes in Palestine, either in the present or past centuries. There are magnificent walled towns, great wealth of commerce and manufactures, highly developed agriculture, a constant stream of foreigners passing to and fro, and yet I repeat that the dominant language of culture, either of the Mahometan or Christian rulers, was totally unknown to the portion of the population analogous to the class, out of which our blessed Lord appeared in the flesh. A Chinese Missionary thus describes his own linguistic environment: "I have experience of a multi-lingual state of things, reading in two forms of written character, and two or more distinct styles, *speaking* in two distinct languages, and *understanding* utterances in four or five dialects." It is an extraordinary mistake to suppose, that the domination of foreigners or strangers alters the vernacular of the people; we can learn this from the domestic history of Russia and Austria, in each of which twenty languages at least are spoken; and of France and Great Britain, in each of which five languages are spoken, in spite of the overweening influence of French and English literature. I have brought these considerations conspicuously forward in front of my argument, so as to prepare my reader for the appreciation of the arguments to be adduced by writers, who clearly have never had experience of the phenomena presented.

In all humility I venture to express an opinion on this great subject. I have carefully examined the works of late writers, such as Alford, Wordsworth, Westcott, and Farrar. They all seem to avoid the great difficulty: admitting that our Lord and His twelve Apostles spoke Aramaic *only* (for I cannot admit the hypothesis of their being capable of addressing a multitude in two languages at pleasure), how did it come about that the records of His life and teaching have exclusively come down to us in Greek? It does not follow that no contemporary records in Aramaic ever existed, and most probably, or perhaps most certainly, they did exist, but none have come down to us. Of all other religious teachers, the sages of the Veda, Buddha, Kabir, Baba Nanak, the Jain teachers, Confucius and Mahomet, we have their dicta in the words which they uttered. Bishop Wordsworth sadly records his convictions: "In strictness of speech, not one of the Evangelists gives us the exact words of Christ: *He conversed in Syro-Chaldaic; they wrote in Greek.*" Some go so far as to say that the Greek fails to convey the entire spirit of the words of the Lord, which can be found only in the Peshito Syriac, which to the Aramaic was cognate, while the translation from the Greek was nearly contemporary. My only qualification for intruding on this subject is that, having just completed a survey of the languages of the world, I have some familiarity with linguistic phenomena, and for a quarter of a century in Northern India I conducted important business daily in three or four languages at the same time.

It is true that Jerome writes : " *Sermone Græco, quo omnis Oriens loquitur.*" My only reply is that Jerome must have made a mistake. If such had been the case, what possible occasion could there have been for a Pentecostal miracle, whatever interpretation is accepted of that great event ? We know as a positive fact that all prophets, and teachers, and reformers, and inaugurators of new religions, have made sole use of the vernacular of the people whom they addressed, and made this an article of their faith, and a necessity of their practice. Our missionary experience of modern times convinces us, that the only way to get at people's hearts is through the vulgar tongue, spoken by the women, children, and least-educated persons of the community.

Now, if, for argument's sake, we admitted, that our Lord and His Apostles had acquired a power of speaking Greek, and the educated men could understand His words, no one, who knows anything of Oriental women, would dare to say that such a phenomenon existed as "bilingual" women, and yet the women were as deeply converted by our Lord as the men. Then it is clear, that our Lord possessed the power of writing, as it is recorded that He stooped down and wrote with His finger on the ground. The written characters of the Aramaic and Greek languages are essentially different, though they have both descended from the old Phœnician ; but our Lord clearly indicated the written character, of which He had cognizance, by the remark, that not one jot or one tittle of the Law would pass away, which applies accurately to the square Hebrew alphabet, which was in use at that time, but not to the uncial letters of the Greek alphabet, used in the current copies of the Septuagint. These letters exhibit none of the varieties of shape so common to the Hebrew ; there are neither vowel-accent's nor diacritical points, as any one, who places a leaf of the Hebrew Old Testament side by side with a photograph of the Sinaitic, Vatican, or Alexandrine texts, can satisfy himself.

The strange assertion has been made, that the Greek language would be adopted willingly by conquered people, because it is so beautiful and powerful. This idea exposes a strange misconception of the *raison d'être* of the two thousand forms of speech, mutually unintelligible, spoken at this moment in the world. It may be questioned, whether Greek is more beautiful than other languages ; it is certainly much more complicated by grammatical rules than English, and the great army of non-Arian languages which, like English, are free from the bondage of inflections ; yet who would venture to say that in any village or market-town of the great Province of Banâras, which has been under British rule for more than a century, he would find any one, except by a mere chance, who spoke a word of English, in spite of a free press, State-schools, missionaries, courts of law, and men of commerce ? The distribution

of the Bible and of missionary tracts is exclusively in the vernacular of each province. English printed matter would be useless.

I must decline to admit in this argument any miracle not recorded in Scripture. Modern criticism of the ordinary operations of man can no longer be silenced by the unwarranted assertion of verbal inspiration. The writers and speakers in the Bible were not impersonal machines; but, as Paul said at Lystra, "men of like passions as their hearers." One clergyman consulted by me suggested that the power of the two Galilean fishermen, Peter and John, to write Greek epistles was part of the Pentecostal miracle. My reply was that that miracle related to the power of uttering sound with the tongue (*γλῶσσα*), not to the power of recording thoughts on writing materials with the fingers (*δακτύλοι*). It appears to me that all the phenomena incidental to the purely human contingencies of the human art of writing must be expected, as each step is purely human, the outcome of the effort of man, under the influence, indeed, of spiritual aspirations in the same way as men and women are influenced now. The Holy Spirit speaks to our hearts, not to our tongues and hands.

I wish to clear away some misconceptions which seem to make a difficult subject more difficult. It is a mistake to suppose that the Roman soldiers in such provinces as Syria were "Romans of Italy" in the strict sense, any more than the Sepoys of the army in British India are Britons. There is, however, a fair presumption that Cornelius, the first Gentile convert, was an Italian, as he dwelt in Cæsarea, which was simply a Roman fortress on the sea-shore, as its ruins testify to this day: his band or Regiment is called the Italian, and there can be little doubt that like Gibraltar this fortress was occupied by a force composed of soldiers of the Ruling Nation; and we have to ponder by what means Peter communicated with him, and in what language. A captain of the Queen's army knows as little of Persian and Hindustani as Cornelius presumably did of Greek and Aramaic. We have to imagine an Indian or Chinese catechist trying to communicate ideas on the most solemn subject to British officers stationed at Hong Kong or Calcutta. Our Lord is reported to have uttered a certain number of Aramaic words, and, in fact, no less than twenty-nine words, or brief sentences, of Semitic origin are found in the New Testament, and even in the Revelation the words "Hallelu Jah" are retained. The retention of these words may be quoted both for and against the Greek language theory. Some maintain that they were the words of the ordinary language of our Lord; and others, with great show of justice, urge that they were quoted because they were exceptional. It is impossible to say why some of our Lord's utterances are given in Aramaic, and some in Greek: ingenious suggestions have been made, but none are satisfactory: even in His last moments on the Cross we might have expected that the words

to John and His Mother would have been reported at least by John in the very words, and that the last words, "it is finished," would have been recorded as they were uttered: but such is not the case. Again, on one hand Paul says distinctly that our Lord spoke to him on the road to Damascus in the Hebrew language; on the other hand, John heard Him in the Vision of the Revelation calling Himself Alpha and Omega, which apply solely to the Greek language, although the phrase "Aleph to Thau" appears in Hebrew books as a proverbial expression for the "First and the Last."

To both the Apostles was manifested a vision of the Risen Saviour. A Divine Voice was heard by them alone, and the human rendering of that voice was impressed on their perception in the language, with which they were at the time familiar. To take the analogy of dreams, how often we hear friends speaking other languages than our own, and ourselves replying in them, if we are in the habit of using those languages in our waking hours. As time went on, the legends at Rome pretended, that our Lord appeared to Peter and addressed him in Latin. The humble Christian may indeed believe, that the Holy Spirit speaks to each believer in words *that are comprehended*, but only clothed in human vocables, when their purport is recounted as an experience to others. The Spirit speaks to the heart of each one of us, but we should hardly presume to say that the words of the Spirit were English.

We know as a fact, that no Palestinian Jew during the existence of the second Temple produced a book in the Greek language. The original of such of the Apocryphal books as were written in Palestine was not in Greek. Aramaic translations of the Old Testament, or Targams, were used in Palestine. Josephus remarks, that the things told by the Jews, who surrendered in the siege of Jerusalem, *only he understood*. Many knew Greek in the Roman Camp, but the Jews spoke Aramaic. St. Paul no doubt could speak Greek, but the captain of the guard of the Temple was surprised, that he was able to do so, because he took him for an Egyptian. Now, an Egyptian was just as open to Hellenic influence as a Syrian or a Cilician, upon the theory that the conquest of Alexander and the rule of his successors had altered the vernacular of the provinces of Western Asia; but Paul is described as addressing the Sanhedrin in Aramaic (ἐν Ἑβραϊδὶ διαλέκτῳ), and these were not the Jews of the villages, but of the capital city, the very classes who, if any parties of the community understood Greek, could have understood it. Moreover, when they heard that he spoke in the Hebrew, *i.e.* Aramaic, tongue, they maintained greater quiet: this implies two facts: (1) that they could have understood Greek, if Paul had spoken in that tongue; (2) that their proper and national language was Aramaic, and they preferred it. If the introduction of military garrisons into a country

leads to an alteration of the vernacular, Latin influence ought to have been felt, which is not pretended. In fact, the Jews of Palestine had in them a religious element, which made the retention of their language a necessity, a pride, and a Palladium. Syria may possibly have been Hellenized and Arianized, and Egypt no doubt felt the influence also; but Judea resisted the process to the last, and Jerusalem perished as the centre of a Hebrew polity, and speaking a Semitic language. If under the rule of the Antiochi there had been any taint of Hellenism, the revolt of the Maccabees would have effaced it. The legends on coins do not go far as evidence to prove a vernacular, as the rupee of British India has an English superscription totally unintelligible to the people who use the coin. The names of places, if of great antiquity, give valuable traces of extinct languages, but modern names of places are of doubtful value. In Palestine, Cæsarea, Dekapolis, or Tiberias, tell the tale of foreign conquest, just as Alexandria in Egypt, and Victoria all over the world, Abbotabad, Canningtown and Barrackpur in British India; but they have not the faintest evidential value of the language spoken by the residents of these towns or districts. When however we are told by St. Luke (Acts i. 19) that the people of Jerusalem called the Potter's field in their proper tongue "Hakal dama," "Aceldama," we learn two facts, (1) that the people spoke Aramaic, (2) that he did *not*, for he translates it into Greek.

There was, indeed, a large section of the Jewish nation, who were Hellenized and knew the Greek language, and adopted some of the Greek customs, and there may have been a Judeo-Greek colony in Jerusalem. But the majority of the Hellenists lived in foreign lands, coming to Judea from time to time for the feasts. The translation known as the Septuagint had done a great work in extending a knowledge of the great tenets of Judaism to the heathen world. But it had done something more. It had appropriated the Greek language for the expression of Hebrew thought, adapting the most exact machinery of word-formation to the most spiritual mode of conception. Something of the same kind has been done for the stored-up intellectual wealth of the Hindu by the touch of the English language. The position of Palestine geographically was most remarkable. It was just at the point, where the Semitic world of Asia, the Hamitic world of Africa, and the so-called Arian world of Europe, came into contact. The coasts of Asia Minor and North Africa were fringed with Greek colonies, and the Archipelago was studded with them. Some of the Gods of the Greek Idea had sprung from these islands. Greece had to thank Phœnicia for its alphabet, the same that was used by the Hebrews from its earliest days. But admitting all this *rapprochement* between the two races, there is no more reason to suppose, that the villagers of Samaria and Galilee spoke Greek

than that the inhabitants of the Greek islands, in which clusters of Jews had settled, spoke Aramaic. Our Lord's parables, illustrations, and eschatological conceptions, were thoroughly Hebrew and Asiatic. His *human* knowledge did not extend beyond His native Province. As regards the Septuagint, there is reason to believe, that it was unknown in Palestine except to scholars and Hellenist settlers, and it does not follow, because the Evangelists in their record of the events of our Lord's life more or less accurately quote the Septuagint, that our Lord Himself quoted it. Moreover, all the quotations in the Gospel may probably have been quoted from traditional (possibly written, possibly unwritten) Targams, current at the time, the translation of which into Greek by the Evangelists has caused the literal divergence of expression.

How came it, then, that from the very earliest days this Semitic religion, orally pronounced in Aramaic, has come down to us, without any exception, entirely in Greek documents? The reason is, simply, that it was the Divine will, that it should spread westward to the people of Europe, and be thence handed on to the rest of the World. The early Church was essentially a Greek Church; all the early Fathers wrote in Greek. Imperial Rome was in some respects a Greek city, and Greek was the alternative language; the poorer classes, the "*illuvies gentium*," the "*Græculus esuriens*," were Greeks in descent, culture, and speech. It might have been different: Paul of Tarsus was the selected agent to guide the spread of the new Idea; had he been a Syrian of Edessa, or a Mesopotamian of Babylon, or an Elamite from Susa, or a Mede from Ekbatana, or a Parthian from the Caspian (and all these nations were represented on the day of Pentecost), the Light to lighten the Gentiles, that sprang up in Galilee, might have flashed eastward, and the good tidings have remained in an Asiatic mould and language. The Jews had had constant relations in past centuries with Assyria, and Babylonia, and Persia, all of which were mentioned in their sacred books, but little or nothing with Greece and Italy. But Saul of Tarsus, a Roman citizen, a Greek scholar, a Hellenized Jew, was the chosen vessel to bear the Lord's name before the Gentiles; he called himself a Hebrew of the Hebrews on account of his zeal for the law, but there was a great gulf between him and the Hebrews of Jerusalem, such as James and Jude. Nobody, who studies the Epistles, can doubt this; and his great personality and gifts, and his environment, settled once for all, that Jesus should be known as "*Christ*," not as "*Messiah*," and His followers not as "*Messih*," but "*Christians*." One of the leading features of the new tenets was, that they were to be understood by the people, that the poor should have the Gospel preached. This necessity led to the Greek language being the first vehicle of communication,

to be followed speedily by the Syriac, Latin, Coptic, Gothic, Abyssinian, and eventually by every language of the World. Two linguistic considerations suggest themselves here: one is the singular mode, in which two at least of the sacred terms of the Jewish religion are Grecized, instead of being reserved in their Semitic form, as so many words, or even phrases, have been, *e.g.* Hallelujah and Pascha. I allude to the word *κίβωτος*, used for the Ark of the Covenant in the Revelation, and the word *περιτομή* and *ἀκροβυστία* for circumcision and the contrary. By Mahometans this old-world custom, so offensive to modern notions, is veiled by the euphemism of "sunnat" and "bi-sunnat," which means no more than a religious ceremony. The second consideration is, that it seems to persons unaccustomed to such phenomena impossible, that the Heads of a Church should persistently address the laity (women and men) in a language, which they cannot possibly understand, till explained to them in the vernacular by the priests. And yet such is the practice to this day of the Church of Rome, and in 1888 a Latin letter, forbidding boycotting, was read in the Roman Catholic chapels in Ireland. One of the chief arguments brought forward to prove that the humbler classes of Palestine spoke and understood Greek, is that the Gospels and Epistles are in Greek. We can only suppose that the Epistle of St. Paul to the Galatians, who spoke a Keltic language, and not Greek, was translated to the humbler members of the Church, in the same way as the Keltic Irish were made to understand the Pope's Latin epistle.

Another argument brought forward to support the theory of our Lord and His hearers using the Greek language is based on the fact, that so many conversations are given, as well as addresses, which appear to be fresh, and not translations. In the history of Thucydides nothing is so remarkable as the set speeches, which he places in the mouths of his characters; no one could charge him as a dishonest fabricator. But these speeches are, in fact, as regards form, his own essays based on the rules of rhetoric of his age, and as regards *matter* they are so far dramatic, that the sentiments are such as he conceived to be suitable to the supposed speaker, and his readers have in all times accepted this as such. Be it far from me to assert, that the writers of the Old and New Testament took such a license as this, but it is the custom of the East to write in the ordinary familiar style, as if they were speaking; the lower classes in Europe do the same to this day. Educated people use the *oblique* sentence to express what they see or hear, but Orientals repeat a conversation, as if they were standing behind the curtain, or sitting at a shorthand reporter's table. We are told what Abraham said to Isaac, when they were quite alone, and the very words of Abraham's conversation with the Creator are recorded. We are told what Herod said in his private chamber,

and the remarks of other persons about John the Baptist having come to life. The conversation of evil spirits is given *totidem verbis*. This is only the style of writing of the nation and the age. The truthfulness of the narrative is not impugned, but the ordinary inference as *regards the particular language used* cannot be inferred. When King Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon, and King Darius, a Medo, spoke to Daniel, though the very words uttered by them are repeated in Hebrew, as if the reporter had heard them, it must not be presumed that these two Kings spoke the Hebrew language. When our Lord conversed with the Syro-Phœnician woman or the ten lepers, or the maniac in the country of the Gadarenes, it is unreasonable to argue that He spoke Greek, because *bonâ-fide* Greek sentences are placed in His mouth by the compiler of the Gospel.

Let us approach with reverence the account of our Lord's temptation: there was no human witness to the interview of our Lord with Satan: it is noteworthy that at least one-half of the words uttered were quotations from the Old Testament: it must be presumed that our Lord informed His Apostles of what had happened: Matthew, who alone records the utterances of our Lord and of Satan, was not at the time an Apostle: he was not called till some time after. Are we to believe that our Lord and Satan quoted the Septuagint, or the inspired Hebrew text? Can we believe that they spoke Greek?

The Aramaic language has been alluded to; the question naturally arises, What is that language? It is sometimes called Judeo-Aramean, in contradistinction to the Syriac or Christian Aramean. There were three dialects in the time of our Lord: 1, Judæan; 2, Samaritan; 3, Galilean; the peculiarities of the latter betrayed the country to which Peter belonged. It was different from, yet cognate with, Hebrew. It is sometimes called Syro-Chaldaic, indicating that it was the vernacular of the region on both sides of the Euphrates, from Lebanon to the river Tigris. East Aramaic would be Chaldaic, and west Aramaic would be Syriac. It is stated by one scholar, and a very competent one, that another vernacular was also concurrently used, a modernized Hebrew, specimens of which we find in the Mishnah, and the Hebrew parts of the Talmud and Midráshim. In one or other of these variations of speech the Hebrew nation spoke after their return from captivity. There were, moreover, written Targams of parts of the Old Testament in this vernacular, from which in all probability our Lord quoted, and this may account for the diversity in the renderings. His quotation from Psalm xxii. on the Cross has been preserved. The reading of the sacred text was necessarily accompanied by a vernacular paraphrase, oral indeed, but cast in a conventional mould handed down from father to son. The introduction of such paraphrases dates as far back as the time of Ezra, and there is

reason to believe, that *written* translations existed as early as the first century before Christ. When our Lord, in the synagogue at Nazareth, read the verses from Isaiah, he probably used such a translation. It may have been possible that our Lord and His Apostles read the text in Hebrew, and then explained, but it is more probable that he used an Aramaic Targam. The written character used may, upon independent palæographical grounds, be safely determined as the square Hebrew character, called "Hebrew," which had about one century before Christ superseded the old Phœnician character, specimens of which last survive in stone monuments, and the pages of the Samaritan Pentateuch.

I add a few lines on the subject of these Targams :

In Nehemiah viii. 8, we find, "So they read in the book in the Law of God distinctly, and gave the sense, and caused them to understand the meaning." The Speaker's Commentary says timidly : "either by rendering the Hebrew into the Aramaic language, or perhaps simply by explaining obscure words or passages."

Emanuel Deutsch writes with justice : "There was one thing wanting to Ezra, when he tried to found a lasting Commonwealth on the ruins of Zion, which neither authority, nor piety, nor School, nor Synagogue, could restore to its original power and glory,

'The Hebrew Language.'

"So it became necessary to translate the National Books, in order that the Nation, from whose midst they had sprung, might be able to understand them : if for the Jews in Alexandria a Greek translation was required, an Aramaic Targam was required for those in Judea. To Ezra himself is traced the custom of adding translations to the Aramaic on the occasion of the weekly readings of the Scriptures in the Synagogue. Those, who came back from exile, brought the Aramaic with them, with which they had become familiar in Babylon : all the decrees issued by the Kings of Persia, quoted in the books of Ezra and Nehemiah, must have been either in Persian, or Aramaic : to the translation was added an explanation, and both were included in the word Targam."

One thing is clear, that the common folk, who had been born in Babylon, were entirely and grossly ignorant of the Law at the time of their return from the Captivity ; and of the language of the Law.

Deutsch further states : "If the common people had thus gradually lost all knowledge of the language, in which were written the books to be read to them, it naturally followed (in order that they might understand them) that recourse must be had to a translation into the language, with which they were familiar, the Aramaic."

A translation could not in all cases suffice, so it was necessary to add an explanation of the difficult and obscure passages. Both Translation and Explanation were designated by the term "Targam," and there sprang up a guild, whose special office was to act as translators or interpreters or both: they were called Metargamin. The Talmud prescribed that this official was not to use a written Targam, but to deliver his translation *virâ voce*, that it might appear that he was reading out of the Torah itself, and that the Scripture might be responsible for what were his dicta.

The word Targam still survives in Persia and India as the well-known "Tarjama" or translation, and the word Metargamin also survives in the well-known "Dragoman" of the East.

Those who are hardy enough to assert that because the text of the Synoptic Gospels is in Greek, therefore all the actors of the events recorded therein must have *spoken* Greek, either solely or bilingually, and that all the utterances of our Lord are recorded with the accuracy of *ipsissima verba*, had better reflect to what conclusions that theory would lead them, if applied to the Old Testament narrative. We are so habituated to use the Bible in the English translation, that we sometimes forget, and still oftener have failed to realize, that both the Old and New Testament texts, in the form in which they have come down to us, comprise narratives of conversations, which took place in totally different languages: for instance, the words uttered by Potiphar's wife, by the Chief Butler when he addressed Pharaoh, by Balaam and Balak, and by the Queen of Sheba. It is obvious, that none of these Scripture-personages could have spoken in Hebrew, and yet the uninstructed reader might suppose, that it was so, as the very words, which they are supposed to have uttered, are recorded, as if they had been written down by a bystander.

It must be admitted, that we are at a disadvantage. The last verse of John presses home the fact, which can be proved by careful comparison of the four Gospels, that during twelve-thirteenths of the Ministry His words and deeds are *not* recorded; and, when the question of the language which he spoke from his tender years up to his death, is discussed, we feel a great want of evidence. He began His Ministry at the age of 30, and it lasted at the most four years. It will scarcely be asserted, that when at the age of twelve he sat in the midst of the Doctors in the Temple, hearing, and asking questions, He spoke Greek. No other event is recorded till he began His Ministry. We hardly realize how little of the story of our Lord in these four years we know: about 15 months includes the whole period traversed by the Synoptists. All the Evangelists are sometimes very diffuse, writing every detail like Newspaper-Reporters, but they leave long periods totally unnoticed. The day in the corn-field, Matt. xii. 1, occupies one-tenth of that Gospel: the Sermon on the Mount one-eighth:

a day in the Temple, Matt. xviii. occupies one-fifth: and the day of the blighted fig-tree occupies one-seventh of Mark's Gospel. In Luke xx. five days occupy one-fourth of the Gospel. In the Gospel of John this feature is still more marked; Chapters xiv. to xvii. occupy a few hours only of the Ministry.

The linguistic history of the Old Testament is a study of extreme fascination. We have nothing to compare with it in the World. I shall discuss it in a separate chapter, as it has an important bearing on the question of the language of the New Testament, for the Aramaic spoken by our Lord was, if not the *same*, at least a *similar* form of speech to that which was spoken by the "Syrian (Arami)," who, 1921 years earlier, had crossed the Euphrates, and "who rejoiced to see His day." It died away from the lips of men when Jerusalem fell, for the Nation, who spoke it, had completed the task which it was given to do two thousand years before.

This, then, is the language in which, in the opinion of the most judicious scholars and sound theologians, words were uttered by Him who spake as no man spake, words which turned the world upside down, closing the long catena of past expectations, opening out the vista of a heavenly future. With the exception of the few words scattered through the Gospels, or in the Epistles and the Revelation, above alluded to, no word has come down to us in that particular variety of Semitic speech. We can approach to it in reading the Samaritan Pentateuch, which has survived, and the Mishnah and Midrashim; but for some Divine purpose this language, in which the new Idea was given birth to, has, like the phoenix, utterly perished, while the lives of so many other languages have been prolonged: the Greek, Arabic, and Persian, to be the vehicles of modern thought, and the Syriac, Coptic, Armenian, and Ethiopic, to be the earthen vessels of dead rituals, though of great value in the infancy of the new Faith. The Hebrew language, indeed, died, leaving the one imperishable evidence of its existence in the Old Testament; at the best it was but an inferior vehicle of speech. A kind of survival of it exists in the Judeo-German and Judeo-Spanish jargons, in which the basis of the language is Arian with Hebrew phrases inserted. It is fortunate for the World that Greek was chosen for the task allotted to it, for as a written language it can never die, and as a vernacular it seems to be receiving new strength, for I heard it spoken at Athens in a style approaching its ancient purity.

No language has had such a history. If any one asks, What is the Aramaic language? let him be told, that it is the language, in which the Lord of Life made known to man the way of Salvation; in which He gave us our daily prayer; in which He instituted the Lord's Supper, and with His Apostles sang a hymn (the Hallel from a Targam) before He went down to Gethsemane; it is the

language in which some of the inhabitants of Jerusalem shouted "Hosannah!" and others "Crucify Him!" in which He spoke to His Mother and the women who met Him in the Via Dolorosa; in which He spoke His last word to His Mother and John, while hanging on the Cross; in which He spoke to the women who came early to His sepulchre on Easter-morn; in which He expounded to the two disciples on the road to Emmaus all the Scriptures concerning Himself, beginning at Moses and all the prophets; in which He gave His last commands on Mount Olivet; in which He spoke to Paul after His Ascension; in which, as we read in the Revelation, on the sea of glass is sung the song of Moses and the Lamb.

LIST OF ARAMAIC WORDS, WHICH OCCUR IN THE NEW TESTAMENT
IN A GREEK FORM.

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|-----------------|----------------------------|
| 1. Φαρισαῖος. | 17. ὀββᾶ. |
| 2. Σατανᾶ-ς. | 18. σίκερα. |
| 3. Σαδδουκαῖος. | 19. Κιζῆ-ς. |
| 4. ρακά. | 20. Μεσσία-ς. |
| 5. γέεννα. | 21. βροτῶν. |
| 6. μαμμωνᾶ. | 22. ἄκκλ ῥάμα. |
| 7. Βεελ-ζεβούλ. | 23. Ταβιθά. |
| 8. Ωσαννά. | 24. Ἀβυρῶν. |
| 9. ραββί. | 25. Ἀρ-μογεδών. |
| 10. πάσχα. | 26. Ἡλὶ Ἡλὶ λαμὰ σαβαχθαὶ. |
| 11. γολγοθά. | Or Ἑλωί, etc. |
| 12. Βονεργές. | 27. Ταλιθά κοῦμι. |
| 13. κορβάν. | 28. Ἄλληλοι-ῖα. |
| 14. κορβανάν. | 29. Μαρὰν-ᾰθά. |
| 15. ἐφφαθά. | 30. Ἀμήν. |
| 16. ραββουνί. | 31. γάββαθα. |

Add to these proper names, specially those compounded of the word "bar," or son.

LIST OF SOME OF THE LATIN WORDS WHICH OCCUR IN THE NEW
TESTAMENT IN A GREEK FORM.

Sicarius.	Gaza.	Titus.
Prætorium.	Libertinus.	Aquila.
Membrana.	Sudarium.	Priscilla.
Census.	Legio.	Cornelius.
Cæsar.	Speculator.	Festus.
Augustus.	Custodium.	Pontius Pilatus.
Christianus.	Paulus.	Felix.
Colonia.	Marcus.	Denarius.
Niger.		

CHAPTER II.—THE LANGUAGES OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

Before discussing the languages *written* by the Apostles and the Evangelists, which will form Chapter III. of this series, it will help the reader, desirous to obtain a full grasp of the subject, if we cast a glance back on the annals of the Hebrew and Aramaic languages, and mark the contact, which Abraham and his descendants had with individuals and nations speaking other languages. It is one of the most remarkable evidences of the *absolute* truthfulness and genuineness of the Old Testament Record, that no modern philological or palæographical discovery shakes the credibility of the record, if erroneous conceptions, based upon imperfect knowledge of linguistic phenomena, are removed, and the subject is regarded in the same spirit, and from the same point of view, that other records of antiquity are examined. The reader must bear in mind that I write, not as a theologian (for which I have no capacity), but as a linguist. I accept, as an undoubted fact, the inspiration of the contents of the books of the Old Testament, but my remarks apply solely to the linguistic vehicle of words and sentences, and forms of written character.

A Syrian (Abraham), 1921 B.C., crossed from Mesopotamia into the land of Canaan. He spoke Aramaic; he came into contact with kindred Semitic tribes, who inhabited the land. He was aged seventy, and not likely to change his language; he was accompanied by his wife Sara and his brother's son, and the large number of upwards of 300 purchased, or home-bred, slaves. He went down into Egypt, at that time ruled over by a powerful dynasty, and the existing documents of stone and papyri certify, that the language was totally different from Hebrew or Aramaic, being Hamitic. Pharaoh is described as conversing with Abraham, presumably through interpreters, unless this Pharaoh was one of the Hyksos Dynasty, who are presumed to have been Semites; the words of the conversation are given in Hebrew. Canaan was invaded by Chederlaomer, who spoke a totally different and Altaic language; but no conversations are recorded. In Melchisedek we have a Semite beyond doubt, as, if any one wished to express the idea of a King of Righteousness, he would use those very words to this day in Arabia, Persia, and India. The King of Sodom conversed with Abraham; we may presume that he also was a Semite. Hagar was an Egyptian girl, who had probably accompanied Sara from Egypt, and adopted the language of her mistress, but her son Ishmael married an Egyptian, and used some early form of the Arabic language, which his descendants speak to this day. Rebecca came to Isaac from Aram, speaking the language of her country. Their son Jacob, at the age of seventy-seven, went across the Euphrates, and married four Aramean wives, and his father-in-law and he himself are described as "the Syrian."

The language had even then differentiated, for when Jacob and Laban raised a heap of stones, Laban called it *Jegar-sahadutha*, and Jacob "Galid." The word used by Laban for "witness" is still used in a kindred form in Persia, and India, and Arabia, "shahid," as a "witness and a martyr to the faith." The whole of Jacob's large family must have spoken the language of their respective mothers, when they returned to Canaan, and with the exception of Joseph they must have found wives among the people of the land. The Hebrew language thus began to form itself. The Ishmaelites from Gilead, to whom the sons of Jacob sold Joseph, were, if descendants of Ishmael, their own first cousins. They are called also Midianites, but if descendants of Ketura, they stood in the same relationship, and probably spoke mutually intelligible languages. But Joseph, when he arrived in Egypt, had to learn an entirely new language, and he did so, for it is particularly mentioned, that he spoke to his brethren through an interpreter. He had married an Egyptian wife, and his children were certainly bilingual. The descendants of Jacob dwelt a long time in Egypt, and during that period, free from all Aramaic influences, and singularly free from Egyptian taint, the Hebrew language acquired the form, which is known to us. Still, they must have acquired some knowledge of Egyptian, as at any rate they could understand the orders of their taskmasters, and they were able to borrow gold and silver and raiment from their Egyptian neighbours.

It is admitted that we are left in the utmost uncertainty on this subject, and in the absence of documents must resign ourselves to give up all hopes of ever arriving at more than vague theories as to the origin of the Hebrew language: it is noteworthy that the language is never called in the Old Testament "Ibri," but the language of "Canaan," and "Jehudiah" or "Jew," in contradiction to Aramaic. Upon the above facts it came into existence in Egypt before 1500 B.C., and died in Babylon one thousand years later.

Moses was brought up in Pharaoh's daughter's house, as her son, and an Egyptian. He was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians; if he had picked up Hebrew from his nurse, it was his second, or alternative, language. At the age of forty he fled to Arabia, and was introduced to Jethro, as an Egyptian, probably from the style of his dress, or his language. He spent forty years in the desert, speaking the language of the Midianites. The Kenites were a band of people of Midian, and therefore descendants of Abraham, and spoke probably a Semitic language, but we know not what it was; Moses was able to understand them. At the age of eighty he led the Hebrews out of Egypt, 1491 B.C., and, for the first time in his life, lived in familiar intercourse with his relations, using the Hebrew language. Forty years more he spent in the

desert in their midst, having his wife and her relatives with him : his children must have been bilingual, while he himself was trilingual. In his old age he married a Cushite (Ethiopian) woman, who must have spoken a Hamitic language, akin to Egyptian. A few words, and some proper names, in Exodus record his knowledge of the Egyptian language. But he was chosen to be the historian of his people, and must have collected the traditions, and teledoth, of his ancestors from the graybeards and recorded them in the language *then* used by the Hebrew people. The grave question now arises, What written character did he use? The Hieroglyphic and Hieratic characters were both in existence, and must have been known to Moses, who was a learned man; on the other hand, no allusion to the art of writing occurs in the Book of Genesis. In Exodus xxxiii. 32, occur the words: "Blot me out of thy book which thou hast written." This incidental expression implies that Moses could write, that he knew what a book was, and that the art of writing was so too, familiar, that the phrase could be used allegorically. We find the consonants KTB applied to the writing then, and they have the same meaning in Arabia, Persia, and India to this day. The oldest surviving, or at least discovered, record of the Phœnician alphabet, which was the one used by the Hebrews, dates 900 B.C., or 600 after the Exodus. There is little doubt, that the Phœnicians derived their famous alphabet, the mother of all the alphabets in the world, from the Hieratic ideograms of Egypt; but with our present limited information we cannot explain, how Moses, with his antecedents of forty years in Egypt, and forty in the desert, became acquainted with it. No document of stone or papyri, so abundant in Egypt, has survived, or at least has been found as evidence. It is most unfortunate, that, while the surrounding nations, Assyria, Babylonia, Egypt, the Moabites, the Phœnicians, and the Hittites, have all left stone inscriptions, the Hebrews were at no period of their history a monumental people. It need scarcely be said, that all manuscripts have perished: the oldest Hebrew MS. in existence is not earlier than 800 A.D. Still, in this age of wonderful discoveries, we may anticipate the production of earlier stone-monuments, and must hesitate before we arrive at final opinions. Within the last few years some fragments of pottery have been found in the Fayûm with marks upon them, and which open out a new vista of speculation, but nothing is yet certain.

It has often been wondered, how the Hebrew language, from 1451 B.C., the date of the death of Moses, to 500 B.C., the time of Ezra, exhibits no material change, such as would be expected in the lapse of one thousand years. How different is the language of the age of King Alfred from that of Queen Victoria! It is supposed that, as time went on, the Hebrew language, as known to us, stiffened into a written language (an instance of which process we have to

this day in Latin), while the vernacular underwent gradual changes from century to century; at any rate Ezra and Daniel used both languages. In the Book of Ezra Aramaic commences chapter iv. verse 8, and ends chapter vi. verse 18. The letter of Artaxerxes (chapter vii. 12-26) is also in Aramaic. In Daniel Aramaic commences chapter ii. verse 4, and extends to the end of chapter vii. The prophet Jeremiah also uses Aramaic forms, and one verse, chapter x. 11, is in that language: some say that it is a verse of the Aramaic Targum, which has inadvertently been entered in the text: others imagine that it is a proverb, which the Prophet writes down as he heard it spoken: the evidential value is the same under both theories, and amounts to this, that the people were in a state of linguistic transition.

Emanuel Deutsch remarks that a certain change is noticeable in the Old Testament, due either to influence of time, or of the idiosyncrasy of each writer, or to the difference of style of composition, prose, or poetry: there are important differences between the earlier and later books of the Old Testament. Certain forms and words common in the Pentateuch do not appear again until very late. Words, and forms, in prose, lose their meaning in poetry. There is a higher style of diction in the time of David and Solomon. The Assyrian invasion corrupted the purity of the language, blunted its sense of grammatical nicety, and caused those, who clung to the ancient style, to introduce dead archaisms.

Returning to the time of Moses, to consider the vernacular spoken, it is clear, that Balaam and Balak could not have been acquainted with the Hebrew language, and yet the gleaming words of the former reach us in that vesture. From a linguistic point of view the Book of Job has no interest, as, admittedly, it is a beautiful dramatic poem, such as Milton's *Paradise Lost*. When the spies entered Jericho, they were kindly treated, though in secret, by Rahab: there could have been no interpreter there. Women in the East are not often bilingual. The spies had been forty years in the desert, and their ancestors centuries in Egypt; yet somehow or other they held familiar communication with a Canaanitish woman. Soon after the occupation of Canaan, we find a divergence of pronunciation betwixt the dwellers on the east side of Jordan, betraying the residence of the speaker, in the Shibboleth story. Ruth the Moabitess could hardly have acquired Hebrew, living among her own people; it is more probable, that Naomi, who spoke Hebrew naturally, acquired the Moabite language. In that case, the beautiful expression of love to her mother-in-law is only a translation from Moabite; but the words are as musical in English, the second translation, as they are in Hebrew, the first. It is a matter of uncertainty, who the Philistines were, but they could scarcely have been Semites: they were probably from Egypt. It is obvious that Delilah did not speak to Samson in Hebrew; and when the giant

Goliath taunted David, a mere shepherd lad, he could hardly have used Hebrew, as he treated the whole nation with scorn, and swore by his own gods; and no interpreter was possible on such an occasion, but David understood the drift of his boasting threats, and answered him. Among David's servants was Uriah the Hittite; this language is still an unrevealed secret, but it was not Hebrew. It is probable that, as a mercenary soldier, he knew Hebrew, and he married a Hebrew woman. With Hiram, King of Tyre, David contracted a friendship, and the Phœnician language, being closely allied to the Hebrew, was no doubt mutually intelligible. With Solomon we find an Egyptian wife, followed by Egyptian-speaking attendants, settled at Jerusalem. And to Solomon came the Queen of Sheba from the uttermost parts of the earth, as One, who cannot err, tells us; and, if the map of the known world of that period is examined, it is literally true; but we have no hint as to the language she spoke, and by what means she conversed with King Solomon. And the memorable words, uttered by her, could not have been spoken by her in Hebrew. Jeroboam, the first King of Israel, had been a sojourner in Egypt, and Shiskak, king of that country, came and plundered Jerusalem in the time of Rehoboam. If we are to believe the Egyptian Chronicles, these invasions were frequent; and the Egyptian language must have been known to individuals. Ahab, King of Israel, married Jezebel, daughter of the King of Tyre, speaking the Phœnician language: she was accompanied by the priests of Baal. The cries of these priests to their gods on Mount Carmel must have been in Phœnician; and the language of Elijah, "the Tishbi," from Gilead, east of the Jordan, must have been something different from Hebrew, probably Aramaic. According to the universal practice of all Oriental chroniclers, all the sayings, both of Elijah and the priests, are recorded in the conventional Hebrew of the Book of Kings. When we come to reflect upon the language spoken by Jezebel, we have to face new phenomena. She was the daughter of Ethbaal, King of Tyre, and priest of Astarte: of the same family, in the next generation, came Belus and Dido, also called Elissa, who founded Carthage. We have to thank these two women for the names of Isabel and Elisa. We know what the Phœnician language was from inscriptions, such as that on the sarcophagus of Esmunázar in the Gallery of the Louvre. If any one were to doubt, that Carthage was a Phœnician colony, the stones with Punic inscriptions would cry out to correct him. Some such language was spoken by Jezebel and her followers; and it was not Hebrew. Athaliah, her daughter, probably took it with her to Jerusalem. The discovery of the Moabite Stone has revealed to us the language of Moab; it is the oldest specimen of alphabet-writing in the world, 900 B.C.; and it records the defeat of King Ahab by the King of Moab. In the time of Elisha we find the conversations of the

King of Syria at Damascus, and Naaman the Syrian, and a letter to the King of Israel, all in Hebrew, as if textually quoted; but we feel instinctively, that the language of the Hebrews could not have been used by these speakers, whose vernacular was Aramaic. The servants of Naaman the Syrian begged him to wash in Jordan and be clean: they could hardly have spoken Hebrew, though the little maid may have done so.

The prophet Jonah wrote about 862 B.C. He went to Nineveh, and our Lord tells us that the men of Nineveh repented at his preaching: we have to ponder as to the language which he used, for we know the language, in which his prophecies are written, and we know the language which the King and people of Nineveh used: it is not obvious how Jonah acquired a facility of speech in a totally different language of a remote country.

The prophet Isaiah wrote about 750 B.C. In chapter xix. verse 18, he writes: "In that day shall five cities in the land of Egypt speak the language of Canaan," or, in other words, the Jewish settlers in Egypt shall speak the language once spoken by the Canaanites, but "which" (to quote the Speaker's Commentary) "had been sanctified by being employed as the vehicle for the commemoration of God's purposes to mankind, and was called 'Hebrew.'"

The power of Assyria, with its capital Nineveh, on the Tigris, began now to be known; and in the reign of Hezekiah Jerusalem was besieged, about 725 B.C. We find the servants of Hezekiah upon the walls of the beleaguered town, beseeching Rabshakeh not to speak in the Jews' language, or Hebrew, but in Aramaic, the language of Damascus, in order that the common people might not understand his words. The language of Assyria itself has now been revealed by inscriptions as Semitic, but distinct from both the above. Then came the captivity at Babylon, 588 B.C., and the Jews had to listen to another Semitic language, the Babylonian, of which we have ample information from Cuneiform inscriptions; and the Hebrew language, which had been formed during the captivity in Egypt, received its death-stroke during the captivity at Babylon. Here, however, they were destined to come into contact with a new people, speaking an Arian language, the Persian. One word of that language crept into the Song of Solomon, "*pardés*," which has become one of the notable words of the Eastern and Western worlds as "*fardus*," or "*Paradise*." The Persian is one of the most illustrious of the Arian languages, as it passed from Zend into Pahlavi, and from Pahlavi into Persian. If on the one hand it was strengthened by contact with, and absorption of, Semitic elements from the Arabic, on the other hand it has, from its own resources, lent strength to the Arian Hindustáni, and the Altaic Turki. It stands by the side of the English as one of the two Arian languages, which have had the strength in them-

selves to free themselves from the tyranny of inflections and grammatical gender. We know the language, in which Cyrus and Darius spoke to Daniel, from the inscriptions upon Cyrus's tomb at Persepolis, and the stately tablets of Darius's inscriptions at Behistún: we must however recollect that the *popular* language of a nation runs as it were underground, leaving scant traces of its existence in literature, which has a separate life of its own.

Persian words are found in the Books of Ezra, and Daniel, and the appearance of such strangers in the latter seems an argument against those, who assign to the Book of Daniel a Maccabean date, just as the appearance of Egyptian words in Exodus shows that that book was written by some person who had sojourned in Egypt. Take the analogy of the Anglo-Indian, who after his return home unconsciously uses Indian phrases, or words, unintelligible to his friends, who have never visited India, and to his grown-up children, who have forgotten the words used by them in childhood.

The remnant of the Jews returned, under Zerubbabel, to Jerusalem in 536 B.C. The prophets Haggai, Malachi, and Zachariah still wrote the conventional Hebrew. Artaxerxes, 467 B.C., sent Ezra to Jerusalem. In 445 B.C. Nehemiah arrived at Jerusalem. His book lets side-lights in upon the language spoken by the people: he saw Jews apparently at Jerusalem, who had married wives of Ashdod (Philistines), of Ammon and Moab, and their children spoke half in the speech of Ashdod, and could not speak in the "language of the Jews, but according to the language of each people." The teaching of the prophets had ceased: the Hebrew language was no longer spoken. Like Sanskrit and Latin, it had done its great work, and died away. In the Book of Esther, of the same period, we read of the one hundred and twenty-seven provinces, to the inhabitants of each of which the great King wrote *according to their writing and their language*, from India in Further Asia to Ethiopia in Africa. All have passed away, language and written character, save Hebrew and Greek, for to them were committed the oracles of God. As time went on, the Jewish nation had to receive its orders in Greek, and then in Latin, and under the fiat of the latter ceased itself to exist, A.D. 70; for the nation also had completed the task, which was given it to do, when Abraham was called two thousand years before. But we must recollect that, when the Jews returned from Babylon, they left a large colony of their brethren behind them, and they flourished: we read later on of Tobit at Ekbátana: they had copies of the Books of Moses with them, and thus it was providentially arranged, that any tampering by Ezra or others with the text would not be possible to take place undetected.

In Chapter I. it was stated that it was not the *same* Aramaic which was spoken by Abraham, and by our Lord, but it was *similar*. This cannot be brought home more strongly than by considering

in a reverential spirit what is told us with regard to the Transfiguration. Luke tells us, on the authority of Peter and John and James, who were eye-witnesses, that Moses and Elijah talked with our Lord, and spake of His decease (ἐξόδου), which He should accomplish at Jerusalem. Now the epoch, at which Moses lived, is distant from that of Elijah by the interval of five centuries, and that of Elijah from that of our Lord by an interval of nine centuries. The Apostles heard with their ears and comprehended with their understanding, and recognized the solemn purport, of the words uttered by each speaker, all of whom used the Aramaic language. But we cannot shut our eyes to the great fact that, judging human phenomena in the ordinary way, the form of Aramaic words and sentences used by Moses must have differed materially from that of Elijah, and that of Elijah from that of our Lord, and the Apostles, who understood them. It is difficult to suggest a solution.

One word on the subject of "bilingual" individuals and populations. In the new Oxford English Dictionary it is interpreted as speaking, reading or writing, in two languages, but in linguistic works it has a narrower sense. Every young girl who learns French in the schoolroom, and boy, who learns Latin at school, is, according to the Dictionary, "bilingual." Every inscription with the text translated into a second language is bilingual. But, when a traveller reports that the uneducated inhabitants of an island, or region, are bilingual, or in a linguistic work we read that a belt of country is occupied by a *bilingual* population, something very different is intended to be implied. It means that the men, women and children, without receiving instruction, but under the influence of the circumstances, which surround them, unconsciously get into the habit of speaking (not necessarily writing or reading) two languages. In Switzerland, overlapped by their great French, Italian, and German neighbours, nearly every one is bilingual. On the borders of England and Wales we find the same phenomenon. In large belts of country in British India, which lie betwixt great linguistic regions, such as Tamil-land and Télugu-land in the one case, and Bangál and Behár in the other, the populations speak indifferently both languages. This is Provincial, or National, bilingualism. But there may be also "Family or Tribal" bilingualism, the result of intermarriages betwixt persons speaking naturally different languages. Purchased slaves learn to speak the languages of their masters, without forgetting their own. The same thing is happening with regard to immigrants into a strange country; the first generation in such cases is bilingual; the second adopts exclusively the new language. There is no rule absolute. Many Persian immigrants into India centuries ago still speak Persian

in their families, and to the outer world the languages of India. The Jews, wherever settled, have an alternative jargon in reserve. On the other hand, the French Huguenots, who went out to the Cape Settlement, became blended with the Dutch Boers, and have lost their French, as the Huguenot families have in England; while Scotch settlers in Canada have lost their English, and adopted French.

I wish to maintain that our Lord and His twelve Apostles *were not* "bilingual," either on account of their Province or Family. It will hardly be asserted, without actual proof, that there were schools for teaching Greek in Nazareth or Capernaum, and that our Lord, and the twelve, attended them. No doubt they used Latin and Greek loan-words, the names of particular places, such as Dekapolis, or of particular things, such as *κῆρυκος*, *ἐνυμνιον*, just as to this day the English-speaking populations use French and Latin words, but nothing more.

CHAPTER III.—THE LANGUAGES SPOKEN AND WRITTEN BY THE EVANGELISTS, AND THE WRITERS OF THE ACTS, THE EPISTLES, AND THE REVELATION.

I now turn to the language in which the New Testament was *written*. There is a considerable interval betwixt the Ascension of the Lord and the appearance of the first *written* document connected with the new faith. Our Lord, like Elijah and John the Baptist, left behind Him nothing in writing. His work was oral, and we have no indication, that His companions and casual hearers caught up and recorded His words at the time. In Luke xvi. 6 we read that the Lord in the parable of the unjust steward used the following words: "Take thy bill and *write* fourscore." The word "write" is not attributed to Him save in that parable. He knew how Jeremiah had written, "Write all the words that I have spoken," but He Himself gave no such orders. The eyes of His followers were darkened. One Evangelist, who had special knowledge, tells us that there were many other things which Jesus did, of which we have no record; and Paul hands down one sentiment attributed to the Lord which is not found in the Gospel, and he tells us also in the Epistle to the Galatians, that the Gospel which he preached was not by him "received of man, but by the *revelation of Jesus Christ*." This does not preclude the idea that he, like the other Christians, had information of the events of our Lord's life from oral or written statements as described in Chapter I.

Our Lord no doubt made other communications to His Apostles after His Resurrection, besides those narrated; but the neglect of the two disciples (one of whom was Cleopas, possibly Alpheus)

who accompanied Him to Emmaus, to record on paper the wonderful communication made to them, explaining to them the whole *raison d'être* of His sufferings and glory, seems to pass all conception, and it is remarkable, that Luke, who had had the advantage of living so long in intimate connection with Paul, and would therefore appreciate the extreme importance of this discourse, should have failed to collect and record the details, which, coming from His own lips, would have set so many questions at rest. We have to recognize a period of oral teaching and preaching at first by eye-witnesses, who had no conception of the magnitude of the movement which they were initiating. They rather expected a speedy end of the world, and the second appearance of their Lord, and the idea of writing books to edify future generations never occurred to them. This is to be deplored: an early authoritative Gospel would have saved much quarrelling: if Paul had had one to refer to and quote from, it would have been better: he seems to minimise the earthly life of the Saviour: his Church is an ideal: in the Gospels it is very real. The art of writing was rare among the simple peasants of Galilee. The commands of the risen Saviour were *μαθητεύσατε, κηρύξατε*, and they took Him at His word. Their aim was to convert their own people only. Oral handing down of legends, ballads, and traditions is common in the East to an extent which we cannot conceive in Europe.

A notable miracle is reported. On the tenth day from the Ascension, the disciples, *with the women and the Virgin Mary*, were all in one place, when the Pentecostal miracle took place, and the Holy Spirit fell upon all, male and female. This is supposed to have affected the language spoken. There are many interpretations; it is not recorded, that all made use of the gift, whatever was its nature, either at Jerusalem, Samaria, Cæsarea, or elsewhere. Some of them certainly obtained a wonderful boldness to speak the Word of God, and to speak it effectually, so as to convince the intellect and convert the hearts of their hearers. Paul states, that he received the same gift, and he certainly had the power of preaching and convincing to a marvellous extent, but on the only occasion recorded, when he came into contact with people, who did not speak Greek or Aramaic, but used the speech of Lycaonia, he did not seem to understand them until they carried their words into action. We are told that Peter readily conversed with Cornelius, the centurion of the Italian band in the fortress of Cæsarea, the key of the country. He was probably a Roman, or at least one of the Latin race, and knew little of Greek and Aramaic. He and his kinsmen and friends, probably military men, or camp followers, were heard to speak with tongues and magnify God. We may believe that these men, on their return to Rome, laid the foundation of the Christian Church which Paul found in existence, by their earnest teaching and preachings. If

they did so, they made full and beneficial use of the talents entrusted to them.

Preaching in Aramaic must have been the employment of the disciples at this period, telling over and over again the same wonderful story, but necessarily varying in details, as all had not had the same experiences. Some had seen miracles and listened to parables; others had been cured of diseases. From the first there must have been some quasi-authoritative formula, in which were the germs of the Creed, which each Christian Missionary preached, and which each neo-Christian accepted before his baptism. A careful perusal of Paul's Epistles, especially the Pastoral, show clearly, that there were in existence authoritative confessions of faith and summaries of doctrine, not necessarily the same everywhere, quoted *totidem verbis* by Paul: we must recollect that Paul, I. Cor. xi. 23, gives the earliest in date written account of the institution of the Lord's Supper that has come down to us. The services of the deacons, who were Hellenists, would be valuable to address the Hellenist strangers from Alexandria and Cyréné in Africa, and Cilicia, and Asia Minor in Asia. But as the eye-witnesses passed away by death or dispersion, it was felt that this *oral* teaching had its disadvantages. There was danger of additions being made, omissions of important doctrines, and inaccuracies. We have an exact parallel in our missionary deputations of this day. The missionary comes home, and tells his story, from his own point of view solely, what he saw and heard; the speaker at secondhand gets up the story, or arms himself with notes: he is less fresh, but has a larger grasp of the subject. At length an official history of the mission is compiled, in the same way, but under authority. *Oral* Gospels gradually came into existence, definite in general outline, uniform to a certain extent in language, quoting freely from the Aramaic Targams of the Old Testament and sometimes from the Septuagint, when Hellenists were addressed. It is asserted that a Palestinian version of the Septuagint existed. The *oral* grew on into *written* accounts, to the existence of which Luke, in the first verse of his Gospel, alludes. We must recollect, that the *oral* Gospels were *doubtless not in Greek*, but in the Vernacular of the people, Aramaic, and the notes made to help the memory were also in Aramaic; if this be conceded, it is clear that Matthew in his Aramaic Gospel incorporated such notes in their Semitic form: Mark and Luke translated them into Greek, as they compiled their Greek Gospels: the different renderings of the same Aramaic word by the different authors may account for some of the strange discrepancies. Each Apostle and each speaker naturally laid stress upon the particular portion of the great story, which impressed him most. At last, when the number of adherents increased, and the men, who had known the Lord in the flesh, disappeared, it became necessary to have some authoritative Gospel, which might be

appealed to in case of divergence of statement, as different sects were coming into existence, and thus we arrive at the time A.D. 60, when the Gospel of Matthew is supposed to have appeared, twenty-seven years after the Ascension. It was composed by an Apostle, by a man, whose business, as collector of taxes, satisfies us that he could write: it was written for the benefit of his countrymen, the people of Galilee, for he was called from his seat of office in our Lord's own city of Capernaum. There is a direct statement of the early Fathers, Papias, Origen, and Jerome, that he wrote his Gospel in Aramaic, and the probability coincides with the statement: he must have spoken Aramaic to be able to manage his office; there was no more *prima facie* necessity for his knowing Greek than for a Hindu village-accountant, who keeps the accounts of his village in Hindi, to know Persian or English. He collected the Customs on the little lake of Galilee. Like the books of Livy and many of the most valuable Greek works, this Aramaic Gospel has disappeared; but there is credible evidence of the genuineness and authenticity of the Greek Gospel attributed to Matthew which has come down to us; it has never been disputed that the Aramaic Gospel once existed, and the Greek is in our hands. It is not necessary to assume that the Greek "replica" (the term used by painters who paint the same picture twice over) has not the force and authority of an original Gospel. Up to the fall of Jerusalem, A.D. 70, the Aramaic version may have met the wants of the Palestine Church: after that event a Greek version was required: some illustrious books of antiquity exist only in translations, or Matthew himself may have superintended the work of translation into Greek, so as to supply the needs of Hellenists residing in Palestine. Of this we have remarkable illustration in the case of a writer of the same epoch, also a Jew. Josephus wrote his works originally in Aramaic, and admits his weakness in Greek composition. In the preface to the "Wars of the Jews," § 1, he writes: "I have proposed to myself *for the sake of such as live under the Government of the Romans*, to translate these books into the Greek language;" it is a fair inference that Matthew may have done the same. Nor is it anything out of the way for an author to publish a book in two languages for two different classes of readers. In the Empire of Austria, to this day, authors publish books at the same time in German and Slavonic languages; the *Life of Frederick the Noble* was published last year at London and Berlin in German and English. I have published books at Agra in India, in English and Hindustani at the same press, the same day, being responsible for every word in either language. After the lapse of centuries, copies of portions of the Scripture in Samaritan, Koptic, Abyssinian, Gothic, and Syriac have been recovered. The Aramaic Gospel of Matthew in this wonderful age may some day gladden our eyes.

Before alluding to Paul's Epistles, I must try and throw some

light upon the duties of an amanuensis in Eastern countries, and specially in bilingual countries. In Paul's Epistles we find phrases like this: "I, Tertius, *who wrote* this Epistle, salute you in the Lord;" "Ye see how large a letter I have written with *my own* hand;" "The salutation of the *hand of me*, Paul." To the official of British India such remarks come home with peculiar force. Jerome writes, "*Habebat ergo Paulus Titum interpretem.*" If Paul employed an amanuensis, it was because of the weakness of his sight, not on account of his inability to compose grammatically, and write legibly, a letter in Greek, for he was a competent Grecian. An English statesman or man of business at the present time dictates a letter "*totidem verbis*" to his private secretary, or gives him the purport, and leaves the skilled and trusted secretary to produce the proper phraseology. In unimportant matters this answers; but when a different language is used, and a French or German clerk is employed, greater caution is necessary, and the draft letter has to be read and corrected and approved. Such is the necessity of office-life in British India. The British official has native clerks seated on the ground near him, quite capable of rendering his brief, ungrammatical verbal orders into grammatical, courteous, official, elegant language in Persian, Hindustani, or any other language required. I think that I state a fact, that not a single British official throughout India, either in my time, before or since, could engross his own judgments or orders in such a form, that they could be issued and understood. But none the less, the orders issued are accurate and faithful, for they are read over, and, if need be, corrected, before the seal and English signature are attached. In the thousand documents, to which I have attached my name, I have never been tripped up once; of course the *style* of the particular amanuensis, who draws up a particular proceeding, is evident. When these facts are considered, many difficulties with regard to the Greek Epistles ascribed to the Galilean fishermen, Peter and John, are cleared away. The difference of style in the Epistle of John, and in the Revelation, may be explained by the fact that he had a different amanuensis. Should it be argued that Peter was not responsible for the wording of his Epistle, this objection cannot be maintained. Jerome writes: "*Denique duæ Epistolæ, quæ feruntur Petri, stylo inter se et charactere discrepant, structuræque verborum. Ex quo intelligimus* "*diversis eum usum interpretibus.*"

It is well known to all those, who for many years have been dictating lengthy judgments, or executive detailed orders, in a foreign language, that when the fair copy comes up for perusal, and signature, the dictating officer soon perceives which of his subordinates has drafted the paper from the recurrence of certain expressions or words, and the absence of others, for each man has unconsciously his own style. Now in the Revelation John's amanuensis

uses the word *ρομφαία* for "sword" sixteen times, though it never occurs in the Gospel of John or his Epistles, nor in fact anywhere else in the New Testament except at Luke ii. 35: "a sword shall pierce through thine own soul."

But another consideration forces itself on those familiar with the mode in which India is governed. The Viceroy has occasion to write a letter, possibly complimentary, possibly of most serious import, rebuking him, fining him, perhaps dethroning him, to a native Hindu Raja. Neither the Viceroy, nor the Raja, has the least elementary knowledge of the Persian language; but in that language, in courteous phraseology, a letter is indited by a skilled official penman, signed and sealed by the Viceroy or his Chief Secretary. On arrival at the Native Court, it is read and explained to the Raja by his own bilingual official. The letter-writer, so familiar in the streets of an Italian town, is unknown in England; but in India, among the unlettered people, I have known letters on the ordinary details of life indited in Persian. Neither the sender nor recipient knew any language at all. I remember one of my grooms, who was with me in camp far from his home, bringing me a long letter in Persian, the meaning of which he wished to know. It was couched in high-flown language, and common-form expressions, but the object was to announce the birth of a baby, and the well-doing of the mother.

When it is objected that the Epistle to the Hebrews could not have been intended for the Jews of Palestine, or the Epistle to the Galatians for the Galatians, as they did not know Greek, the circumstances above stated must be borne in mind, especially the patent fact already alluded to, that the Papal rescripts to the Irish people are still to this day published in Latin.

About Paul being bilingual there can be no doubt. He could speak Aramaic and Greek, and write Greek; as to his power of writing or reading Aramaic we have no evidence. In a spirit of antagonism to the Jews, the early Christians west of Palestine adopted the use of the Septuagint. Stephen was bilingual; his dying speech to the Sanhedrim was in Aramaic. Paul's companions, Barnabas, Mark, Luke, Apollos, Aquila, and Priscilla, Titus, Timothy, Philemon, were all Hellenists. Something may be collected as to the degree of literary culture to which Paul had attained. He quotes four Greek poets: it is true that one of the quotations occurs in the works of two poets, Aratus and Kleantes. Euripides puts into the mouth of Heracles the odious Epicurean sentiment of the ancients, "Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die," and recognizes the fiction of Fortune as if evangelical truth:

"εἴφραϊνε σαυτὸν, πῖνε, τὸν καθ' ἡμέραν
βίον λογιζου σὺν, τὰ δ' ἄλλα τῆς τύχης."

Paul writes, "Some (*τινες*) of your own poets say so." He puts

the words of Æschylus in the Play of Agamemnon into the mouth of our Lord as the Greek rendering of his Aramaic utterance: *πρὸς κέντρα μὴ λακτίζε*. However, in the Revised Text this passage is struck out. Apparently Paul did not know Homer, although an Ionian; he had visited Troas; his eyes must have looked at Pergamus and Mount Ida, and across the sea to Samothrace, yet the *religio loci* had not stirred him. A man of Macedon had appeared to him, and he could not possibly have been ignorant of that greater man of Macedon, who had, three centuries before, come to fulfil the prophecies of Daniel, had conquered the Eastern world, had been welcomed by the High Priest at Jerusalem, had destroyed Tyre, and founded Alexandria. At Athens Paul must have been aware of the existence of the theatre of Dionysos under the Acropolis, where the plays of Euripides were still repeating the old Homeric story so dear to the Athenian people; he stood on Mars' Hill (as I have done repeatedly), and looking at the Propylæum, he had beheld the colossal statue of the Virgin Goddess, with her helmet and shield glittering in the sun, and visible to sailors, as they doubled the distant Cape Sunium.

His travels and experiences must have taught him lessons, which no Jew of the old time could ever learn; as he stood on Mars' Hill, in front of the Temple of Athéné, at his feet was the Temple of Theseus, further to the right the great Temple of Jupiter Olympius; on the Promontory of Sunium was another Temple of Athéné; on his left through the pass of Daphné was the Temple of Eleusis; over the waters of the Ægean was the Temple of Ægina; the fragments, which remain of these wonderful buildings, still chain mankind. Paul saw them in their noonday splendour. He had resided at Ephesus, and knew too well the Temple of Artemis, one of the wonders of the world, on the columns of which we gaze with awe in the British Museum. He had seen the Temple of Daphné at Antioch, and heard of the gigantic Temple of the Sun at Baalbec in Cœle-Syria, on the road to Damascus, the columns of which astonish the modern traveller. He must have heard from Apollos of the Serapéum at Alexandria, and dimly of the wonders of Om, and Memphis, and Thebes, in Egypt. His eyes were opened, and contrasting temple with temple, nation with nation, city with city, he knew how utterly insignificant as regards to size, and architectural magnificence, in comparison with them was the Lord's House at Jerusalem, the City of Zion, and the few sheep of the Lord's chosen flock in the land of Canaan; *but to them were committed the oracles of God*; to them in the fulness of time had come that Jesus, whom he (Paul) preached, and, while in his heart he gave the preference to the glory of the Latter House, still, on Mars' Hill he repeats in the Greek language the sentiments which years before he had heard in the Aramaic from the lips of Stephen, to whose death he had consented, that "the Lord of

heaven and earth dwelleth not in temples made with hands," echoing words spoken by the Lord to the woman of Samaria, who had seen nothing but Gerizim, and had heard of nothing but Zion. Paul fully comprehended the meaning of our Lord's parting orders to preach the Gospel *to all nations, to every creature, to the uttermost parts of the earth*, when Jerusalem was no longer the centre of the universe, the joy of the whole earth. Admitting that he wrote in Greek, he *thought* in Aramaic; here is the difference betwixt the Epistles, which bear his name, and the anonymous Epistle to the Hebrews, the writer of which was entirely a Greek in his logic, as well as his expressions. All his quotations of the Old Testament are from the Septuagint without exception; it looks as if he knew nothing but Greek, and had never been in Jerusalem. Paul and John quote sometimes the Septuagint, and sometimes oral legends of particular passages, which differ materially from the Septuagint. If the question be asked, whether Paul spoke or wrote Latin, we have no evidence whatsoever; he got on well with Julius of the Augustus' band, presumably a Roman; he addressed the crew and the soldiers on board the ship, and they understood him; but they may have been the seafaring men of the Mediterranean, who had a sailor's patois. It was easy for him to communicate with the Punic inhabitants of the island of Malta. As regards intellectual culture he stood just on the dividing line of Oriental and Occidental knowledge. His successors, and even some of his companions, for instance, Apollos, had profited from a knowledge of Philo, and perhaps a greater one than Philo, Plato; a generation later the early Fathers were not ignorant of the works of Tacitus and Pliny, Seneca, Epictetus, and Marcus Aurelius. Asiatic and European literature had come into contact with each other. The very salutation of some of Paul's Epistles indicate a man, in whom two cultures met: *χαίρει καὶ εἰρήνῃ*. In the first word we have the Greek *χαίρει*, and in the latter the Hebrew "Shalóm," which still lives in the Oriental salutation "Salám," or Peace.

Two questions may fairly be asked as regards this remarkable man. Had he ever seen Jesus during His earthly pilgrimage, or even heard of Him? In his defence (Acts xxvi. 9) Paul says, "My manner of life from my youth, which was at the first among my *own nation at Jerusalem*, know all the Jews." This looks as if he had been some time at Jerusalem: he was only a young man, when Stephen was stoned. His companion Luke is surprised, that even a stranger in Jerusalem should not have known the things which had lately come to pass (Luke xxiv. 18). Could he have been ignorant of the veil of the temple being rent, the darkness at midday, the appearance of men, that had been dead, walking in the streets? We cannot find any allusion in his writings to his *personal* knowledge. He tells us, that Jesus appeared to him on the road to Damascus, that Jesus spoke to him, II. Cor. xii. 9, and

again Acts xviii. 9; that Jesus appeared to him, Acts xxiii. 11. Paradoxical as it may seem, the spiritual conception, which he had grasped of his Lord, was clearer than that of any of the other Apostles at that time, though they had known Him in the flesh. Christ had appeared to him as the Crucified, Risen and Ascended Lord: of His earthly sojourn among men he had only hearsay reports: he had never, like the Jews, looked upon Jesus as a great prophet, nor, like the Apostles, had wondered when His Temporal Reign would begin: from the first time that he had known Him at all, it was as God. Many of the Roman Emperors, such as Adrian, Trajan, etc., in the course of their military career, had been Centurions, or Imperatores, before they attained the Purple: but of their early life History tells little: they appear for the first time before our minds as Emperors. So before Paul's mind Jesus had never appeared except as the Risen Saviour, the very Son of God, who had communicated this fact directly to his intelligence. Thus he was able to see and take in clearly, that old things had passed away, and that the World was on the threshold of a new departure: he refused to know Christ after the flesh, as He appeared in His earthly pilgrimage: he knew Him only as the Son of God and after the Spirit. Renan remarks that Paul had not tasted of the ambrosia of the Galilean preaching: *he had only the after-taste*. The question cannot but arise in the devout mind: Was the Christ, whom he saw at Damascus, and whom he at once recognized ("Lord, what wilt Thou have me to do?"), the historic Jesus of Galilee, whom Paul had never seen, or the Christ of Paul's own imagination? It is doubtful, whether the conversion of the Gentiles was part of the original plan. Paul seems to have forced it: otherwise the new Sect would have died like many other Sects: he went into Arabia after his call, not to Jerusalem: he sought no commission from the Twelve, or casting of lots to fill the vacancy made by the death of James the Apostle: a French author made the remark, that the new Religion might in one sense be called the Pauline.

The second question relates to his knowledge of the Old Testament: whether he read it in Greek or the Hebrew text, it must have been a tedious operation from our point of view. We can judge what a Hebrew MS. was from the Synagogue rolls, which are in many Museums: but the difficulty of reading Greek MSS. is not always realized: we have fair specimens in the famous MSS. of the New Testament, known as the Sinaitic, Alexandrine, and Vatican. No separation of chapters, paragraphs, or verses; no punctuation, and words divided at the end of a line: it is true that the Hindu and Mahometan to this day have their MSS. in the same state, and Sanskrit has the additional difficulty of the words being, as it were, glued together, and letters changed by the laws of euphony: yet we do manage to read them: such a thing

as a Concordance was unknown, and reference to passages must have been very difficult, and generally each book was on a separate skin: Paul had some little alleviation in the use of papyri; for in II. Timothy iii. 13, we read how he sends for the books *τὰ βιβλία*, and the parchments *μεμβράνα* (a Latin word). We may suppose that the parchments represented the Hebrew Old Testament, and "the books" either a copy of the Septuagint, or the materials collected for Luke's Gospel during his two years' stay at Cæsarea. He had picked up one utterance of our Lord, not recorded by any of the Evangelists, "It is more blessed to give than to receive." It is to be regretted, that he does not give in detail the conversation, which passed between him and Peter, John, and James, when they met at Jerusalem: it must have been one of the most remarkable meetings of all, that have been recorded in history, secular or ecclesiastical.

Turning to the other frontier of Paul's knowledge, we know that he had seen the great Statue of Minerva at Athens, and we wonder whether he had read the Homeric Poems, or the discourses of Plato. If he had done so, in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* he cannot have failed to remark the triad of the Greater Divinities, as represented in the solemn oath,

"Ναὶ μὰ Ζεῦτε πατέρ, καὶ Ἀθηναίη, καὶ Ἀπολλόν,"

the Father Zeus, and the Son Apollo, the Lord of Light, Life, Poetry and the Healing Art, and that third mysterious, Sinless Deity, Athéné; pure, holy and chaste in the midst of a sinful crew of Gods; ever watching over, and present with her votaries, such as Odysseus, and incapable of evil thoughts, and insusceptible of stain. No one can ponder over the attributes of Athéné, as disclosed in the Homeric Poems, without feeling, that the human intellect in the conception of the Virgin-Deity had reached its highest level. And as regards Plato, the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews certainly was acquainted with the writings of Philo, and perhaps of Plato. In the School of Tyrannus, at Ephesus, where St. Paul disputed daily, something must have been taught, and most probably the Philosophy of the Platonic School. It is difficult to imagine, how Paul could have escaped the contact, living as he did among the educated Gentiles. It is difficult to understand how a writer, who handled the Greek language with such marked facility, could have been ignorant of Greek literature, and therefore of its great Masters, who have influenced the human intellect to the present time: but, if he had known some of the utterances of Homer and Plato, which move generation after generation with ever living power, would he not have fortified his argument, addressed to residents at Corinth, Ephesus, and Rome, by reference to authors, who must

have been familiar with them? The writer who quoted Aratus "τοῦτο γὰρ γένος ἔσμεν" might well have quoted,

"Ζεὺς ἄρχη, καὶ Ζεὺς το μέσον, Ζεὺς ἔσχατος αὐτε."

I now approach the subject of the Epistles of James and Jude. I must ask my readers to accept, for argument's sake, that they were the Lord's brothers (Matt. xiii. 55), and not the Apostles, who bore these names. They were thus carpenters like the Lord, and probably first cousins to the fishermen, the sons of Zebedee, whose mother, Salome, was probably sister to the Virgin Mary. It goes without saying, that they spoke Aramaic, and we have no evidence, that they had learnt Greek. Accepting these facts, it is noteworthy, that out of the twelve Apostles only two, Peter and John, have left behind them any writings at all; the other ten no doubt preached and preached, and went forth to the Eastern regions, but they had no recorded dealings with Europeans or Hellenized Jews, and as far as the spread of the Gospel was concerned, their work was nil: the champion of the dogma of the apostolical succession should bear this in mind, that the evangelization of the world came from Paul and Barnabas, and not from the Twelve exclusively. The Lord had chosen a new army for the European campaign under the leadership of Paul. It is clear, that there was little sympathy betwixt Paul and James; their antecedents, experiences, and convictions, were totally different. Paul claimed to have received a special revelation, and was a travelled man. James, as far as we know, had never left Palestine, or shaken himself free of his Judaizing environment. There is no doubt, that James either wrote his Epistle solely in Aramaic or allowed it to be translated by an amanuensis into Greek under his own superintendence for the benefit of the Jews of the Dispersion. In the first view of the case the Greek version has no more original authority than the early Syriac version which has come down to us. In the second it is like the Gospel of Matthew in Greek. In the first and second verse of James' Epistle there is a play on the words *χαίρω* and *χαρὰν*, which could not be expressed in the Aramaic. Both James and Jude, in their style, betray their Semitic origin and Jewish education: their Greek expressions are sometimes peculiar. It has been remarked, that the word-store of Jude is more real and powerful than its grammatical construction; the number of words which are his, *and his alone*, as far as the New Testament is concerned, is remarkable.

With Luke we have to deal with a Gentile and a Greek scholar of no ordinary power. It is not faultless. In Acts xxvii. 14, he writes of the ship as *αὐτή*, "she," forgetting the gender of *πλοῖον* in the preceding verses. Like the other writers of the New Testament, he found a dialect of Greek ready to hand more suitable to convey Oriental conceptions, and better supplied with word-

moulds for representing the Monotheistic idea than the Greek of the Athenian schools; for the Septuagint-Greek had been elaborated by six generations of Jews in Alexandria. He could never have seen the Lord, but he had all the qualifications of a conscientious historian. He was the companion of Paul, and dwelt two years with him at Cæsarea. During that period he had inquired, sifted and weighed evidence; he gives his opinion on facts stated; e.g. following Mark in his account of the Transfiguration, he gives his own opinion, that Peter knew not what he said. No doubt he had access to fragmentary *written* accounts, and took down from the lips of competent persons *oral* accounts, collated them, and transferred the matter thus collected in Aramaic to his own limpid Greek. He seems to use the word "ἐπιστάτα," not Rabbi, or "διδάσκαλε." Nothing in the Greek language can surpass in beauty the first two chapters of his Gospel. We sometimes wonder from what source he obtained not only some of his facts, but the purport and sentiments of some of the utterances recorded. Let us take, for instance, the beautiful words of Zechariah, the father of John the Baptist, and of old Simeon; they must have passed away sixty years before Luke took up the pen, and probably long before his birth. They had no connection of any kind with the Lord's ministry. Then a long speech of the angel Gabriel to Zechariah is recorded, who was even then in extreme old age, and must have died long before his son John commenced his Ministry. The same remark applies to the *Magnificat*, and to the words uttered by the angel Gabriel to the Virgin at Nazareth. It is a bold assertion, that the Virgin herself was Luke's informant, for she must have been in extreme old age, when he began his inquiries, if indeed she were still alive, or if he ever met her; had he done so he would have recorded the fact. The theory requires a succession of unsupported assumptions. Some go further, and assume that the Virgin left documentary evidence, for it is recorded, that she kept all these things in her heart, and her recollections may have formed parts of an oral or written Gospel. We certainly know that Elizabeth could read, for her husband, though dumb, had communicated to her the name of her son, and we may fairly presume that he did so to her, as he did later on to his kinsfolk, by writing. The hymn itself is but an echo of the beautiful prayer of Hannah on the occasion of the birth of Samuel more than one thousand years before, and it is comforting to think that women even then knew passages of the Bible by heart. In the words uttered by the angel to the Virgin occur the following: *χαῖρε κεχαριτωμένη*, a play of words of extreme elegance. It may be presumed, that the words of the angel found their way to Mary's understanding in the only language, which she could have understood, and that was Aramaic, and in the Syriac version, dated 200 A.D., and Delitzsch's Hebrew version of the present time; no such play

of words can be supplied from the word-store of those kindred languages; for how much, then, of these beautiful Christian hymns the world is indebted to Luke's inspired touch can never be known. At any rate, they were translations of precious Aramaic fragments, which had survived either in the memories, or the note-books, of some of the second generation of Christians. To those who accept inspiration as an illuminating influence, not a physical or intellectual coercion, there will be no difficulty in facing these difficulties. At any rate, if the Virgin was the informant, from whose lips or writings Luke gathered this wonderful chapter, it is strange that John, who took her to his home, and no doubt lived with her till death, never alludes to these details.

With regard to Peter and John, the Galilean fishermen who led the great crusade, it is distinctly stated that they were reputed to be "*ἀγράμματοι καὶ ἰδιῶται*," which certainly means ignorant of letters. The Pharisees had, however, said the name of our Lord: "How knoweth this man letters, having never learned?" Here they erred, as our Lord read from the Roll of Scripture at Nazareth, and on another occasion wrote with his finger on the ground. Of neither of His apostles, Peter and John, have we any such evidence. Jerome tells us: "(Habebat) Petrus Marcum interpretem, cujus Evangelium Petro narrante, et illo scribente compositum est." If Peter helped Mark with the matter of his Gospel, it is possible, that Mark helped Peter in the composition and writing of his first Epistle; at any rate, his name appears in a very marked way in the concluding verses of the last chapter, and he is described as *μαθητὴς καὶ ἑρμηνευτὴς Πέτρου*. The question naturally arises, how an old fisherman of Galilee, past the prime of life, was able to write Epistles in good grammatical style in a foreign language. Old fishermen, who take up a different kind of business in middle life, are generally unable to write a decently expressed and spelt letter in their own language, much less in a language, which they had never seriously learned. We must all feel that, however quickly we may pick up the power of talking a foreign language in middle life, we fight shy of writing a letter, especially on a subject of grave importance. Is there a single ordained minister of any church in England, who, unless of French extraction or education, would venture to publish a written sermon in French, though there are many who can converse with tolerable accuracy? We are told that Augustine, the Bishop of Hippo in the fourth century, with all the advantages of his station, epoch, and environment, shrank from the difficult task of mastering Greek, though we know what a master he was of the Latin language, one so closely allied in structure and word-store to the Greek, and yet we are asked to believe that somehow or other Peter, a fisherman, between forty and sixty years of age, managed to write two Epistles in excellent Greek, though his native vernacular, the Aramaic, was

totally different in every particular, and he himself was uneducated and untrained in literary subjects. Now we may assume that Peter dictated the matter of his Epistles to "his son" Mark, who was a Hellenist of Cyprus, as public officers in India dictate elaborate judgments on suits, decided by them in the courts in India, to the trained native clerk, who carefully draws up the draft for the perusal and correction of the judge, who is responsible for every point of the argument, and for the turn of every expression. It is noteworthy he calls himself Πέτρος; Paul spoke of him as Κηφᾶς; James as Συμεὼν (Acts xv. 14). Let us consider the story told in Acts ix. 36-41. The woman at Joppa was named "Tabitha" in Aramaic, and "Dorcas" in Greek: both words mean "a doe, or roe." When Peter went up into the upper room, he addressed the dead body as "Tabitha," using his own and *presumably her own* language: the widows, who wept, showed the garments, which "ἡ δόρκας" had made, because Luke in his Greek narrative called her so, though, when he quotes the words of Peter, he writes "Tabitha." The inference is that Peter *spoke* in Aramaic, and Luke *wrote* in Greek.

The case of John is, in some respects, more difficult, and in some respects easier than that of Peter. He was quite a young man when our Lord left the earth. He appears to have lived a long period at Ephesus, in Ionia, amidst a Greek population, in ease and dignity. All the disciples, who knew the Lord sixty years before, had passed away, and many also of the second generation, who had had intercourse with the Apostles and Disciples. John's statements are quite free from the possibility of contemporaneous criticism. Everything had changed. The Temple had disappeared, the Christian Church was separated from the Jewish; we feel in John's Gospel, that we are entering another world as regards language, style, and ideas.

Written documents of the kind described before may have been handed down and been current in the Church. The aged Apostle may, over and over again, in his discourses at Ephesus, have repeated the conversations of his Lord, but the time had come, when it was felt necessary to close the record of the inspired writings absolutely, for spurious gospels were coming into existence, and diverse heresies were springing up. Explanations are given by John of Jewish customs and Aramaic words, which shows, that a different class of readers was addressed in a different state of culture, and with a different environment of knowledge, prejudices and preconceptions. Sometimes the manner, in which the Apostle expressed himself, or rather in which his amanuensis took down his words, causes ambiguity; for instance, εὐρίκαμεν τὸν Μεσσίαν, ὃ ἐστὶ μετεμνηνόμενον Χριστός, John i. 41. In this passage, and John iv. 24, the word "Messiah" appears, and nowhere else. The meaning of the Hebrew word had been forgotten, when John

wrote; but when the Synoptists wrote, there was no necessity for explanation. Again, in John i. 43, our Lord remarks: "Thou shalt be called Kephaz;" the amanuensis adds, "which is by interpretation a stone." So also: "Go, wash in the pool of Siloam, which is by interpretation 'sent.'" It would scarcely be believed that these two passages are pressed into the service of the argument, that our Lord spoke Greek to His Apostles, and that the woman of Samaria spoke Greek to Him, and that the two fishermen of the Sea of Galilee, Andrew and Peter, communicated to each other in ordinary conversation in Greek. All that it shows is, that a period of time had elapsed, which rendered an explanation of the word necessary, but not so great a period as caused the word to be forgotten.

The word *Χριστιανος* is never used by John, and in fact only occurs twice in the Acts and once in the Epistle of Peter; in all three times. It is a hybrid word: a Greek root with a Latin suffix. It was probably a term of reproach, or used in a hostile sense. Events repeat themselves, for in British India it was, in my time, a term of reproach. In visiting a native Christian village, I happened to ask in Hindustáni an aged convert, when he became a "Christian." The missionary checked me, and asked me not to use that term, but "Masíhí," and I remark, that in the Hindustáni Bible, in Acts xxvii. 28, Agrippa says to Paul, "Almost thou persuadest me to be a Masíhí;" but St. Peter, iv. 16, accepting the term as one of abuse, is represented in the Hindustáni Bible as stating, "if any suffer as a *Kristian*, let him not be ashamed." Perhaps the Church at Ephesus had the same feelings, and we can understand them. To call a man "a Turk" in London is an insult; it is an honour to be so called in Constantinople.

In considering the language used by John in his writings, I must assume, and ask my readers to accept, for sake of argument, the theory propounded by judicious scholars, that the Revelation was written at least a quarter of a century before the Epistles and Gospel. No one can fail to be struck by the serious grammatical errors in the Revelation. In Rev. i. 5, we read, ἀπὸ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὁ μάρτυς ὁ πιστός; there are many more errors of grammar of a kind, which cannot be attributed to inaccuracy of the text. The English translation in a language free from the trammels of number, case and gender, does not exhibit these defects. Dr. Wordsworth, Bishop of Lincoln, remarks: "This book studiously 'disregards the law of 'Gentile' syntax; it Christianizes Hebrew 'words and clothes them in Evangelical dress, and consecrates 'them to Christ.'" And again: "The reader is to be prepared for 'combinations independent of the ordinary rules of grammar, and 'having a grammar of their own, *the grammar of inspiration*" I cannot agree with this style of commentary; it seems a degradation of the Scriptures, a total misconception of the meaning of

Grammar, which is the method, unconsciously adopted by past generations of expressing their sentiments by articulated sounds and sentence-moulds. To say that inspiration has anything to do with the structure of sentences, or observance of grammatical rules, is as absurd as the remark of a certain king, "Ego sum rex Poloniæ, et super Grammaticam."

I have taken the trouble of comparing all the verses, in which these errors occur, with the version into Latin by Jerome, into German by Luther, and into Sanskrit by Carey, these three being languages, which are analogous in their rules of structure and concord, and I do not find that these translators have in any single instance paid attention to the grammar of inspiration.

The explanation must be sought for elsewhere. The Revelation was written in Patmos, a small and sparsely inhabited island; the Apostle himself was then a tyro in the knowledge of Greek-written composition, and in that out-of-the-way spot he had not the assistance of a skilled amanuensis, which could be supplied to him at Ephesus, when he commenced his later labours, which, as Greek compositions, are above criticism; the errors are just such as a Semite would make in first dealing with an Arian language, of which, with the exception of English and Persian, gender, case, and number are a chief feature. We all know what blunders Englishmen make, who attempt to write French and German. The British official in British India, when out upon some expedition of political or police importance, finds himself compelled to make use of the best amanuensis, whom he can lay hold of in an out-of-the-way village, to communicate with his subordinates at a distance, who know not a word of English; and the production, when it finds its way into the head-office, raises a pitying smile in the countenance of the skilled draftsman.

It is a fatal mistake to claim infallibility for subjective considerations in matters of pure Science, and to improvise miracles to account for the inaccuracy of a Greek sentence or the unexplained knowledge of a foreign language by an unlettered man. The servants of the Lord are quite as well equipped, and *vice versa*, to maintain His honour now, as they were in the first century. If from purely linguistic, and, therefore, scientific grounds, we are drawn to a particular conclusion, it would be cowardly to say, that theology is above grammar. We in this way add an additional poison to the shafts of an adversary. Our cause is a good one, and *non egit tali auxilio*.

John clearly thought in Aramaic, and we recognize a Semitic mind in an Arian dress. His Gospel is the most distinctly Hebraic of all four, *i.e.* tinged with the phenomena of a Semitic language in the construction of sentences; thus often in the judicial decisions of an Anglo-Indian judge, though grammatical, the Anglo-Saxon origin can be traced by the turn of the sentences, the form of the

argument, and the going direct to the point. Two strong points used to be urged in favour of the argument, that the Lord conveyed His message in the Apocalypse to John in the Greek language.

1. That He calls Himself Alpha and Omega, which clearly apply solely to the Greek alphabet.

2. That in Rev. xiv. 18 the Apostle indicates the number of the beast by a Greek cryptogram, 666.

To both these there is a reply. "Aleph and Thau" is an old Hebrew proverb for the beginning and the end. The Syriac translation has returned to this rendering; the Greek amanuensis substituted the last and first letters of the Greek alphabet, and some of the translators of the Bible at the present day into the languages of barbarous tribes, which use the Roman alphabet, have proposed to substitute "I am A and Z." The Apostle, when he dictated the cryptogram 666, was thinking as a Hebrew: he had no such familiarity with the Greek alphabet as to base his sayings upon it. The Aramaic language had a well-known written character, and each letter had a numerical value, and 666 resolves itself without difficulty into "Neron Kesar," and no doubt the Emperor Nero, who slew Peter and Paul, was intended. However, the only interest attached, as far as the present subject is concerned, to this solution is, that no argument in favour of Greek being the language of the Apostle can be based upon it, but the contrary.

In his old age the Apostle drew upon a store of sanctified recollections, and wrote his Gospel; there is no evidence, that he had seen the Synoptic Gospels, but his Gospel has a supplementary character. We all know how in old age the nearer Past, as it were, vanishes away, and the far-off Past comes before the recollection. Aged people recount in great detail, and accurately, conversations which took place half a century before: there is a peculiar illumination round the setting sun.

In this Gospel we have a narrative of the Saviour's words, which had clearly passed through the lenses of a loving heart, and thoughtful mind, just as any one would recall for the benefit of his own children the words uttered long before by a dead parent. It is clear, that his account of our Lord's utterances is not a mere chronicle, not the careful account of a skilled reporter, not the connected arrangement of well-remembered facts, but the result of deep meditation on their meaning: he realized the grave importance of every word, and he dictated in his old age, possibly in his case the *ipsissima verba* to his trained Greek amanuensis. Subsequent events had unconsciously coloured his recollection: we all know what it is to see things in the light of subsequent events: in no other Gospel is he himself called the beloved disciple: he alludes to no miraculous casting out of devils: mankind had out-

grown that mode of describing particular diseases: he never uses the word "Sadducee": the *term* had been forgotten, but he alludes to the Chief Priests, who were Sadducees, because the *office* had not been forgotten: he calls his Master διδάσκαλε, not ἐπιστάτα, as the Synoptists. He applies to his Master the term "Rabbi" five times; the Synoptists never.

The Lord had promised him (xiv. 26), "The Holy Spirit will bring all things to your remembrance whatsoever I have said unto you." This is remarkably fulfilled. The discourses with Nicodemus, the woman of Samaria, and the narrative of the raising of Lazarus, were no doubt known to all, though only recorded in John's Gospel; but how about those chapters of advice given at the Supper table just before his arrest? How could the Apostles have forgotten these words so soon, and deserted their Master, while these words were still in their ears?

One point of language suggests itself. Our Lord raised three persons from the dead; I have visited each of the spots, where these great miracles were performed, with profound reverence. It might have been expected, that as our Lord had used the words "Talitha Kumi," when He raised the daughter of Jairus, the Evangelist would have recorded analogous terms, when He raised the widow's son. But Luke records the words Νεανίσκε, σοί λέγω, ἐγερθήτι. Mark had learnt his lesson from an eye-witness, Peter, who was an Aramean, and remembered the words uttered. Luke had learnt his lesson chiefly from Paul, and others not eye-witnesses; he wrote as a chronicler rather than a reporter. And when Lazarus was raised, John, who is the only chronicler of this event, did not record the *ipsissima verba* of his Lord, but supplied a translation, Ἀλέξαρε δεῦρο ἔγω. We see the process: Peter remembered the words of his Lord, and Mark, in the freshness of his life-like sketch, took them down. Luke was an historian, who reduced all his information, whether of facts or utterances, to Greek. When John's time came, Aramaic had ceased to be understood; he may possibly have been one of the few, who knew it out of Palestine.

I shall be sorry if any words of mine, in these Papers on the Languages of the New Testament, may have distressed any tender conscience. After all, if portions of the New Testament are but translations, we must reflect what a blessing translations have been to the world, and how fortunate we are, that our Faith has chosen the best of the two alternatives. All false religions have shrunk into a dead language, which language was in very deed the language spoken by the Founder, but which has ceased to be intelligible, and is jealous of translation into the vernacular. The precious truths of the Gospel have not come down to us in the very words of the Lord and His disciples, but through the channels of trans-

lations made from the earliest periods, and, multiplied to a prodigious extent during this century, they are blown over the world. In former years subtle arguments were based on the words of the English translation, which was deemed the one unquestioned form for the English-speaking people, as, indeed, in the early centuries of the Christian Era the Septuagint-translation of the Old Testament was deemed an inspired book, and for a thousand years the very existence of Christianity seemed to depend on the Latin Vulgate. We have got beyond that stage of critical obliquity. It may be truly said, that of all the books of, or antecedent to, the Augustan age, no book has come down to us with such satisfying evidence, as to its genuineness and authenticity, as the New Testament.

THE CHURCHMAN, 1889.

II.

TRANSLATIONS OF THE BIBLE.

CHAPTER 1. ANCIENT AND MODERN TIMES.

CHAPTER 2. LATIN.

CHAPTER 3. FRENCH.

CHAPTER I.—THE TRANSLATION OF THE BIBLE IN ANCIENT AND MODERN TIMES.¹

I HAVE been invited by the Headmaster to speak upon a most interesting subject in my old School, and it gives me the greatest pleasure to do so. I left Eton at Election, 1840, nearly half a century ago, but it is still with gratitude that I look back to the sound education, which I received under the headmasters Dr. Keate and Dr. Hawtrey (*non sine virgâ*), and my tutors, Dr. Hawtrey, Bishop Chapman, and dear Harry Dupuis. There remain at Eton of that period only Archdeacon Balston and Mr. Carter, my school-fellows, and Mr. John Wilder, of whom I shall ever think gratefully for having "sent me up for good" at Christmas, 1834, my first out of twenty-one times.

The Old Testament, as you all know, was mainly written in the Hebrew, a Semitic language; but after the return from the captivity at Babylon, in B.C. 536, that language ceased to be the vernacular of the people, and gave way to a sister-language, the Aramaic, in which parts of the Books of Ezra and Daniel are written. Before the time of our Lord, Hebrew had become a dead language, and the Jews, as well as the Samaritans, when they read the Old Testament in their Synagogues, made use of Targams, which were partly translations, and partly explanations. When our Lord read from the Book of Isaiah in the Synagogue at Nazareth, we may presume that, if He read the actual Hebrew text, He explained it by a Targam. Some of the very words which fell from our Lord's lips are quoted: "Amen," "Ephphatha," "Talitha kumi," and "Eloi, Eloi, lama Sabacthani," the latter being a quotation from the Targam of Psalm xxii.; the hypothesis,

¹ Address given on Saturday, February 16, 1889, in the School Library of Eton College to Eton boys by an old Etonian.

that our Lord and His disciples, mostly residents of Galilee, and uneducated persons in a humble position of life, used the Greek language, cannot be maintained. When Paul is described in the Acts as addressing the Jews in the Hebrew tongue, it means, that he used the vernacular understood by the Hebrews, *i.e.* Aramaic. No doubt Paul, a highly-educated man, born a citizen of a Gentile city, spoke both Greek and Aramaic.

The Hebrew Scriptures had been translated into Alexandrine Greek about 150 B.C. by the order of Ptolemy Philadelphus, King of Egypt. This translation differs materially from the Hebrew text, which has come down to our time, and is known as the Septuagint, from the legendary number of translators employed. The New Testament has come down to us entirely in Greek, though it is asserted, upon reasonable grounds, that the Gospel of Matthew was written in Aramaic. Greek became the Church-language of the early Christians, as the Gospel spread westward into a region, where Greek was the vernacular. A value was then placed upon the Septuagint, as if it were inspired, and this error still clings to the Greek Church. In those days no Christian ever cared to refer to the original Hebrew text, but the Jews preserved it faithfully, and took many precautions for that purpose. About one hundred years before the Christian era, the old Phœnician Hebrew character, which still survives in Samaritan texts, gave way before the square-written characters so well known as the Hebrew. When Moses is exhibited in statues or pictures holding the tables of stone with the Decalogue written in the square Hebrew character, an anachronism is committed. On the other hand, that the square-written character had been adopted in our Lord's time is proved by His remark "that one jot or tittle would not pass away" (*ἰὼτα ἐν ἡ μία κεφαλαία*), which would not have applied to the old written character, or to the Greek Uncials.

It cannot be impressed upon our convictions too strongly, that from the earliest days of the Christian Church there was a strong desire and universal practice to convey the truths of the Bible to the people in the vulgar tongue. In a letter to Paulinus A.D. 395, Jerome remarks with a kind of prophetic spirit: "Et de Jerusalem, et de Britannia, æqualiter patet aula cœli." In every false religion, such as the Brahmanical, Buddhist, and Mahometan, and every corrupted form of the true religion, such as the Roman, Greek, Armenian, Georgian, Slavonic, Syriac, Koptic, and Ethiopic, the tendency has been to keep the sacred books in an unknown and obsolete language, and restrict the laity and the female sex to oral instruction, or reading of selections, or metrical versions, constructed by the priests. Such instruction may possibly be good and faithful, but it varies from generation to generation, and is imperfect. For instance, sixty years ago Dr. Keate used every Sunday to read one of Blair's Sermons in the Upper School, and called it "prose."

Dr. Hawtrey used other books of the period, but they would not go down now. Moreover, the revelation, which has been made to man, is a message in its entirety to each human conscience, and, as the vehicle of words and sentences becomes gradually antiquated and unintelligible, it must be translated. We are not at liberty to place any limitation on the great plan of Salvation, and must consider the Bible as a precious legacy to be handed down from one generation to another, from one country to another, from one language to another. Wycliffe put the matter clearly when he wrote: "Since secular
" men should assuredly understand the Faith, it should be taught
" them in whatever language is best known to them." Some of you recollect that fine passage in the "Agamemnon" of Æschylus, 312:

*τοιοῖδ' ετοίμοι λαμπαδηφόρων νόμοι,
ἄλλος παρ' ἄλλον διαδοχαῖς πληροῦμενοι.*

It is the link, that connects us with the Church in the Catacombs, the golden cord that unites the humble translator, now at work in Central Africa or the New Hebrides, with Luther, and Bede, and Wycliffe, and Ulfilas, and Jerome, and Origen, and the seventy scholars of Alexandria, who set the great example of rendering the sacred books of one race into the language of another, and established the great principle of doctrinal continuity, based upon the oracles of God, ever re-appearing in a new combination of sounds, syllables and sentences. The light shining through a crystal appears in different colours, but it is the same light.

The Church of the Catacombs, recruited from the lower classes of Rome, was not long content with the Greek version, and several translations were made into Latin, the earliest being a gift of the Church in North Africa to its mother Church in Italy. Many saints suffered martyrdom for the sake of the old Latin versions. A dangerous divergence of texts soon troubled the Church, and Jerome was commissioned by Damasus, Bishop of Rome, in the year 385, to revise the whole, and put forth an approved version. He was a most capable man, and used the Septuagint as the basis for the Old Testament. Accompanied by two holy Roman ladies, he settled at Bethlehem, and after he had completed his first revision, the conviction was forced upon him, that the suggestion of Origen in his "Hexapla" was the right one, and that he ought to make a fresh and distinct translation from the Hebrew text; this venerable work was known as the Vulgate. He was not a profound Hebrew scholar, and he had no critical appliances, and he lived one thousand years before the invention of printing. His work was committed to the precarious charge of manuscripts prepared from century to century by ignorant, careless, audacious, and, in some cases, fraudulent copyists.

It is astonishing to read of the liberties taken by copyists. Such a thing as a critical conscience did not exist. Glosses, written in the margin by one generation, crept into the text in the next generation; passages were altered to render the supposed meaning intelligible; there was no public or learned criticism to control the copyist working in the cloisters of a convent under particular theological influences. It is not a matter of surprise, that the text of the Vulgate, which was the very first out-turn of the new power of the printing-press, cannot be accepted, as if fresh from the hand of Jerome, yet it is most valuable. A study of the Vulgate converted Luther and the Reformers.

After a usage of one thousand years, it was declared by the Council of Trent, in 1542 A.D., to be the *only* authorized medium, in which the Gospel could be conveyed to the laity. The Church of Rome had come to the parting of the ways, and had left the high road of Bible-truth for the tortuous path of mediæval error. At a later period translations of the Vulgate were made, under Episcopal sanction, into Italian, French, Spanish, Portuguese, Polish, and German, and published in avowed antagonism to Protestant versions.

The main stream of Christianity flowed westward to Europe; still there remained Churches in the west of Asia and north-east corner of Africa, and the early Church cared for them also. The Syriac translation was the gift of the Church of Antioch, a Greek-speaking Church, in 200 A.D., to the natives of the country, who knew not Greek. This language was akin to Aramaic, but had a peculiar character of its own. It is a cogent reply to those, who fondly urge that our Lord and His Apostles used the Greek language, that two hundred years later the Church of Syria required a translation in the vernacular, notwithstanding the great increase of Greek and Roman influences, and the entire destruction of all indigenous culture. The Old Testament was a direct translation from the Hebrew; and the Syriac manuscripts, which have survived to our time, have been valuable as checks on the Greek and Roman copyists. This version is still used for liturgical purposes by the Syriac Churches in Mesopotamia and South India, though Arabic is the vernacular of the one, and Malayalam of the other.

In Egypt there was a population which did not speak Greek, but made use of the latest, and now extinct, corrupted form of the great Egyptian language, which, through the vehicles of Demotic, Hieratic, and Hieroglyphic papyri and lapidary inscriptions, can be traced back for a period exceeding four thousand years. The Church of Alexandria, itself Greek-speaking, recognized the right of its members, who did not know Greek, to have personal access to the story of their risen Saviour, and translations were made in three dialects, Memphitic, Sahidic, and Bushmúric, showing their

anxiety that the millions of Upper as well as Lower Egypt, in the second and beginning of the third centuries, should, as the best antidote to heresies, not be deprived of their inheritance. Copies of that translation, found like waste-paper in boxes in the convents of the Nitron Lake, and forgotten by a race, which had changed their language to Arabic, have brought home certain precious contributions to our Scriptural knowledge. It has its own peculiar written character.

To the south of Egypt is the great country of Abyssinia, which is indebted to Alexandria for its being nominally, only nominally, in the category of Christian nations. Before the close of the fourth century after Christ a translation was made of the Bible into Ethiopic or Giz, now a dead language, but then the language of the natives, in a peculiar written character. Among the MSS. which have come down to us, are the unique copies of the Book of Enoch, the Book of Adam, and some books found in the records of no other Church.

From the north about that period a pressure of the Goths was taking place on the Roman Empire: they were heathens, the advance-guard of the great Teutonic branch of the ethnic family, to which we ourselves belong. The Church at Constantinople thought it their duty to give the Gospel to these heathen in the same spirit, that Britons now exhibit to the people of India, of China, of Japan, of Africa, of the Islands of the South Seas, and North and South America. A great man named Ulfilás, Bishop of the Mæso-Goths, who dwelt in Bulgaria (as now called), born a heathen in A.D. 318, and baptized at Constantinople, undertook the translation from the Greek in an alphabet formed by himself for the purpose. A celebrated fragmentary copy of this translation, dating back to the fifth century, is shown at Upsála in Sweden.

In that same century was held the Council of Ephesus, and some young Armenians came to it, their object being to buy correct manuscripts of the Gospels in Greek. Young Armenians had been sent to Alexandria to study Greek, and, on their return, under the guidance of Miesrob, who had already translated the Bible from Syriac into Armenian, they set about a translation of the Greek into the same language, and accomplished it. The debt, which they owed to Europe, has in these last days been repaid, for in the Armenian convent at Venice has been found an old Armenian Harmony of the four Gospels of the second century, showing clearly, that the four Gospels must have existed at an anterior date, whatever critics may argue to the contrary.

In the valley of the southern slopes of the Caucasus is a country called Georgia, now part of the Russian Empire. This is the region known in ancient times as Colchis, whence Jason stole the golden fleece, and to these mountains, according to the Poets,

Prometheus was chained as a punishment for the benefits conferred by him on mankind. The inhabitants had accepted Christianity, and in the sixth century, to supply a want felt, young men were sent to Alexandria to study the Greek language, and this enabled them, on their return, to translate the Bible into the Georgian language, the first language in Asia belonging neither to the Arian nor Semitic family, which had been so honoured, and in a written character peculiar to itself.

The Teutonic races, which had been the terror of Rome up to a certain time, had been pushed forward to the West by hordes of a different though kindred origin, the Slavs, and the vast plains of Russia had been occupied, and the settlers had accepted Christianity from Constantinople. As if in the fulfilment of a law, which could not be broken, two brothers, Cyril and Methodius, sons of a Greek noble at Thessalonica, both learned men, and occupying high social positions, which had enabled them to acquire the language of the Slavonic barbarians, retired into a convent for the purpose of translating the Bible, before the close of the ninth century, in a form of written character invented by themselves, which still bears the name of Cyril.

The same fatality overtook all these translations: the spirituality of the Church, which used them, was dried up, and the language had become unintelligible to the vulgar, though still clung to by an ignorant and unworthy priesthood. The Gothic language perished entirely off the face of the earth; the others survive, and are used rather to obscure than to teach truth. A part of the duty of Bible Societies is to supply the Bible in the modern vernaculars to Churches, starving under the shadow of old and venerable, yet dead trees, which no longer bear leaves and fruit, for the healing and feeding of the nations.

In the peninsula of Arabia the Gospel never obtained a foothold. The Arabic language was, however, destined to play a mighty part in the history of mankind, as the vehicle of a false religion, and as the invigorator by its contact, and linguistic amalgamation, of some of the greatest languages in Asia and Africa. Translations of the Bible were made into Arabic as early as the lifetime of Mahomet, who died A.D. 632; from which, as he knew no other language, he must have gleaned his imperfect and distorted knowledge of its contents. Had such a translation of the Bible as now exists in Arabic been at the disposal of that great high-souled and earnest man, how different would probably have been his utterances! how different the creed of his followers!

Still further to the east is the kingdom of Persia. The inhabitants of the southern provinces speak a language called Persian. A translation of the Pentateuch was made by a Jew from the Syriac. The date is uncertain, but it cannot be earlier than the ninth century A.D., as the Tower of Babel is called the

Tower of Baghdad, a city, of which the foundation date is known, A.D. 827.

Let me cast one glance at the extreme west of Europe. By the singular good fortune of the inhabitants of the British Islands in all the early efforts of Christians they had a conspicuous part. They received the Gospel early; one of the early Christian martyrs, St. Alban, died at Verulam in Hertfordshire; and their missionaries to the heathen were early in the field, Columba, Columbanus, Aidan, and Boniface. They were foremost in the Crusades, foremost in Bible-translation, and in the Reformation. Cædmon, who lived in the seventh century A.D., wrote a metrical version, but Anglo-Saxon interlinear versions of the Latin Bible are found. The Venerable Bede, on the very day of his death (A.D. 735), gave a finishing touch to the translation of John's Gospel. King Alfred the Great took part in the translation of the Bible, and prefixed some chapters of Exodus to his Code of Laws in A.D. 890. An Anglo-Saxon Glossary of the four Gospels, dated A.D. 900, is in the British Museum. In the tenth century another Anglo-Saxon version was made from the Vulgate, and the MS. is in the Bodleian. There exists also a copy of Paul's Epistles with Irish, or Erse, interlineal Glosses of the ninth century A.D.

This completes the story of the different languages to which the Bible was committed at a period antecedent to the Norman Conquest of England: 1. Hebrew; 2. Aramaic; 3. Samaritan; 4. Greek; 5. Syriac; 6. Latin; 7. 8. 9. (3 Dialects) Koptic; 10. Ethiopic; 11. Gothic; 12. Armenian; 13. Georgian; 14. Slavonic; 15. Arabic; 16. Persian; 17. Anglo-Saxon; 18. Old-Erse. There was a dense silence for three centuries, and a dark period preceded the dawn of the Reformation. Oriental travellers know well the darkness, that precedes the coming of the morning. It was a darkness of ignorance, superstition, priestcraft, and bigotry. Latin had died out of the mouths of the people; a new birth of vernacular forms of speech had taken place; but the Romish Church was blind in spite of warnings. The first effort of Protestants was to get at the inspired records of their faith, and give them to the people. The Anglo-Saxon versions above alluded to were justly appealed to by the Reformers in England, as a proof of the continuity of vernacular versions, and the right of Christian Churches to have the Bible in the language understood by men, women, and children. To Wycliffe, the morning-star of the Reformation, in A.D. 1380, *temp.* Richard II., belongs the high honour of completing the translation of the entire Scripture in 19. English. At nearly the same time, and 20. before the appearance of Jerome of Prague and Huss in Bohemia, a translation had come into existence. 21. A German version was made at the expense of the Emperor of Germany in A.D. 1405, and exists in the Vienna Library. 22. A translation into Provençal dates back to A.D.

1179, and 23. one into Flemish to A.D. 1300. These existed before the dawn of the Reformation, in all twenty-three translations. Subsequent to that mighty unbarring of the doors of the closed temples of religion and knowledge, the following versions sprang into existence: 1. Welsh; 2. Gaelic; 3. Erse; 4. Manx; 5. French; 6. Basque; 7. Dutch; 8. Norwego-Danish; 9. Swedish; 10. Spanish; 11. Italian; 12. Roumán; 13. Russ; 14. Osmánli Turki; 15. Old Norse; 16. Lapp; 17. Finn; 18. Lithu; 19. Pole; 20. 21. Wend, (2 Dialects); 22. Magyar; 23. Romansch; 24. Lett; 25. Karniola; 26. Ehst; 27. Nogai Turki (twenty-seven Languages). The invention of printing, the revival of learning, the reintroduction of Greek and Hebrew into the curriculum of Western scholars, made a mighty change. The Latin Vulgate was the first book actually printed and published, in A.D. 1462. Erasmus put forth his Greek edition at Basle in A.D. 1516, followed by Cardinal Ximenes in A.D. 1520. Texts were compared, translations revised, and copies multiplied. Bohemian was the first living language printed. In the mean time the world was being explored or discovered, a clearer knowledge of the multiplicity of languages was being obtained; yet, strange to say, it never entered into the conception of the good and holy men of that period, that it was a duty to supply the heathen and Mahometan world with copies of the Word of God, and in a systematic way to re-introduce it to the knowledge of the Church of Rome, the Greek Church, and the fallen Churches of Western Asia, and North-East Africa. They were content to feed themselves with the bread of life; but it was not revealed to them, nor was it brought home to their consciences from the pulpit, that Jesus died for all, that Christ from the Cross looked down upon the poor heathen also, and that the so-called dogs had a congenital right to the crumbs from the Christian's table.

Now and then there was a bright exception. John Eliot was born in A.D. 1604, and went to New England in A.D. 1631. He learnt the language of the Algonquin tribes, 1. who then dwelt in the States of Massachusetts and Virginia, and translated the Bible, which has outlived the race, religion, and language; for all have passed away. The Bible survives as the language of a dead nation. He had no helps in his work such as men have now; his method was, "Prayers and pains through faith in Jesus Christ will do anything." At the other end of the world some laymen of the Dutch East India Company translated the Bible into Malay, 2. In A.D. 1668 the New Testament was printed in Holland, and large portions of the Old Testament in A.D. 1723, both in the Roman and Arabic written characters, at the expense of the Government, who also prepared a translation of the New Testament and part of the Old Testament in Portuguese 3. for the use of the settlers in the Dutch colonies, who spoke that

language; and this was the first vernacular translation, that reached that priest-ridden land (Portugal), and the one which, in a revised form, is still in use. In South India, Ziegenbalg, the Danish missionary, printed, in A.D. 1714, his translation of the New Testament in Tamil, 4. and had done part of the Old Testament, when he died; but his great work was completed in A.D. 1727. In A.D. 1661 Gravius, a Dutch pastor in Batavia, printed a translation of the Gospels of Matthew and John in one of the languages of the aboriginal tribes of the Island of Formósa, 5. within the empire of China. The language is still scarcely known, for before the edition was circulated the mission was uprooted. In Ceylon, before A.D. 1783, the Dutch Government had promoted a translation of the New Testament and portions of the Old into Sinháli, 6. and they were printed at Colombo. Thus there were in all of this period thirty-three translations. In some lists I find allusions to a translation, into Osmánli Turki, and Hindustáni in Asia, and Eskimó in America, but I am unable for various reasons to admit them on my list. I am dealing with facts.

Two reflections arise from these facts. The Dutch supplied translations in Malay, Formósa, and Sinháli, and the Danish in Tamil, while the British had done nothing in Asia. In the following century they made up for their slackness. The famous Roman Catholic priest Beschi was one of the best Tamil scholars of his age, and was alive during the time of Ziegenbalg's labours, but it never occurred to him to translate any book of the Holy Scriptures, for his method of converting the heathen, and his method of guiding a Christian Church, did not require it; in fact, would not have survived the contact with a knowledge of Scripture; and the same may be said of the Jesuits in Paraguay, in South America, and on the Congo in Africa, the founders of the Papist establishments in China, and the missionaries of the Romish Church at the present moment, belonging to any one of the great Congregations, labouring in any part of the world, among tribes and nations of any stage of intellectual culture. Not one of them (except the Jesuits at Beirút, who, under the pressure of the Protestant competition, have put forth an excellent, though costly, Arabic Bible) has ever taken their converts to the pure fountain of Christian truth, but substituted cunningly-devised fables of legends of the Virgin Mary and so-called saints. More than that, they are the avowed enemies of Bible-circulation by Protestant agency.

In all, at the close of the second period, there were, as far as can be traced, inclusive of the inspired Hebrew and Greek, fifty-six versions in existence, many of them dead, and used only for liturgical purposes, most of them incorrect, and requiring careful comparison with the Hebrew and Greek texts, and all very insufficiently distributed. Many nominal Christians, and

some real ones, passed through life without ever seeing a Bible. In England a large Bible was fastened by a chain to a lectern in some churches, but was not legible, nor was opportunity given to read it. Bible-possession was rare; Bible-study, in the proper sense of that word, rarer. A deadness had fallen over the Protestant Churches. There may have been some who desired, but few had the opportunity. At length, at the close of the eighteenth century, the missionary spirit burst into existence, reacting upon the home Churches; and a missionary spirit is based on the Bible, a Bible understood by the people; to be read; to be prayed over; to be thumbed by old folks; to be lisped by little children; to be spelt out by imperfectly-educated men and women; to be read and explained in churches, chapels, and Sunday-schools; to be whispered into dying ears; to be handed down with pencil-marks and annotations from parents to children.

The want was felt: nobody knew exactly how to supply it. Some effort must be made to accomplish a great work, which had been the desire of so many generations. Who would apply the spark to the train? It came about in an unexpected way. Great rivers spring from tiny fountains. The story reads like a myth of the Middle Ages; like the lying legend of Lourdes in South France it centres round a peasant girl. God's lessons can be taught by the agency of poor human creatures: there is no occasion under the Christian dispensation for visions of angels, or beatified erring mortals. A little Welsh girl had been in the habit of walking two miles every Saturday to prepare her Sunday-school lesson from the only Bible in the neighbourhood: with the savings of six years, in A.D. 1800 she walked twenty-five miles to purchase a Bible of Mr. Charles, of Bala, who received an annual small consignment from a local Bible-Association. She burst into tears and buried her face in her hands, when she heard that every copy was already appropriated. The minister was greatly moved at the sight, and gave her a copy from his own shelves, which copy is now in the Bible House in London, and respected as its very foundation-stone. In 1802 Mr Charles went to London to try and found a Welsh Bible Society, but the matter had got beyond his power, as well as his dreams, and in 1804 was founded in London a Bible Society to supply the World, and the example was followed in New York and Edinburgh, and their branches and dépôts have spread over the World. From the little acorn has sprung up a vast tree, which overshadows the globe. All other Bible-Societies are local affairs.

Since that date a great crop of new translations in the different languages of the world has sprung up. Mission-stations were planted by the different Churches, and translations sent home to

we printed. Copies were sent back in thousands to be sold below cost-price, to be used in the school, in the family, and the humble home, and to be the rule of the new life.

I now ask each boy present to accept from me a present of a specimen book, or sheet, of one single verse of the Gospel of John, in a great many, though not the whole, of these versions. I place on the shelves of the school-library a selection of versions taken at random from the store of every portion of the world. I am able to tell you in detail, where each language is spoken, and to what family of languages it belongs; what is the state of culture of the people who read it, what written character is used for the printing, and the name of the missionary or scholar who made the translation, or can make use of it; so far I can, but no living man can pretend to say, that he himself knows more than twenty out of the three hundred and thirty-one (331) varieties, and perhaps not that number; yet the knowledge of each language is by certain specific persons as certain and accurate as the knowledge of Latin and Greek possessed by the Newcastle Scholar of the year. The versions, when printed, are brought into the immediate use of the pastors, schoolmasters, and the women and children of the nation or tribe, for whose use they are prepared; they are not composed to be put away as a *tour de force* on the shelf of a library. Revision goes on with every new edition, and the scholarship of the greatest scholars of Europe and America is challenged to point out defects. Now, if any Eton boy present can point out any error of the rendering of the Greek in the specimens, which he holds in his hands, of the Fiji, or Tahiti, or Swahili, or Zulu, or Mohawk, or Tèlugu, or Mandarin, or Japan, I shall feel much obliged, if he will stand up and point it out, and I will get it corrected in the next edition. This is the challenge, which we give to the critic, or the doubter, or the unbeliever, quite fearless of the result, for we work in good faith.

No one part of the world is more attended to than the rest. The sun never sets on the work of the Bible-Societies; their publications are being read in different quarters at every hour of the day. Many of the translators were simple, unscientific men, but they did their work well. Very often they had no help from dictionary or grammar, for nothing of the kind existed. Eton boys can realize what it is to write an exercise without such assistance. Some required one kind of written character, some another; some were rendered in two or more to suit the requirements of the people. Art and Science have been the handmaids of the inspired Revelation.

A word about the languages of the world. There are more than two thousand mutually unintelligible spoken at this moment; but the great languages, like the English, tread down the small

ones, and languages die like the people who spoke them. King Xerxes, who was defeated at Salamis, as you all know, and who was the husband of Queen Esther, issued orders to the 127 provinces of his kingdom, according to the writing thereof, and to every people after their language. All have perished except two, Greek and Hebrew, for they both had become the receptacle of God's Word. Versions are made in dialects, where it is necessary, and in some rare cases in a jargon, for the use of Jews, or Negroes.

Europe is pretty well supplied, and the wants of the tribes who speak the smaller and less well-known languages have been attended to. In Asia great progress has been made, especially in British India; translations have been made in scores of languages, and are diligently distributed. A great work has been done in China: people used to think that there was only one language for all the inhabitants of that great Empire, but the mistake has been found out. The Book-language is intelligible to *the eyes* of all the educated, but each reader has to express himself in his own vernacular, as the translation is expressed in ideograms, which speak to the eye only, and so far resemble the figures in arithmetic, which each nation calls by a different name. Many other translations have been made in the language of the educated classes, and the different provincial colloquials, some in ideograms, and some in the Roman alphabet.

In Africa and Oceania a great work has been done, and much more is being done; the whole Bible is now to be purchased for a small sum in scores of languages, the very names of which were unknown at the beginning of this century; and they are valued above all things by the people, who gladly pay all the cost. Most of these languages are melodious, and capable of expressing every idea: all the stories about *savage* languages have been disproved. Every language of the world can be tuned to sing the same great Psalm of Salvation.

Passing into America, we find the same necessity for, and the same power of giving, the Bible, but strangely different is the vehicle of speech: while in China every word is a monosyllable, in America the word seems to disappear, and the unit of speech is a sentence, a compact expression in many syllables. It is asserted that the word "kneel" can only be expressed in eleven syllables. To record such intolerably long sentence-words a syllabary, consisting of a united consonant and vowel, has been composed, so as to shorten the inordinate length in printing; and I leave in your library specimens of this remarkable and ingenious device to bring a knowledge of the Gospel home to the Red Indians, though I doubt the expediency of retracing our steps in the path of Civilization, and going back from the perfection of alphabets to the unscientific conception of Syllabaries.

I recall to your recollection the lines of dear old Horatius Flaccus, who was fond of airing his geographical knowledge, which was not more accurate than that of the author of the Acts of the Apostles, who tells us that there were devout men at Jerusalem from *every nation under heaven* (*ἀπὸ παντὸς ἔθνους τῶν ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ*), but his enumeration of them reveals a very limited area. So Horatius Flaccus tells us in his own pretty way of the unlimited diffusion which he anticipates for his charming odes:

Jam Daedaleo ocior Icaro
Visam gementis litora Bospori,
Syrtesque Gaetulas canorus
Alca, Hyperboreosque campos.
Me Colchus, et qui dissimulat metum
Marsae cohortis Dacus, et ultimi
Noscent Geloni, me peritus
Disceet Iber Rhodanique potor.

And again :

Visam Britannos hospitibus feros,
Et laetum equino sanguine Concanum.
Visam pharetratos Gelonos
Et Scythicum inviolatus amnem.

How true is this, though magnified a hundredfold, of the books, or rather the one Book, issued by the Bible Society! It finds its way to "Urbesque, gentesque, et Latium ferox," well called "ferox," for no such antagonist to the Bible has been found, both in deed and spirit, as the Latin Church.

I have told you of the past; let us look forward to the future of the Bible Societies. Dear boys, you are the heirs of all the ages, the "enfants terribles" of the next half-century, the

"—juvenum recens
"Examen, Eois timendum
"Partibus, Oceanoque rubro."

To your generation will be committed the duty to carry out to completion the work left undone by the men of the time of Victoria, who came to the throne, while I was an Eton boy. Let me appeal to you, in the names of old Etonians, whose glory you have to emulate. You recollect that grand passage of Demosthenes' "De Corona"? We had it, if I recollect right, when Mr. W. E. Gladstone and his brother-in-law, Lord Lyttelton, came down in 1840 to be the examiners for the Newcastle Scholarship, and I and Bishop Mackarness were in the Select; and a few years back I reminded Mr. Gladstone of the honour conferred upon me by his hands, doubly an honour when conferred by him, much as I differ from him in politics at the present moment:

Μὰ τοῦτ' Μαραθῶνι προκινδύσανται τῶν προγόνων, καὶ τοὺς ἐν Πλαταιαῖς παραταξάμενοι, καὶ τοὺς ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχήσανται.

I will tell you how this applies. Fifty years ago, moving about in our midst, were two figures, one that of a young man, who was

a private tutor, and one a boy, just such a boy as each of you are (perhaps I may have fagged him to fetch a book or carry a letter); but the names of those two are now mentioned with love and honour and fond regret, wherever the English language is spoken: George Augustus Selywn and Coleridge Patteson.

Selwyn preached in the Maori language within a few weeks after his arrival in New Zealand. Some Bishops occupy their dioceses for decades, and are dumb dogs to the end of their days. The Bi'le in Maori was revised, and Bishop Selwyn the second, and his widowed mother, aided in the revision. Coleridge Patteson exhausted linguistic worlds, and then invented (in the proper sense of "invenio") new. From island to island in the New Hebrides he took the Gospel of Salvation as a new idea, and he left it embedded in the language, habits, and hearts of the wild tribes, for whom he gave up his life. Had he lived longer, he would have left more ample memorials of his genius and his devotion, but his mode of life and death has left you all a great example. You remember, boys, the Greek monumental inscription on those, who fell at Platæa, and which I saw a few years ago in the Museum at Athens. Let me apply it to you: "Go, boys, do as these did, and fall as this one fell." England and Eton must be foremost in arts and arms, in the battle-field and the playing-ground, on the river and on the sea, in the lecture-room of the scholar and the mission-chapel of the missionary, in the speeches of the orator and the printed books of the author:

Αἰὲν ἀριστεύειν, καὶ ὑπείροχον ἔρμεναι ἄλλων.

The office of a translator is a noble one. Over the grave of one it is recorded, that he translated the whole Bible into a language the existence of which was unknown before his arrival on the spot. When the Lord cometh, and maketh a reckoning with His servants, such as he will have a good account to render of the talents committed to their charge.

And, finally, a good knowledge of Latin and Greek (as taught at Eton in my day, and in my case flogged into me, and still taught under Dr. Warre) is a *κτῆμα ἐς ἀεί*, the best mental gymnastics in the world. It is taught scientifically now, but in my days the science of comparative grammar had not become known. I remember Henry Hallam, the author of "The Middle Ages," asking me in 1842, at Cambridge, whether it were true, that the Sanskrit language, which I had studied, resembled the Greek and Latin in its structure and word-store. My reply was that in Sanskrit alone was found the secret of the inflections of the verbs and nouns of her younger sister-languages. All this is in the Public School Primer now, and every schoolboy knows what a stem, and a root, and a suffix are. But Dr. Keate cared for none of such things, and probably would have flogged any boy, who suggested such nonsense.

I repeat that a scientific grounding in an Indo-European language forms a sound platform for further study. If Hebrew could be added, as a representative of Semitic languages, so much the better; but every language evoked by the genius of man, in spite of all its multiform varieties, must have a method of expressing the object, the predicate, and the subject, must have elementary roots and some method of modifying them so as to express the meaning of the speaker; it must have a sound-lore, word-lore, and sentence-lore.

The Bible is meant to be the faithful witness of past times, the solemn teacher of the Church in all times, the fountain of inexhaustible truth, the awakener of souls from a fatal slumber, the still small warning voice to the sinner to repent from his ways; it is not meant to be the subject of a merely mechanical, musical, system of chants and anthems and antiphons, sung or muttered or intoned by non-spiritual hirelings; it is not meant to be the school-book of non-Christian children, the mere shibboleth of the conventional worshipper, the *corpus vile* of the ingenious philologist, ethnologist, geologist, or historiologist. No Christian Church has ever existed without some rudimentary translation. The eunuch of Kandáké, as he sat in his chariot reading his chapter of Isaiah, understood the literal meaning of the words, as he had either a copy of the Septuagint, or an Aramaic Targam, in his hands, but understood not the application and the hidden meaning until Philip, taught by the Spirit, explained it. There is no trace of the existence of a Church, however small, without a trace of a vernacular version, and this version has not been the result of a Canon of the Church, but of the voluntary exertions of each Church.

Many non-Christians have been converted by Bible-reading, unaided by oral instruction. In all ages and countries there has been a desire, a desire not always realized, to communicate the Bible to others. It is mere folly to urge at this period of our knowledge of the languages of the world, and the intellectual aptitude of barbarous races, that the contents of the Bible cannot with care and precision be conveyed to every nation or tribe or language under the sun, so as to be understood by men, women, and children. For two thousand years, since the Septuagint was taken in hand, one stream of solemn music has been sung in the multiform voice of the human race to the honour of the Great Redeemer,

Πόλλαι μὲν Θνήτοις γλῶσσαι, μία δ' ἀθάνατοῖσι,

telling the same story in fresh combinations of syllables, fresh blending of sounds, fresh scratchings of the pen, fresh impressions upon the human soul.

VERSIONS EXISTING PREVIOUS TO THE CLOSE OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

PRE-REFORMATION PERIOD.

EUROPE.

- English.
Anglo-Saxon (dead).
Old-Engl. (dead).
Flemish.
5 German.
Bohemian.
Provençal
Gothic (dead).
Latin (dead).
10 Greek.
Slavonic (dead).

ASIA.

- Hebrew (dead).
Aramaic (dead).
Samaritan (dead).
15 Syriac (dead).
Armenian (dead).
Georgian (dead).
Arabic.
Persian.

AFRICA.

- 20 Koptic (3 dialects) (dead).
Ethiopic (dead)

POST-REFORMATION PERIOD.

EUROPE.

- Welsh.
Gaelic.
Erse.
Manx.
5 French.
Basque.
Spanish.
Portuguese.
Old Norse or Icelandic.
10 Norwégo-Danish.
Swedish.
Lapp.
Dutch.
Finn.
15 Russ.
Rouman.
Lithu.
Pole.
Wend (2 dialects).
20 Osmánli Turki.
Magyar
Italian.
Romansch.
Lett.
25 Karniola (or Slovén).
Ehst (Reval dialect).
Nogai (Krim dialect).

ASIA.

- Sinháli.
Malay.
30 Tanil.
Formosa (dead).

AMERICA.

- 32 New England (dead).

ABSTRACT.

PRE-REFORMATION :

Languages	...	21	—	...
Dialects	...	2	—	23
Total	...	...	...	56

POST-REFORMATION :

Languages	...	32	—	...
Dialects	...	1	—	33

P.S.—I must record my obligation to the Rev. Prebendary Edmonds, of High Bray, Devon, for the advantage gained by the perusal of his published addresses on this subject in Exeter Hall, and his sermon in Exeter Cathedral in 1888, and his kind letter of suggestions. He was with great propriety selected to give the address at Eton. At the last moment the date was altered, and his services were required elsewhere. I was called upon unworthily to fill his place, for which I have only one special qualification (so far, superior to his), that I am an Etonian, sprung of a race, which for seven generations of men have known, and desire to know, no other public school but Eton, and this fact is recorded in my family-stall in Eton Chapel.

CHAPTER II.—LATIN TRANSLATIONS OF THE BIBLE.

There can be no question that for a considerable period the Christian Church was a Greek-speaking Church. The Septuagint had quite superseded, in the estimation of the men of that period, the Hebrew original text. The New Testament was entirely in Greek; in the Churches of Alexandria, Corinth and Antioch, Greek was the vernacular, and even at Rome there were sections of the community which spoke Greek. It is noteworthy, that the works of the great Stoic philosophers, Epictetus and the Emperor Marcus Aurelius, have come down to us in the Greek language, notwithstanding that Cicero had shown that the refined Latin of the pre-Augustan age presented a sufficient vehicle for philosophic inquiry. The oldest non-Hellenic version was not the Latin, but the Peshito Syriac, a loving return of the Scriptures to a kindred dialect of the old Aramaic and Hebrew. No one, however, can read the Greek Testament without feeling, that the penumbra of a Latin superior power overshadows it, just as in the modern literature of India the presence of English is felt in the ideas, the phraseology, and the word-store. Such words as "sicarius," "Prætorium," "membrána," "census," "Cæsar," "Colonia," "Niger," "Gaza," "libertinus," strike the reader in the same manner as an English expression in a Hindustáni document. The current coins bore Latin names and Latin characters; one of the inscriptions on the Cross was in Latin. Still, even in the distant Church of Gaul, so far removed from direct Hellenic influences, where the people spoke a barbarous vernacular, Greek was for some period the recognized language of Christian authority; in Rome the literary use of Greek extended into the third century, and in the early days of the Roman Church Greek was the language of public worship.

Here let us stand aside for a moment and reflect upon another aspect of the Divine plan; the period, the locality, the environment of the great drama of man's Salvation were unique in the

history, the geography, and the ethnology, of the world; no such a favourable conjunction of place and opportunity for a world-wide revelation had occurred before or since the Christian era, and I proceed to show, how in the fulness of time a suitable vehicle, not always the same, was, as it were, prepared beforehand to safeguard the oral Message. In all false religions the founder from his own narrow human point of view thought only of his own time, his own people, and their peculiar surroundings; his blinded followers worshipped the letter of their master's writings, and allowed of no vernacular translations, and so the oral word became shrouded and withdrawn from the human intelligence of generations yet to be born, using languages which had not yet come into existence, or which had not been reduced to literary requirements; the Message was thus darkened by the overlaying of antique and obsolete words and customs, instead of being capable of adaptation to the requirements of every age, every clime, every grade of civilization.

Now a doubt has been expressed whether the red, black, yellow, and white, man can have possibly descended from one primæval pair, and have become differentiated in the colour of their skin and shape of their skull, in the course of ages, from causes of which we have no knowledge, and in a manner, which has never recurred in the long period of recorded history. I pass no opinion on this subject beyond recording the fact, that the existing races of mankind, however differing in minor features, resemble each other physically and intellectually more than they resemble any other species of animal. But there can be no doubt whatever, that languages did *not* spring from the same seed-plot. There has been no continuous descent of languages even in historic times; they differ from each other so considerably in structure and word-store, as to render the theory of their being descended from a common stock quite untenable. Some have thrown out the idea, that man was created without the power of uttering articulate speech; that there existed in early times an animal, scientifically described as *ἄλλος ἀνὴρ*; after the dispersion of mankind in many countries the power of utterance was developed by their organs under different circumstances, and presented different phenomena. Now in no ancient document do we find such early allusions to the existence of differentiations of speech as in the Old Testament. We become aware of the existence of the Egyptian, Assyrian, and Babylonian languages, and of other less important dialects. All the nonsense of Hebrew having been spoken in the Garden of Eden, or before the Flood, or in Mesopotamia before the call of Abraham, has been swept away; up to the time of the Jewish Captivity the Egyptian, Assyrian, and Babylonian languages had had a long innings, and had played their game out. Egyptian might have been the language of the older Hebrews after their long sojourn in Egypt, and Babylonian might have been the language of the later Hebrews

after their shorter sojourn in Babylon: they were both literary languages, and documents in their particular form of words and method of writing have come down to our time; but they were not chosen to be the vehicle of conveying the oracles of God, and centuries have passed since they both became dead and extinct. But during the Captivity in Babylon the Jews came into contact with two other languages, the Median and the Persian; both are known to us, the former only by the inscription of Darius' tablets of Behistún, the latter by a vast literature and a living vernacular, one of the simplest and most beautiful in the world: but neither was selected for God's purposes. The Hebrew form of speech, which had lasted more than one thousand years, from the time of the sojourn in Egypt to the Captivity in Babylon, had died as a living speech, and in fact never was a sufficient vehicle for logical thought; still less so was the Aramaic vernacular, which succeeded it, and which had the peculiar honour of being the vehicle of the oral teachings of our Lord and His Apostles.

I write advisedly, that the Hebrew never was a sufficient vehicle for logical thought; as a rule, the Semitic languages are more simple, childlike, and primitive than the Arian: Emanuel Deutsch, himself a Hebrew, and a great scholar, too early lost to the world, thus expresses himself:

"Philosophy and speculation are not easily expressed in a language bereft of all syntactic structure, and of the infinite variety of little words, which ready for any emergency, like so many small living links, imperceptibly bind word to word, phrase to phrase, period to period; which are the life and soul of what is called 'construction': there is no distinction betwixt the Perfect and Future Tenses in Hebrew. There is indeed, in spite of all these shortcomings, a strength, a boldness, a picturesqueness, a delicacy of feeling, and expression in Semitic languages, but it cannot be compared with the suppleness of Arian languages, and that boundless supply of words, that enable them to produce the most telling combinations, their exquisitely consummate, and refined syntactical development, that can change, and shift, and alter the position of words and phrases, and sentences, and periods, to almost any place, so as to give force to any part of their speech."

The epoch of the Captivity was a remarkable one in the history of the world. Cyrus, or Kai Khusru, had appeared as the representative of the so-called Arian race; before him and his successors fell the empire of the Semites in Mesopotamia, and of the Hamites in Egypt. There was a birth of great spiritual leaders at that time all over the world: Jerusalem was taken by Nebuchadnezzar, 586 B.C.; Pythagoras flourished, 580 B.C.; Buddha, 580 B.C.; Kung-futz-zee, or Confucius, 550 B.C. The later Hebrew prophets were pronouncing the decay of Israel,

and looking forward into a mysterious and to them and their contemporaries unintelligible future. The domination of the races who spoke Arian languages commenced, when Cyrus the Persian appeared, followed by the Greeks and Latins, and law has since been given to the world in an Arian language, with the short interlude of a Semitic revival in the early Mahometan rule. On the other hand, the dominating cosmopolite religions of the world, the Christian and Mahometan, have been, and ever will remain, essentially Semitic; and there seems no possibility of any change, except a return to the blank atheism of Buddhism and Confucianism, or the development of a scientific agnosticism, or a hopeless, despairing atheism: the former seems improbable, the latter sadly probable.

The time, predestined from the commencement of the world, had come for the throwing down of the barrier betwixt the Jew and the Gentile, and for the manifestation of God, as the Father of all His poor children, and not only of one favoured race, to whom up to this time His oracles had been entrusted. The civilization of the nations who dwelt on the shores of the Middle Sea of the Western World (for the Eastern World of India and China sat apart, until last century, in darkness) had been prepared; and there was a preparation also of the Roman polity, the Greek philosophy, and the Phœnician written character in its three great developments, Hebrew, Greek, and Roman. The Hebrew language might have been sufficient for the spiritual and intellectual wants of one insignificant nation; the lordly languages of Greece and Rome were required for the teaching of races in a higher civilization, and the illumination of the countries west of the Volga and the Euphrates for all time. The Greek language had gone through the great curriculum of poetry, the drama, the schools of philosophy, and the political debates in the Agora. When Alexander the Great defeated Darius at Arbela, Greek had already, in the hands of Plato and Aristotle, been fashioned into a great logical machine, and had become ripe for the reception of the Divine oracles, which had become too vast to be any longer contained in the imperfect receptacle of the vowelless and the grammatically undeveloped Hebrew. The alphabet of the Greek nations was strong in all the details where the Hebrew failed. Here we see the marvellous wisdom of God watching over the preservation of His Word. When the Jews came back from Babylon, they left in that city a large colony, who were in possession of the books of Moses, the poetical books, and some of the prophetic, thus anticipating and guarding against the attacks, which after-ages would bring against the honesty of Ezra, who is charged with crediting Moses with utterances which he never uttered. The rival sect of the Samaritans seem to have been maintained in a profitless existence merely to be additional

witnesses of the genuineness of the Pentateuch, preserved in a different dialect and written character down to our days. To anticipate falsification on the part of the Pharisees and Sadducees of the time of our Lord, the Septuagint translation into Greek had come into existence 150 B.C., the first instance on record of a translation of a large volume from one language into a totally different one. As far as we can judge, the Old Testament is the unique specimen of the Hebrew language of that period. There were few, if any, Gentile Hebrew scholars before the time of Jerome. Greek became the vehicle of the translation of the Old Testament, and supplied the original text of the New. Many Romans studied, and were acquainted with the Greek literature, and there was no need of Latin translations; on the other hand, no one seems to have cared to make translations of the ample stores of Egyptian literature, such as the "Book of the Dead," or of the accumulated learning of the Assyrian, Babylonian, and still more ancient Accadian, libraries. No Greek translations have come down to us of the inscriptions, or literature, of the Cypriote, Hittite, Lycian, and many other minor languages. The Hebrew Old Testament, being at this early period enshrined in Greek, and entrusted to nations who knew no Hebrew, has been thus preserved, so that no one could possibly add to or take from its text, or impugn its genuineness.

The word Greek, as used in the New Testament, no more exclusively means a person, who speaks, or a person who spoke, the Greek language, than the word "Feringhi" in Asia means a "Frenchman." Paul says, "There is no distinction between Jew and Greek:" this means betwixt Jew and Gentile, or, as a Hindu would express it, "between a Hindu and a Mletcha;" and as a Mahometan would express it "between a Mahometan and a Káfir." John in his Gospel mentions that some Greeks desired to see Jesus: these were not Jews, who spoke Greek, of which there were some in Palestine, but *bond fide* Gentiles.

But as time went on a second vehicle of speech was required, and was found in the Latin. The Greek language was destined to be childless, to give birth to no great families of new languages, as its two sisters, the Sanskrit and Latin, have done; never entirely dying as a vernacular, for many centuries the Greek was under a cloud, and had ceased to be a vehicle of literature. On the other hand, the Latin language, which differed from it in so much, and yet resembled it in so much more, was selected for a more remarkable destiny, and, as we shall see, for a long period became the faithful depository of the Word of God, guarded, however, from fabrications by the existence of the Greek and several early Asiatic and African versions, and, as regards the Old Testament, by the jealous care of the Jews of their Hebrew text.

Let us pause and thank God. The Roman Catholic Church might have been tempted in the hour of its dogmatic pride, amidst the dense ignorance of the mediæval laity, to alter the Sacred Text; but, bearing in mind the early translations in Syriac, Koptic, Abyssinian, Armenian, Georgian, hid away in unknown regions, and forgotten corners in the heart of Mahometan countries, they dared not. The Greek Church, in its madness for disputation, might have done the same; but the separation of the Latin Church prevented them. The Jews, at the time of our Lord the custodians of the Hebrew text, might have desired to rid themselves of the Messianic prophecies; but the Septuagint stood in their way. The Samaritan Pentateuch was an unwilling testimony to the accuracy of the Hebrew Synagogue rolls. At the time of the return from the Captivity, if Ezra had wished to manipulate the Scriptures to suit the views of the priestly party, how could he have induced the remnant of Israel left at Babylon, who had ceased to care for Canaan and Sion, the Jews scattered like Tobit at Rages and Ekbatana in Media, to fall into his views and alter their MSS. also? The Holy Spirit made use of language as a watchful sentinel on the text of the Scriptures, more faithful and powerful, because the nature of the safeguard was less understood. Manuscripts in uncial and cursive characters of different dates and styles, endorsed on varying material, distinguishable by idiosyncrasies of copyists and prejudices of rival Churches, have survived in scores to testify in these last days to the essential genuineness of the Word, which has come down to us.

Of the old Latin Version little is known with certainty, except that it existed. It is first heard of in the Churches of Africa, before the time of Tertullian; but in the hands of unskilled transcribers it became so changed, that it is uncertain whether there was one leading translation or several distinct versions. Jerome alludes to variations in copies, but Augustine tells us, that the "Itala" is to be preferred to other versions. Manuscripts of the old Latin are in general terms called copies of the *Vetus Itala*; but it cannot be precisely defined, for it is only mentioned by Augustine, and by him only once. Such as exist are of no practical value; but we must always think of these pre-Vulgate versions with tender love, for men and women, notably Perpetua and Felicitas, names to be *perpetually* and *happily* remembered, gave up their lives rather than sacrifice their copies of the Scriptures, thanking God that they were counted worthy to suffer for His Name. Felicitas was a young wife, and was seized with the pangs of labour in the dungeon. When the gaoler heard her groans, he asked her how she would bear on the morrow the agony of being thrown to wild beasts, when she groaned so much under the ordinary trials of women? Her noble reply should live for ever; true nobility is born of tribulation: "It is only I that am

suffering *now* ; but *then* there will be Another with me, Who will suffer for me, because I also shall be suffering for Him."

It cannot be said, that the *Vetus Latina Africana* was written in vain, and passed away from the lips and eyes of men without leaving some happy names entered in the Book of Life. Later on, in the time of the persecutions of Diocletian, the Bishop of a town near Carthage was called upon to surrender his copy of the old version. He replied, "Better it is that I should be burned than the Scriptures of God," and he suffered death. These things happened for our learning and the strengthening of the hearts of generations to come, and not in vain. We find their echo in the bold words of John of Gaunt, the protector of Wycliffe from a more deadly enemy than the pagan Roman, viz. the Roman Papist : "We will not be the dregs of all, seeing that other nations have the Law of God written in their own language." We find these words interpreted into acts by the Protestant martyrs, who fell two hundred years later in England, going to the stake with the Bible tied round their necks, and in these last days by the young uncivilized, unlearned, weak Christians of the Churches in Madagascar, who would not surrender their Bibles to Giant Pagan ; and later on, even to the time while we are writing, by the nascent Church of Christ in the Society Islands in Oceania, who will not give up their Bible in their own language at the bidding of Giant Pope, only because these islands have passed under the sovereignty of France.

The necessity had arisen for a new and authorized version of the Old Testament in Latin : there was, perhaps, a spark of rivalry in the movement. The Emperor Constantine had legalized Christianity, but he had migrated from Rome to Constantinople, and Greek had again become the vehicle of empire. The New Testament existed in the original inspired Greek, and the Old Testament in the Septuagint, with the authority of a usage of five hundred years, which gave it the weight of inspiration, though it was not alone in the Greek field, as is evidenced by Origen's Hexapla. Damasus, Bishop of Rome in the year A.D. 381, felt the difficult position of the Roman Churches and the danger of unsettled and varying Latin translations, and looked round for a man of learning, industrious, pious, free from heretical bias, yet possessed of critical acumen. Such a man was found in Hieronymus, better known as Jerome, who, after the Apostles, rendered the greatest service to the Western Church that it was possible for man to render. He was born in Dalmatia about A.D. 340, and was old enough to study grammar in A.D. 353, when the last sigh of expiring paganism was breathed by the noble but mistaken Emperor Julian : "Galilean, you have conquered." His parents were orthodox Christians, so he had no hard struggle of conversion to pass through. He finished his education at Rome : it is recorded that he attended

lectures of the Neo-Platonic School, and expended his Sundays in deciphering the inscriptions in the catacombs. He was a great scholar, and a great traveller in Gaul, Germany, Dalmatia, Greece, Asia Minor, and Syria. A serious illness had brought him to God, and he consecrated his talents to the translation of the Scriptures. In the island of Eubœa he adopted the life of a hermit, copying manuscripts and learning Hebrew. He then went to Constantinople to make himself a master of Greek. No such scholar as Jerome appeared until one thousand years later Erasmus was born, and closed the period of the reign of the Vulgate and opened a new era.

Jerome accepted the task imposed upon him by Bishop Damasus. No one was more aware than he was of the necessity of a careful revision of the Latin Bible. He began the work of collation of manuscripts at Rome, and in A.D. 385 he published a revised edition of the New Testament and the Psalms. When Bishop Damasus died, he left Rome and set out for the East. At Antioch he was joined by two Roman ladies, Paula and her daughter Eustochium, who both had learnt Hebrew. They were accompanied by a band of Roman women to found a nunnery in Palestine. Jerome made a tour of Palestine to satisfy himself on Scripture topography. He then went to Egypt to inspect the convent, still existing, in the Nitrian Desert. Here resided the debased, ignorant, and fanatic monks, who under the leadership of Cyril Bishop of Alexandria massacred the beautiful and unfortunate Hypatia, the last teacher of the Neo-Platonic School in Alexandria. Chrysostom was his contemporary at Antioch, and predeceased him, 407. Before he died Jerome heard that the eternal city had been taken and plundered in 410 by Alaric, King of the Goths. The end of the world must have seemed to be at hand. Nothing but the Word of God had any degree of permanence, but even before Jerome commenced his task Ulfilas had translated the New Testament from the Greek into the language of the Goths, as he died A.D. 381, and perhaps ~~may have~~ been comforted by a belief that the Word of God would be honoured when entrusted to the Teutonic race. In the preface to Ezekiel, he writes: "*Hæret vox, et singultus interrumpunt verba dictantis. Capitur Urbs, quæ totum cepit orbem:*"

"Urbs antiqua ruit, multos dominata per annos."

During all his wanderings his thoughts were fixed upon this one subject, and he took the opportunity of discussing moot passages with learned men when he met them; and we can hardly imagine how important this was at a period, when there was no accumulation of commentaries, and not the faintest development of a free press for discussion. On his return to Palestine Paula built four monasteries at Bethlehem, three for nuns and one for monks. Paula presided over the nunneries till she died in A.D. 404, and her daughter Eustochium succeeded her. Jerome lived to an advanced

age and survived both the ladies, and in one of his letters we read how poignant his grief was at their loss, for they were remarkable characters; and sustained him in his high endeavour and in his numerous conflicts, for he was a bitter controversialist, and at one time so provoked his antagonists, that he had to fly from the monastery over which he presided at Bethlehem and conceal himself for two years. He returned to Bethlehem in 418 and died in 420, aged 80 years. Jerome unhappily yielded to the strange fascination of the period of seeking by retirement into a hermitage to escape from the needed discipline of ordinary life; but in his letters to Paulinus he sternly rebukes the increasing folly of seeking sanctity by making pilgrimages: "Let them that say, 'the temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord,' listen to the words of the Apostle, 'Ye are the temple of the Lord, and the Holy Spirit dwelleth in thee'"; and the famous passage, "*Et de Jerosolomis, et de Britannia, æqualiter patet aula cœlestis.*" We thank the good old man for his prophetic utterance, for that country, of which Jerome had only heard vaguely as the Ultima Thule, was destined in the century after his death to be won to Christ, and, by God's grace upon the love of the British nation for the Bible, to become the centre of the evangelization of the world, carrying the Gospel in its own proper vernacular to regions which Cæsar never knew, and fulfilling the prophecy, "The isles shall obey Thy law."

Here he translated the Old Testament from the Hebrew original with the aid of Jewish scholars, who came to him secretly for fear of their co-religionists. The result of his labours at Rome was a revision of the New Testament, and at Bethlehem a new translation of the Old Testament from the Hebrew, viz. the famous Vulgate. No doubt the text became very corrupt in the Middle Ages, changes being made by copyists under the influence of older translations. It must be recollected, that Jerome had collected all existing early Latin translations of the New Testament, and the best Greek manuscripts. He separated the inspired books from other books, and struck out the Apocrypha as having no Hebrew original. It required no small nerve to accomplish his task: it was no small matter for Jerome to abandon the Greek text of the Old Testament, sometimes, though not always quoted by the Apostles and Evangelists in the New Testament and read in the Churches, and commented upon by the early Fathers. Augustine, Bishop of Hippo, a younger man, but a correspondent of Jerome, who had freed himself from Manichæism and Neo-Platonism, thought the experiment a dangerous one. He was informed by the great translator, that the Church had already abandoned the Septuagint, and used the text of Origen, which contains additions made by the Jews, Aquila, Theodotion, and Symmachus, because the Septuagint had gradually in the first centuries of the Church been degraded by mistakes and additions. The Jews had always had

their Hebrew originals to check the tide of growing errors, but the Christians had nothing to prevent glosses creeping in or phrases being manipulated. Origen's Hexapla had partially added to the sources of error, for, as few cared to copy the Hexapla *in toto*, they entered the variations gleaned from it in the margin of their own copies of the Septuagint with the usual result. To the stolid conservative, who prefers quiet error to emendations, which must cause anxiety, Cyprian's remark applies as well now as in his own time, "Custom without truth is the decrepitude of error." The Church of England of the nineteenth century has not much ground for throwing stones at the contemporaries of Jerome, as it still uses in the Prayer Book a version of the Psalms pronounced inaccurate by two companies of revisers at the interval of two centuries.

The favourite argument against Jerome's Vulgate was much of the same kind as is urged now: "It is better to adhere to false translation than disturb the peace of the Church and the foundations of faith." Church and faith so called were put against, and preferred before, eternal truth. "*Populus vult decipi, et decipiatur.*" Usage hallows errors. Only a few could see the importance of having access to the purest possible text, and the most accurate possible translation. Truth triumphed at last, and always will, and some of us may live to see the disuse of the Psalms in the Anglican Prayer Book. Gradually the Vulgate supplanted the old versions, many of which have bodily disappeared. Africa clung to the old version till the day of her opportunity had passed and her candlestick was removed. The Venerable Bede in the eighth century had adopted the Vulgate in England.

The influence, which the Vulgate exercised upon Western Christianity, is not less than that of the Septuagint on the Eastern Churches. Both versions have been in later times unjustly neglected and reviled, though the share which they took in preserving the Scriptures up to the age of the revival of learning in the fifteenth century can scarcely be overrated: they were the bulwarks of the Western and Eastern Churches for centuries. The Vulgate was for one thousand years the only Bible used, and the real parent of all the vernacular versions of Western Europe except the Gothic version of Ulphilas. From the point of language, it is interesting to record that the Vulgate held the fort until the magnificent crop of Neo-Arian languages in Western Europe was matured, and ready for the reception of the oracles of God. We have copies of the Vulgate in our libraries, with Saxon and Irish glosses written interlinearly, so that we know what manner of form of speech existed in Great Britain in the eighth and ninth centuries. Neither Bede's translation (A.D. 735) nor Wycliffe's (A.D. 1324-1384) were fit to be the conquering angels of the everlasting Gospel, which it was the happy lot of the English Bible of a few centuries later to become. God's wheels grind slowly, but very fine, and the fulness of time had to

be waited for in the use of languages. The Vulgate is also the source of our current theological terminology, and an important witness to the text and interpretation at the time of the translation. The words "Vulgata Editio" are synonymous with *κοινή ἐκδοσις* in Greek, and "current text" in English. As the monument of the power of a translator from a Semitic language into an Arian, at a period of linguistic knowledge, when few men knew both languages, the translation of the Old Testament is so far unique, that we have no other specimen that can be compared to it. The New Testament had indeed been translated from the Arian Greek into the Semitic Syriac by men of Antioch, who were bilinguists, living in the midst of a bilingual population. In the same manner the Hellenized Jews at Alexandria had translated their sacred books from their dead sacred language, which they had studied, into the Greek, which they spoke, at a much earlier date. But Jerome's work compares more closely with the labours of missionaries like Carey, and Morrison, and Eliot, and many others, who acquired a strange vernacular first, and then rendered a book from the dead languages into this new and unadapted vehicle of thought. But Jerome was still at a great disadvantage when compared with the modern translator, who always has on his table critical helps to assist him to the interpretation, linguistic helps in the way of grammars and dictionaries to bring out the meaning, and, lastly, his own English version standing as arbitrator betwixt the inspired originals and the imperfectly handled vernacular. Jerome had nothing.

The Vulgate was unduly venerated by the Church of Rome, and in consequence its value was unduly depreciated by the Protestants. It is a faithful translation, and sometimes (notably Rev. xxii. 14) exhibits the sense of the original with greater accuracy than our Authorized Version. Jerome had access to manuscripts older than any now existing, and supplies an approximation of readings now lost in the original. The work was completed before many of the theological controversies, which disgraced the second period of Christianity, came into existence. That the Council of Trent was madly foolish in giving to the Vulgate its Imprimatur, absolute and unconditional, cannot be doubted; but it is manifest that it was the only version, which a majority of Churches, which clung to Rome, would acknowledge at that time. As finally accepted, it differed from the original translation of Jerome, in that it included the Psalms of the old version, only revised by Jerome, and not translated from the Hebrew, and some apocryphal books, which Jerome did not include in his version at all. We must recollect the circumstances of the time, when we sit in judgment upon the leaders who led the Council of Trent on to its unwise and fatal decision. The Protestant Churches were tearing up all the landmarks of theology, as then received, by their new vernacular versions, and the inter-

pretation placed upon newly-revealed texts. The Church of Rome, had it been guided by the Holy Spirit, might have recognized the signs of the times, and employed scholars of repute, such as Erasmus, to revise the text, correct the translation, and bring the Vulgate up to the level of contemporary knowledge, as we have been doing in England with our Revised English Version. If the new text and translation destroyed some dogma based on error, so much the worse for the dogma. Throw it over the side of the ship. This meant reformation of errors, and the discontinuance of some of the favourite vices of the Church of Rome, celibacy of the priesthood, worship of images, doing penance, ritual in a foreign language, transubstantiation, purgatory, masses, etc., and the Church of Rome had become hopelessly hardened in her evil unscriptural system. Although the Latin language had in the natural course of time ceased to be understood by the laity, in its stupidity and blindness, and utterly mistaken view of the object and nature of true worship in spirit and truth, Rome clung to the mediæval conception of uniformity of usage and unity of worship, and refused to allow the vernaculars to approach the altar. *This is a sure test of a false religious conception.* The policy then adopted by Rome had been adopted long before by the Hindu, Buddhist, and Mahometan. In the dark hours of the Middle Ages there was no prohibition of glosses, or versions, or Scripture narratives for private edification, generally metrical, or artificially made up; but with the revival of learning and the Reformation, Rome became aware of the wide gulf between the Scripture and her practice. The Bible had become an instrument of righteous attack in the hands of her enemies. No inquiry was made whether the books included by usage in their Scriptures were inspired. It was blindly decreed that the Vulgate was the only Bible, the entire Vulgate, and nothing but the Vulgate. On that rock the Church of Rome must sooner or later be wrecked, for the letter kills, and the spirit gives life. "*Quem Deus vult perdere, prius dementat.*" At one time it was demanded by the Theological Faculty of Mayence that a total revision and correction of the Hebrew Old Testament should be made on the grounds that it differed from the Vulgate. The folly of the Roman Catholic Church could go no further than this: the attempt was not made. The Hebrew text still condemns the Vulgate.

Other versions of the Scripture appeared in Latin: 1. Erasmus published the New Testament 1516, at Basel, eleven hundred years after the death of Jerome. 2. Pagninus at Lyons in 1528. 3. Cardinal Cajetan in 1530. 4. Munster in 1534. 5. Leo Judeæ in 1534. 6. Castello in 1551. 7. Junius and Tremellius in 1575. 8. Malvenda in 1650. 9. Schmid in 1696. 10. Henbigaut in 1753. 11. Dathe in 1773. And others of a later date, and of a decreasing importance: in fact modern Latin translations are absolutely valueless.

None ever came in comparison with the Vulgate, or were of any practical value for the conversion of souls. Copies of the Vulgate spread over Western Europe, some prepared in the most costly manner, as may be seen in the treasure house or the library of many Roman Catholic foreign cathedrals or convents. In this lay the difficulty of substantially amending the text, as who was prepared to pay the vast expense of collating the copies scattered all over Europe, the hazard of offending all by the compilation of a new text, the difficulty of supplying the copies of the amended text, and the still greater difficulty of enforcing compliance with the order to use the text only? In A.D. 802, after a lapse of four centuries from the time of Jerome, the text had been revised by Alcuin, under the orders of Charlemagne. This helped to preserve its purity. In A.D. 1455 it was the first book printed and published. Although A.D. 1546 the Council of Trent declared, that the then existing Vulgate was the sole authorized version of the Bible, in 1589 a new edition appeared under the authority of Pope Sixtus V., and in 1592 this version was further revised by Pope Clement VIII. Two infallible Popes issued rival editions of the same inspired book; and thus the story of the Vulgate ends. Another incidental solid advantage accrued from its existence, that it proves the substantial identity of the Hebrew text used by Jerome and the Masoretic text in use to this day.

Whatever English Roman Catholic priests may say to the contrary, the desire of the Church of Rome has for many centuries been to hide the Scriptures from the eyes of the people. It is clear, that in early centuries the Latin Churches yearned for copies of the Scriptures in their own vernacular, and the Head of the Church of Rome took counsel to secure a revised text on a level with the learning and requirements of the age. Such is not the Roman policy now. As the chemist places his dangerous ingredients out of the reach of the public, and only supplies them under the prescription of the competent and authorized physician, so the Romish Priesthood, deeming the vernacular Bible dangerous, forbid it to the laity except under the conditions laid down by themselves. This is no new claim. I supply a catena of Papal dicta on the subject.

Gregory VII., Hildebrand, in 1080 A.D., replies to the Duke of Bohemia :

Non immerito sacram Scripturam Omnipotenti Deo placuisse quibuscumque locis esse occultam, ne, si ad liquidum cunctis pateret, forte vilesceret, et subjaceret despectui, aut pravè intellecta a mediocribus et in errorem induceret.

Gregory IX., in 1229 A.D., wrote :

Prohibemus, ne libros Veteris Testamenti aut Novi laici permittentur habere, nisi forte Psalterium, sed ne prætermittas libros habeant in vulgari lingua arctissime prohibemus.

In 1546 there follows the Council of Trent Rule VI., which I give in English :

Inasmuch as it is manifest from experience that, if the Holy Bible translated in the vulgar tongue be indiscriminately allowed to every one, the temerity of man will cause more evil than good to arise from it, it is on this point referred to the judgment of the Bishop, or inquisitor, who may by the advice of the priest-confessor permit the reading of the Bible translated into the vulgar tongue by Catholic authors, and this permission they must have in writing. But if any one should have the presumption to read, or possess it, without such written permission, he shall not receive absolution until he shall have first delivered up such Bible to the Ordinary. Any bookseller who shall sell, or otherwise dispose of, Bibles in the vulgar tongue to any person not having such permission, shall forfeit the value of the books, to be applied by the Bishop to some pious use, and be subjected to penalties.

Benedict XIV., 1757, somewhat relaxed this :

Quod si hujusmodi librorum versiones vulgari linguâ sint ab Apostolicâ sede approbatæ, aut editæ cum annotationibus desumptis ex sanctis Ecclesiæ patribus, vel ex doctis, Catholicisque viris conceduntur.

Finally, in the Rules of the Index we find :

Ad extremum omnibus fidelibus præcipitur, ne quis audeat contra harum regularum præscripta, aut hujus Indicis prohibitiones libros aliquos habere aut legere. Quod si quis libros hæreticorum vel scripta ob hæresiam, vel falsi dogmatis suspicionem damnata atque prohibita legerit sive habuerit, statim, in excommunicationis sententiam incurreret. Biblia sacra eorum (hæreticorum) operâ impressa, vel eorum annotationibus, argumentis, summariis, scholiis et indicibus aucta, sunt inclusa.

In 1713 Clement XI. issued the Bull "Unigenitus," and condemned Pasquier Quesnel's French translation of the Vulgate in such terms as finally to lay down unmistakably, *that the Scriptures were shut out from the people.*

In 1816, June 29th, Pius VII. denounced the British and Foreign Bible Society "as a crafty device, by which the foundations of Religion are undermined, and a defilement of the Faith most universally dangerous to souls. No version of the Bible in the vulgar tongue is to be permitted except as above stated."

The same Pope in 1816, September 3rd, prescribed that "if the Holy Bible in the vulgar tongue was permitted everywhere without discrimination, more injury than benefit would thence arise."

In 1824 Leo XII. issued an Encyclical letter, urging all his subordinates, by all means in their power, to keep the people from reading the Scriptures, and giving his sanction to the Bulls of his predecessors against the circulation and reading of the word of God, which *he calls the Gospel of the devil.* I quote his words :

You are not ignorant that the Bible Society is stalking through the world, which, condemning the tradition of the Fathers, and contrary to the Council of Trent, is lending all its strength, and by every means to translate the Bible in the vulgar language of all nations, or rather to *pervert it* ; whence it is greatly to be feared lest, as in some versions already known, so in others, by a perverse interpretation, instead of the Gospel of Christ, it should become the Gospel of man, or, what is worse, the Gospel of the devil.

In 1844 Gregory XVI. strongly enforced the Encyclical letter of Pius VIII. :

We confirm and renew the decrees delivered in former time by Apostolic Authority against the publication, distribution, reading, and possession of the Holy Scriptures translated in the vulgar tongue.

You are consequently enjoined to remove from the hands of the faithful the Bibles in the vulgar tongue, which may have been printed contrary to the decrees above mentioned.

All these decrees breathe a determined and unmitigated hatred to the Bible, and a desire to dishonour it in the eyes of the people, as it is placed in the same index with nauseous and obscene publications.

In 1840 the Bishop of Bruges, in Belgium, described the British and Foreign Bible Society as a "society hostile to God and the Holy Church. The Church holds heretical Bibles in abhorrence, "and utterly detests them."

In 1844, in the presence of Archbishop Hale, of Tuam, Ireland, a friar preached as follows :

Any person who practises the reading of the Bible will inevitably fall into everlasting damnation. Do not allow the Bible-readers near your homes ; do not speak to them ; when you meet put up your hands, and bless yourself, and pray to God and the Virgin Mary to keep you from *being contaminated by the poison of the Bible*. The worst of all pestilences, the infectious pestilence of the Bible, will entail on yourselves and children the everlasting ruin of your souls. Those who send their children to school where the Scriptures are read *give their children bound with chains to the devil*.

In 1849, Pius IX., the predecessor of the present Pope, addressed an Encyclical letter to the Bishops of Italy, in which he reiterates the condemnation of the Bible-Societies, and represents "the Bible, when translated into the vulgar tongue, and issued "without Catholic comments, as poisonous."

In 1864 appeared the Syllabus, in which Bible-Societies are placed in the same category with secret societies and Socialists.

Thus the holy work of good old Jerome, which had been commenced so auspiciously and lasted so long, has become the snare and curse of the Roman Church. Science advances, and the thoughts of men grow broader with the progress of the sun ; just when the Renaissance of Literature was bringing new light, the Council of Trent galvanized the poor Vulgate into a cast-iron reservoir of the errors of thirty generations of copyists, who were denied access for the purpose of periodical verification to the Greek or Latin or early Asiatic and African versions. A more sad mistake was never made. The folly of the Mahometans in not allowing the Koran in the Turkish language is as nothing to it ; in India, however, the Koran is appearing in the vernacular, and in diglott editions.

Gradually the Church of Rome allowed translations, with notes, to be made from the Vulgate into the vernaculars of Europe, and

the ubiquity of the agents of the Bible-Societies has compelled them to go forward. It may be accepted as a fact, until the contrary be proved, that no attempt was made deliberately to tamper with the text of the Vulgate by the Roman Church, nor, considering the wide spread of manuscript copies in libraries, convents, churches and private houses in every part of Europe, was it possible, as it had been used for centuries in independent countries, and by quasi-independent churches. According to all experience of manuscripts, secular or religious, corruptions come in the very process of transcription; the copyists of those ages had no conception of the fiduciary duty of their office; glosses and marginal notes were insensibly incorporated in the text of the new copy; corrections were made in the supposed interest of grammar and style, especially in parallel passages of the Gospels. When translations came to be made in the vernacular of particular Churches, as a general rule they were faithful renderings of the Vulgate, but not always. I have only to allude to the Bordeaux version in the French language made by the Jesuits in 1685 to cajole the French Protestants, who, by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, were at the mercy of their persecutors; copies of this book are rare, but still in existence. No doubt there is always the possibility of unscrupulous religionists, who place their Church and dogma above truth, attempting such shameless forgeries again, but exposure must soon follow.

In all the essentials of the Christian verities, and the saving truths of the Gospel of Christ, certain versions issued under the authority of the Church of Rome are sound; and this compels me to allude to a controversy, which is disturbing one tiny corner of the Evangelical section of the Protestant Churches of England at this moment. The priests of the Romish Church positively forbid the use by their flocks of the versions made in certain languages of Europe, French, Spanish, Portuguese, German, and Polish, and distributed by the British and Foreign Bible Society. That Society has no love for versions, which have the imprimatur of Romish bishops; but the value of a soul is not to be weighed in a human balance; and the possibility of bringing the Word of God into contact with the conscience of man is not to be limited by red-tape rules, and the great Bible Society of London, seeing that the Roman Catholic flocks are permitted by their bishops to purchase and possess certain authorized translations of the Bible, supply them, and they are greedily purchased, and greatly blessed in their use. I wish not to speak hardly of those, who would deny wholesome bread to starving Christians, because it is not of the finest flour, and who would let their children pine with hunger, because they are by the foolish rules of their family not permitted to partake of the pure unadulterated cocoa, which is the only diet which narrow-minded enthusiasts can tolerate. There is abundant

evidence of the blessings, which have attended the circulation of these Vulgate translations, and a strong protest from sincere Protestants would be evoked by any attempt arbitrarily to stop the supply: when they cease to be called for, the Society will cease to send them, and having done their work, they will drop out of circulation.

The inspired Word of God in the Hebrew and Greek has never, in its long course, been other than an unmixed blessing to mankind. Words are but coins to represent ideas, sentences are but capsules to enclose an opinion or statement. The inspired Word of God, always fresh, always clear, makes itself always intelligible to the prayerful spirit. I think poorly of the zeal or ability of any minister of the Gospel, who has not made himself familiar with the Hebrew and Greek. A translation is something essentially different. Let us take the highest instances, the Septuagint, the Vulgate, and our own Revised Version: the translators were honest, and learned up to the level of their epoch, but their renderings only express the eternal Word in the transitory conception of their own age and country, and general turn of thought. The intellect, which has coined the translation, the hand that engrosses it, is human, nothing but human; the language, which they use, is the vernacular of their age, and the danger is that a false halo will surround their errors, and a false sentiment be engendered to perpetuate the so-called eccentric beauties of the style, the majestic flow of the words, not reflected from the original. We see it painfully in our own beautiful, and flexible, and constantly changing form of speech. What right have we to cling to erroneous word-renderings and avowedly interpolated sentences (such as the last words of the Lord's Prayer, the words of Philip to the eunuch, and the heavenly witnesses) because we learnt them from the lips of our mothers? Let us go back more to the original texts, if we care more for rhythm, or beauty of expression, and be content with the matter contained in the translation, for the form of words used is only a transitory human conception; that which suited the time of Queen Elizabeth is antiquated in the time of Queen Victoria, but the matter contained is always the same, whether expressed in English, Arabic, Hindustani, or Maori. Translations are a necessity of the stream of time, and the ever-changing word-moulds of succeeding generations. We should have holy strength each century to free ourselves from the yoke of the linguistic interpretations of our ancestors, and bathe fresh and fresh in the river of crystal, the pure Word of God, as delivered to holy men of old, and handed down to us, and children still to be born, in their *ipsissima verba*.

And not only from the linguistic interpretation, but from the narrow interpretation of the meaning of the words. The writers of the Old Testament wrote with no knowledge beyond the horizon of the Jewish people; the translators of the Septuagint had an

Alexandrine bias with a possible admixture of Platonism. The Apostles and the Greek Fathers had their human intelligence restricted to the Shores of the Eastern Mediterranean. The Roman fathers could see nothing beyond the bounds of the decaying Roman Empire. We are in a fuller light with the inhabitants of the whole world, all equally the children of God, for all of whom Christ died, revealed to us and with a correcter text, and more accurate translations, are in a better position to arrive at a sounder judgment. We look with pity on the narrow views of the Procrustean bed of the Roman Church, and the crass ignorance of the weak Oriental Churches; and we cannot but feel that the power of elucidation of a text is now at a higher level. No one can have had the opportunity of following a text from the Hebrew to the Septuagint and the Vulgate, and thence to one or two of the cultivated vernaculars of Europe, and then extended his comparison to some of the many languages of India, and the great Semitic language of Arabic, without feeling that new lights are thrown upon the meaning of the inspired original, as each faithful translator struck his hammer on the anvil, which gave forth a different, and yet similar, sound. How much better is this than the commentary based on mediæval fallacies, repeating platitudes of previous generations, grasping no new aspects of the eternal truth. The Holy Spirit still dwells among men, vindicating the right of private judgment on a matter affecting individual salvation, after sufficient and prayerful reading and inquiry, and with a humble, undogmatic and chastised frame of mind, seeking illumination from the only quarter in which it is to be found, not infallibility, but a spiritual discernment, and harmony with the Spirit of God.

No one body of Christians, calling itself "The Church," can be allowed to stand betwixt the Word of God and the Covenant of Man, and to lay down dogmatically, that such and such must be the interpretation of a Scripture-Text, because centuries ago certain persons, less qualified to form an opinion than the men of this generation, said that it was so: nor can this generation pretend that the men of the next generation may not use the same liberty: it has been well put by an American association:

"The recognition of philological and historical laws as the sole human methods for discovering of the facts of the Word, from which facts alone the inductions and deductions are to be made. All other methods, such as *by tradition*, *by authority*, *by the moral sense*, by the ethical nature of man, by natural laws so called, by reason, by the Christian consciousness, by any mystical inner light, whether used as explanatory or as complementary, or both combined, are to be rejected as unscientific."

CHAPTER III.—FRENCH TRANSLATIONS OF THE BIBLE.

Finality in translation is not to be attained, at least, in this generation. Of the great European languages, not one has settled the form, in which the inspired text of the Hebrew and Greek is to be placed before the unlearned. English is still on the anvil. I received lately a prospectus of a proposed translation in the vulgar tongue, such as people ordinarily speak, and newspapers write. In Germany Luther's translation is undergoing revision. In Holland, Italy, Spain, and Portugal new translations are in progress. Considering how much hidden meaning is extracted from the original, which is not patent on the surface, it may probably end in a plurality of translations obtaining a currency, which, from one point of view, though not every point of view, is to be regretted. Other causes are at work. An edition of the English New Testament is threatened with distinct utterance on the Baptist question, and the words "John the Dipper" and "total immersion" will take the place of "Baptist" and "Baptism." In the French versions we have variation in the rendering of the word "priest" in the New Testament as applied to the officers of the Christian Church; "sacrificateur" in the one case, and "prêtre" in the other. This brings me back to the direct subject of my essay.

The French language is spoken in the greater part of France, in Belgium, in Switzerland, in a certain portion of Italy; in the Channel Islands, the Island of Mauritius, and a portion of Canada in the British Empire; in Louisiana of the United States, and in the French colonies in Asia, Africa, America, and Oceania, as part of their colonial system is to introduce the French language into schools.

As early as the twelfth century A.D. attempts were made in France to translate the Scriptures into the vernacular, and publish books of Scripture History. About 1530 A.D. a version of the entire Scriptures was published at Antwerp by Jacobus Faber, Stapulensis; this went through editions and reprints, and held its own. Other independent translations were made in Switzerland and France; but two superseded all the rest, and are used to this day. De Sacy and other Port Royalists made a new version of the New Testament from the Vulgate, and it was printed by the Elzevirs at Amsterdam, 1667 A.D. Being thrown into prison by the Jesuits, he translated the Old Testament in prison, and finished his work on the eve of his liberation, 1668 A.D. This was considered the most perfect version in the French language. In 1724 Ostervald revised the translation made at Geneva in 1588; he was a Lutheran pastor. Both of these last two, revised over and over again, are now circulated by the Society for

Promoting Christian Knowledge, and the British and Foreign Bible Society. De Sacy's version is preferred by Roman Catholics, and, I regret to say, is still circulated with a recommendatory Imprimatur of a French Archbishop, which, considering that the feeling of the Romish Church has been greatly altered on the subject, and that the version has been somewhat modified, is to be regretted. The Word of God requires no recommendation from priest or king, Church or Parliament. They exist through it; it will continue to exist long after they have passed away.

Neither of the versions in use gave entire satisfaction; far from it. Some objected to the version of De Sacy, because it was from the Vulgate, and inaccurately called a Roman Catholic translation; others objected to Ostervald because of the inferiority of its style. It is noteworthy that in the first verse of John's Gospel De Sacy uses the word "Verbe" for *Λόγος*, and Ostervald "Parole."

In 1873 Dr. Louis Segond published his entirely new translation of the whole Bible from Hebrew and Greek at Lausanne, in Switzerland. In the preface he gives in detail his reasons and his principles. The chief reason was, that the Geneva translation, which was the household treasure of the Swiss Churches, was not from the original texts, but from the Vulgate; that it had been repeatedly revised, but was still far from perfect; in fact, the same reason led him to make an entirely new translation, which had led Jerome centuries earlier to make his celebrated translation, known as the Vulgate. His principles of translation were exactness, clearness, and accuracy, with a good literary style and a religious turn of expression. If his translation upset any preconceived dogma, he could not help it; *so much the worse for the dogma*. A correct translation rests on a philological, not a theological, basis. The division into chapters and verses is dispensed with; the figures indicative of both appear in the margin to facilitate reference. The notes are philological; the poetic writings are printed in a manner totally distinct from the prose, upon a principle carefully explained by the translator. The result is a translation of a most fascinating character, and which has met with a most favourable reception. As long as Dr. Segond lived, he allowed no changes to be made, but since his death this has become possible. As it has never been authoritatively accepted by any Protestant Church, the British and Foreign Bible Society have been unable to place it on their lists; and another and more formidable reason for not adopting it is the startling novelty of some of its translations. Take, for instance, Isaiah vii. 14, "A virgin shall conceive," etc., is rendered, "*Voici la jeune femme deviendra enceinte*," etc. No doubt the word used in this passage in the Hebrew original is not the regular word for a "virgin" used elsewhere, and susceptible of the translation made by Segond; but the Septuagint, written 150 years before Christ, has fixed for ever

the interpretation adopted by the Jews: *ἰδοὺ ἡ παρθένος ἐν γαστρὶ λήψεται*. Such a translation cannot be accepted until it has been carefully revised, and purged of such novelties, shaking the very foundation of our faith, and running counter to long and deeply-cherished opinions.

Thus the translations available in French-speaking countries were three: De Sacy, Ostervald, and Segond. A version by Martin, a predecessor of Ostervald, is still on the list, but is of no practical value.

A new translation of the Psalms was published by Abbé Crampon in Belgium; in the Preface he expresses his regret at the neglect, in which *private* reading of the Scriptures had fallen, and he hopes that his new translation will restore the Psalter to its old place beside the Gospel in every Christian family: one edition is published with the Latin Text and Philological Notes for the Clergy, and educated laity: one for Nuns, and the faithful generally, with spiritual and moral notes.

In 1885 the Rev. John Nelson Darby, the founder of Plymouthism, published an entirely new version, not following the *Textus Receptus*, as the translator has made use of the materials, which have become known or made available during recent years. I have placed a copy of this version in the Library of the British and Foreign Bible Society.

To the surprise of the religious world, a new translation appeared in 1877, and in July, 1884, in the issue of the *Missions Catholiques*, the Roman Catholic weekly published at Lyons, appeared the following, headed "La Sainte Bible":

Traduction nouvelle avec notes, approuvée par la commission d'examen nommée par le Souverain Pontife, par M. l'Abbé Glaire, ancien Doyen de la Faculté de théologie. 4 volumes in 18 brochés: 10 fr.

Il manquait aux familles catholiques une Bible *sûre et autorisée*. M. l'Abbé Glaire, en publiant cette traduction à laquelle il s'était préparé par plus de quarante années d'une étude continue des langues et de la science biblique, a largement comblé cette lacune.

Ajoutons qu'à la demande signée de cinquante-cinq évêques, le Souverain Pontife a daigné nommer une commission d'examen, qui accordé à cette nouvelle version sa haute approbation. D'un format *portatif* et élégant, ornée de jolies gravures sur acier, cette Bible sera un des cadeaux les mieux appropriés aux personnes chrétiennes.

I sent for a copy and reviewed it as follows in the monthly periodical of the British and Foreign Bible Society:

In a late number of the *Missions Catholiques*, the weekly organ of French Roman Catholic Missions, appeared a notice strongly recommending the faithful to supply themselves with a copy of the French translation of the whole Bible, lately made by l'Abbé J. B. Glaire, and published under the special sanction of the French Episcopate, and the written authorization of Pope Pius IX.

On July 6th, 1870, the assembled Bishops of France addressed the Pope to this effect:

"Profoundly afflicted to see the Protestants supplying Catholic families with Bibles to an alarming extent, and exerting in this way a great influence by

"lowering in their eyes our holy dogmas, and attracting children to their schools, the assembled Bishops, desirous of arresting so great an evil, petition your Holiness to examine the French translation of the Old Testament, made by l'Abbé Glaire, and give it your imprimatur.

"One cannot doubt, that this will be a powerful means of arresting the progress of the evil, experience having already proved, that the publication of the New Testament by the same author, and previously authorized by your Holiness, has produced most salutary fruits.

"It is incontestable, that nothing in the present time can prevent the reading of the entire Bible in the world. Is it not, then, a great advantage to substitute a faithful and authorized version to translations which are incorrect, and which have no ecclesiastical approbation?

"In short, a French Bible, authorized by the Pope, will deprive the Protestants of all pretext for accusing unjustly the Catholic Church of cutting off the faithful from the Word of God."

The Pope, on January 22nd, 1873, after an interval of two years and a half authorized the proposal on these conditions:

- I. The version is to be an exact translation of the Latin Vulgate.
- II. Nothing in it is to be contrary to faith or morals.
- III. The notes are to be taken from the Fathers of the Church, or from learned Catholics, under the decree of the Congregation of the Index.
- IV. The license now given to the French Bishops is not to be deemed as a formal and solemn approbation of the French translation.

The Cardinal Archbishop of Bordeaux declared, on March 4th, 1873: "That the translation made by M. Glaire was a correct rendering of the Latin Vulgate, and that he and the Bishops were convinced, that it would be of great use to the faithful, and that it would with advantage replace all translations previously existing, for the correctness of which there was not the same guarantee." The Archbishop of Paris expressed similar opinions. The Archbishop of Bruges added the following remarks: "That the Latin text was interpreted when required by the original text (Hebrew), and accompanied by the explicatory notes, as required by the Council of Trent. He considered this new version more faithful than most of the French versions, and satisfying the requirement, long felt in France, of a sure and authorized translation, which can be put without danger into the hands of the faithful."

The translator modestly tells us, that he had prepared himself for the duty by forty years' study, and that he approached the difficult task with great diffidence. He had wished to make use of the translation of Sacy, but found that Sacy was a paraphraser rather than a translator. He could have nothing to say to the translation of Genoude, which did not adhere to the Latin Vulgate, but abandoned it occasionally for the Hebrew and Greek.

He had tried to make use of the translations of Bishop Bossuet, but found that, notwithstanding all his erudition, Bossuet was ignorant of Hebrew, which he (the translator) deemed indispensable for Scripture exegesis!

He had rendered, where possible, word for word, with a view to preserve the admirable simplicity of the Bible, to imitate the example of Jerome, who made his version a literal one, and so evidence his respect for the Word of God. He wished his translation to preserve all the linguistic peculiarities of the Hebrew and Greek.

All the remarks of the translator indicate patient research and humility. He quotes, perhaps unnecessarily, a number of opinions of competent critics and Protestant divines, in favour of the excellence of the Latin Vulgate. There is no question of the extreme value of that venerable translation, which clearly points to the existence of Hebrew texts, which were available to Jerome, but have since perished.

It was the Latin Vulgate, that converted Luther and Melancthon; and if M. Glaire's is a faithful literal version of the Vulgate, the Holy Spirit will use it for

new conquests. All that Protestants ask is, that the Bible should have free course in the language understood by the people; and the great charge against the Church of Rome is, that it would not allow this, and against the ignorant priesthood of countries in a lower state of civilization than France, that they destroyed the Bible when it came into their hands and called it "*a cursed book*." It will be observed, that the Romish Church do not permit a Bible to be published in any vernacular without notes, and these notes are to be quotations from the works of Church authorities. Anyhow, the whole Bible, translated from the Latin Vulgate, has now become accessible to every Frenchman who can afford ten francs. It is the conscientious work of a learned ecclesiastic, who fortified himself in his translations by reference to the Hebrew and Greek.

But a greater surprise was in store. In 1886, at Paris, was published a book with the title: "*Les Saintes Evangiles, traduction nouvelle par Henri Lasserre, publiée avec l'Imprimatur de l'Archevêche de Paris.*"

In the "*Monthly Reporter of the British and Foreign Bible Society*" of April, 1887, appeared the following remark:

Its interest to the friends of the Bible Society lies in this, that it chronicles another effort on the part of members of the Roman Catholic Church body to supply themselves with the documents of the faith in the vernacular, with which efforts the Society has always sympathized; and, moreover, by the quotation of the exact words of the Paris correspondent, it gives to Protestants an interesting view of current French Roman Catholic opinion in the circles, in which the mere *littérateur* moves. It is a strange thing to observe, that the Bible, and all that concerns the history of the Bible, though lying in the main road of human progress, is every now and then "*discovered*" by some Frenchman or Italian, as if it were a new thing, and announced to the world with much flourish, as if Diodati, and Martini, and Olivétan, and Ostervald, and Valéra, and Scio had never lived at all.

The book had then passed through nine editions, but a strange romance was destined to surround this version.

It is dedicated to "*Notre Dame de Lourdes*," described as the "*Reine du Ciel*," and the healer of the translator's blindness. The same author, who undertook with success the translation of the Four Gospels, had already written the history of the Greatest Lie of the Century, the Imposture at Lourdes, which in 1881 I visited, and an account of the visions seen by the poor peasant girl Bernadette, to whom the Virgin is said to have appeared. It must be recollected, that this new cultus is not of the Virgin Mother with her Holy Child in her arms, which originated as an assertion of the great truth of the congenital Divinity of our Lord, but it is the worship of a beautiful young woman, as she appeared before the Holy Ghost overshadowed her; it is, in fact, the reappearance in Christian form of the old worship of Lucina, and other female divinities of the Latin races in pre-Christian times.

The translation is preceded by a long preface, with the dates 1872-1886 attached to it. On the title-page is the notice: "*Publiée avec l'Imprimatur de l'Archevêche de Paris.*" The names of publishers at Paris, Brussels, and Geneva are attached to it, and the following notice of it appeared in a Roman Catholic journal under

date December 4, 1886, explaining its objects, methods, and peculiar features :

This translation of the Gospels, which contains the germs of a religious revolution, has been made after a new method. All the French versions that we have are a copy (*décalque*) of the Latin, Latin Frenchified, Latin words translated into French words, but by no means participating in the genius of the French language. So that the translations make the Scriptures illegible and often incomprehensible.

The great mass of the faithful do not know Latin, and can only read the Gospels in the French translation. As M. Lasserre says in his preface, "Most of the faithful only know of the Divine Book fragments reproduced in the *Paroissien* (Prayer-book), without logical or chronological order, in the Mass for festivals and Sundays; we believe we do not exaggerate," he adds, "in stating that there are not perhaps on an average three Catholics (*fidèles*) in each parish, who have got beyond that vague notion, and who even once in their whole lives have endeavoured to follow and study in its harmonious whole, and in the quadruple form given it by the Evangelists, the complete history of the Man-God. What an astonishing and painful contrast! while continuing to be the most illustrious book in the whole world, the Gospel has become an ignored book."

One can indeed say, that the French are not acquainted with the Gospel; it is for them a dead book, of which they have read a few fragments, which they did not understand or which they found wearisome. So that their religious instruction and their religious education are second-hand, and their religious feelings are not drawn from the fountain source. Hence that deformation of religion of which the bishops have often complained, without being able to remedy it, because the number of those, who are not content with the coal-heaver's faith, and who like to discuss religious questions, is becoming greater and greater, and they are completely ignorant of the Gospel.

Now, without paraphrasing the text, but without translating it servilely, by translating it so, that the genius of the French language shall take the place of the genius of the Latin language, instead of being in that chopped, hopping, rebus-like style, which characterizes all existing translations, M. Lasserre has made of the Gospel a book, which any one can read readily, understand and admire.

The distribution of the Gospel into chapters dates from the thirteenth century, and was the work of Cardinal Hugues de St. Victor; and the division into verses was only introduced in the sixteenth century by the celebrated Parisian printer, R. Estienne (Robert Stephen).

"By transferring to the translations in the vulgar tongue," says M. Lasserre in his preface, "these divisions of the printer Estienne; by introducing into the discourses of the Saviour and into the narrative of the Evangelists these perpetual and brutal choppings (*hachures*), which disturb the mind as well as the eye, by imposing on the mind without necessity or benefit, this march constantly arrested and resumed, this abrupt and jerky gait; the intrinsic charm, the profound and peaceful charm of the Book of Life has been more and more destroyed, in order to facilitate the labour of the learned, of exegetists and preachers, for whom these translations into the vulgar tongue were not made."

M. Lasserre has, therefore, returned to the old and primitive arrangement. His Gospels have the appearance of an ordinary book to be read in the same manner, save that the Gospels are the most beautiful book in the whole world, and can be read from one end to the other without fatigue or difficulty.

I have just made the trial, M. Lasserre having himself brought me his book, and I can certify that I experienced great literary pleasure, besides the religious pleasure I derived from it. I did not fancy that the Gospel, thus deprived of the savour which Latin and Greek gave it, could be read with so much pleasure and so much ease, just as I could not have imagined M. Lasserre as a former artillery colonel, for it was the first time I saw him.

Now if the public take to reading this book, and I should be much astonished if it were not tempted to do so, it will see religion under quite a new light; it will be able to argue with some personal and direct knowledge of the subject, and a movement may arise, which will end in a religious renovation.

This idea of making of the Gospel a book in the vulgar tongue, but readable and comprehensible, attractive and interesting, which a man of the world, or a beginner, a woman of fashion, or a servant, may read, understand, enjoy and love without the help of any one, merely through the clearness and charm of the translation, is really an original idea.

Such a book can certainly present disadvantages; among others, that of introducing free inquiry with the aid of authentic documents; but free inquiry with the aid of authentic documents is better than free inquiry at haphazard, like that of our days. But it will have the great advantage of teaching again religion to the French, of interesting them by giving them direct knowledge of it, and of bringing back the faithful to a participation in the things of the Church.

Such must have been Mgr. Richard's opinion, who is prudence itself, when he gave his *imprimatur* to a book which, if only a faithful translation of the Gospel is none the less a book of great boldness, seeing it is destined to charm, to instruct, to attach, to associate the people to religion and to the Church, and that, though being the Gospel, the pure Gospel, it is nevertheless quite a new and unknown Gospel, a real revelation and revolution.—From the Paris Correspondent of the *Journal de Bruxelles*, December 4, 1886.

It is, indeed, a beautiful translation, and is so printed, that it reads like a novel. The notes are reasonable in extent and expression. Of course the text is taken from the Vulgate; the Council of Trent has made that a necessity for the Church of Rome. The price was four francs, and the circulation remarkable. Moreover, the Pope Leo XIII., in an Italian letter, printed with a French translation in the volume through the Secretary of State, Cardinal Jacobini, on December 4th, 1886, acknowledged receipt of the copies of the translation sent by the authors from time to time, applauded the object, which the translator had in view, sent his apostolic blessing, and his hope that these objects, which he states in his preface, may be attained.

Had the translator invoked the aid of the Holy Spirit, or dedicated his work to the glory of the Holy Trinity, he might have attained a blessing; but none reached him, for it was dedicated, in a blind and servile manner, to the holy and humble-minded Mother of our Lord, the most blessed among women, concerning whom there is no mention in the Gospels, that she was the Queen of Heaven, that she had the power to work miracles, or extend grace and favour to those, who, forgetting the second commandment, worshipped her image. Thus being from its first page entangled in the maze of a falsehood, the book and the author have fallen into trouble, and the eyes of those, whose faith is based on the Bible alone, have been open to certain peculiarities of the Romish Church.

And, as was to be expected in "a one-man" translation, there were manifest errors. I quote one (Matt. vi. 12): "Forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors. And lead us not into temptation."

Under what possible view can the original Greek of these words be rendered? "*Faites-nous remise de nos dettes, comme nous mêmes nous faisons remise à ceux qui doivent. . . . Toutefois ne nous mettez pas à l'épreuve.*"

This means, without doubt: "I wish to be forgiven and be generous; all the same, do not put me to the test, for I know myself and my own frailty." This is a distortion of the Word of God, and justly condemned by all Christians.

By a decree of the Sacred Congregation, dated December 19th, 1887, a little more than one year after the imprimatur of the Archbishop of Paris, dated November 11th, 1886, Lasserre's translation was placed on the Index of forbidden books, denounced as a book of degraded doctrine, the circulation of which is forbidden under spiritual penalties. And Lasserre, being in connection with the Romish Church, withdrew it from circulation, after it had passed through twenty-five editions, and been approved of by a large number of Bishops, and some of the most important members of the secular press.

But the withdrawal of the book did not leave matters in the same position as that which they occupied before its publication. This was forcibly put by a writer in the *Contemporary Review* of May, 1888:

I. The Pope publicly approved of the book, and his letter is prefixed to all the copies. Can the Pope be placed on the Index?

II. The Pope was declared by the General Council to be infallible in the discharge of his *teaching* office. Is not the approving of a vernacular translation of the Gospels part and parcel of his *teaching*? What becomes of his infallibility?

III. Under the decree of the Council of Trent it rests with the Bishop of each diocese to approve of translations of the Bible. The Archbishop has given his official approbation after a sufficient examination by the priests of St. Sulpice, and it may be a question, whether he is not within his rights.

A side-light was let into the crooked councils of the Church of Rome, which is involved in a network of unholy intrigue. It has been proved beyond doubt, that the Scriptures are acceptable to the French nation, if the priests get over their fear of, and aversion to, the truth. The Bishops themselves have evidenced their appreciation of this work, which they must surely have read before they recorded their approbation.

The matter was not destined to rest there, for Richard Clarke, a Jesuit priest, of Farm Street, Berkeley Square, London, in 1889, published a sixpenny pamphlet at the Catholic Truth Society, 18, West Square, London, called "The Pope and the Bible, an Explanation of the Case of M. Lasserre, and of the Attitude of the Catholic Church to Popular Bible Reading." The Book is interesting, as written by an Englishman in the free atmosphere of

English literature. Moreover, he had to take account of the presence of many Protestant converts, who are familiar with the Bible from their childhood, and men like Cardinals Manning and Newman, who are masters of the subject. An Italian or Spaniard in a country long cursed with an ignorant priesthood, and a laity totally uneducated in spiritual things, would have expressed himself differently. It is important to note the attitude asserted by a London Jesuit-priest towards the Bible in the nineteenth century, and it must be recollected, that the practice in the different countries of the world, which practice is well known to those who are occupied in the work of Bible Societies, differs very much from the academic utterances of a priest, who knows possibly nothing beyond London.

He lays down distinctly, that Papal infallibility extends only to *dogmatic* decrees laid down for the whole Church in matters of faith and morals.

He remarks, that in itself the spread of the Word of God is an unmixed good, but the perversity of men may turn to their own destruction this, like every other good gift of God, and there may be times and places, where it is necessary to place restriction on the distribution of the Scriptures.

He then proceeds to utter words which are inexact, and which he cannot prove, *that heretics have mistranslated the Bible for their own purposes*, or taken the open Bible as the watchword of heresy; in such and other cases prudence will put restriction on the use of the treasure so fatally employed by men to their own destruction. In Protestant translations there are indeed errors, inaccuracies, faults of scholarship, but I doubt whether any instance can be produced of an *intentional* rendering of a Hebrew or Greek word for *theological*, and not philological considerations. The rendering of "*la jeune femme deviendra enceinte*" shows, how bold the translator is, reckless of the consequence, and deeming it cowardly to glide over a difficulty. Can we in good faith say the same of the Latin text, which has come down to us, sadly corrupted by the copyists, under the name of the Vulgate of St. Jerome?

He lays down the principle that, when once a book is placed on the Index, "the faithful" must not open the pages again without special permission, however much they may be attached to it, and although, as a matter of opinion, they do not agree in the condemnation, and do not think that the Congregation acted prudently or wisely in condemning it, and though they may in past years have derived solid good from the perusal of it. He must obey, and no doubt in the confessional he will have to state whether or no he has taken a peep at the contents of his old pocket companion. To such a miserable condition are even the educated and steady Catholics reduced in the nineteenth century!

Father Clarke tells us how the case stands betwixt his Church and the Bible. He maintains, that his Church is not opposed to the study of the Bible, but has a right to control the use of it. Under the Council of Trent no Bible is to be read in the vernacular, unless that translation receives ecclesiastical authorization, and have notes explanatory of difficult passages. As a fact, the Douay Bible is freely sold at a small price in Great Britain and Ireland. He admits that between the two extremes of exclusive and indiscriminate use, both of which are forbidden by his Church, there is a wide disputable ground, on which the opinion of the faithful differ.

(1) Is it desirable to put the Bible in the hands of *all* the faithful?

(2) Ought the young to be allowed to read it as they please?

(3) Ought children to be encouraged to study the historical books of the Old Testament?

(4) Should the prophetic books be generally used as books of devotion?

(5) What portion should be withheld?

(6) How far are priests to encourage the circulation of the Bible?

(7) Are there some portions, which it is their duty to place in the hands of the faithful?

(8) Is there any obligation to see that the young are acquainted with the Bible?

(9) Should abridged Bibles or extracts be prepared?

(10) Are the laity bound to read the Bible, to teach their children, and distribute it among the poor at home and abroad, among Christians and non-Christians?

The pamphlet is not creditable to his honesty or his acumen. Casuistry, rightly called Jesuitical, unsupported assertions, unproved condemnations, unjustified abuse, dogmatism, an evident fear of inquiry, and the exposure, which would accompany it, are the features of his production. It may convince uneducated laymen and women, but his clear object is to uphold sacerdotal power in the nineteenth century, to prevent people forming their own judgment on the most important subject, the way of salvation, to keep men and women in leading-strings, to prevent access to the Word of God in the original Greek and Latin, and by copious abuse of all religious men outside the Church of Rome, to drive men and women, who cannot swallow the mediæval unscriptural composite, called the "Christianity of Rome," into blank atheism or abandonment of all religion. Such is the condition of a majority of the educated classes in France, Italy and Spain. The whole design of his book is to prop up a class, who are to stand betwixt the people and God, and be the only channels of divine truth.

If he indeed believes, and rightly believes, that the Bible

contains the Word of God, and that the Holy Spirit can bring home to the heart of humble readers the blessed truths contained in the Bible, what need is there to restrict the reading to the Psalms in the Old Testament and the Gospels in the New Testament? He admits that, as a rule, Roman Catholics are strangely ignorant of the Bible, and averse to reading it, and that, on the other hand, Protestants have an enviable familiarity with the text. He chooses to assume, that this familiarity is only with the text and not with the spirit, that "all is surface and the heart is not "touched." Here the Jesuit is like the ostrich in the desert, which shuts its eyes that it may not see the adversary. Otherwise he could not be ignorant, that the words of the Bible are to thousands and tens of thousands in this island as their very life-blood, the main-spring of their actions, the leading note of their thoughts, the hope on the sick and dying bed, when all things are very real, the delight of youth, the stay of manhood, and the solace of old age. It is the one thing which the British people, to whatever phase of religious thought they belong, will surrender life rather than be deprived of, stinted in the supply of, or controlled in the use of.

THE CHURCHMAN, MARCH, 1890.

III.

WORK OF THE SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING
CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE.

THE good work done by the venerable Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge is well known. Though no longer occupied in direct Missionary work to the heathen, it renders services of extreme value by supplying Christian literature, maintaining a Training College, making grants of printing presses, assisting in the erection of chapels and schools, maintaining scholarships, supplying passage-money to Missionaries, and making presents to them of useful books. All this work is performed by the General Committee.

But there is a special Foreign Translation Committee, the members of which are appointed for life by the Primate, and are not subject to annual re-election. So far they are independent of the General Committee, but, as their usefulness depends entirely upon the funds placed at their disposal, and they are assisted in their proceedings by one of the secretaries, they are, in effect, as entirely subsidiary to the General Committee as any other of the Sub-Committees.

Their business relates to Translation only, and the disposal by grants of the books translated. They are at liberty to take in hand all books, which are on the Society's chief or supplemental catalogue, without further reference; but, when a new work is submitted for translation, it must be submitted in English to the Tract-Committee for approval on its merits, before it can be undertaken. As a fact, however, commentaries of the Bible, and Hymns and Prayers, in the vernacular languages of Asia, America, Africa, or Oceania are accepted upon the signature and approval of the Bishop of the Diocese. Translations are made of Bibles, the Book of Common Prayer, Prayers, Hymns, Selections, Commentaries, Vocabularies, Grammars, Picture-cards, Tracts, Catechisms, esteemed English works, and original works specially prepared. As a general rule, applications for work to be done, or grants to be made, must come supported by the Bishop of the Diocese, or a Church of England Missionary Society; under any circumstances assistance is only given to members of the Church of England. The needs of the Church have never been more varied or pressing. The progress

of the Missionary Societies has been very marked in every part of the world, and the demand for vernacular works has been far beyond the supply, and no other institution exists for their supply. The British and Foreign Bible Society restricts itself entirely to Bibles without note or comment; the Religious Tract Society has never turned its attention to this particular field. The Christian Knowledge Society is therefore unique in its labours.

Owing to the multiplicity of its operations the annual report would require very close study, before the nature and extent of the work done in the Foreign Translation Department could be fully appreciated. It must be recollected, that the Society not only conducts such operations entirely through its own printers, but it makes grants of round sums to assist such operations by others, and by its branch associations in India and elsewhere. Thus there is a great variety of the work done, and a great variety of the agency employed. I propose only to indicate briefly the languages of the world, in which by the agency of this Society books have been published, considering the subject by Continents and Language-families; and the reader must recollect, that not only there is a multiplicity of distinct languages and dialects, but such a multiplicity of forms of written characters as would astonish and even dismay any one, who was not familiar with the subject. In some instances the same work has been published in two or three different characters, for the convenience of different classes of readers; and, as the subject of written characters is often in the minds of men not sufficiently kept separate from the subject of the language, I will dispose of the written characters first.

Written characters may be ideograms, syllabaries, or alphabets. Of the first class the Society has published tracts in two forms of the Chinese written characters. Of the second class publications have been issued in the Cree Syllabaries, a new, and in my opinion injudicious, invention of the Missionaries. It has the effect of cutting off the tribes which use it from all literary communication with the outer world. We accept the Chinese ideograms because they exist, but we are attempting to substitute to some degree the Roman alphabet in several languages of China; it is therefore a distinctly retrograde step to introduce the use of syllabaries for writing, which obviously require a very large number of forms to represent separately every possible combination of a single vowel with a single consonant.

All the alphabets used in the world at this moment, however different they may appear, are derived from one common mother, the Phœnician alphabet. This is a generally received fact of Science, and a properly constructed alphabet represents all the possible sounds, which can be produced by the vocal organs. In many countries, such as India and Indo-China and the Indian Archipelago, there exists a multiplicity of scientifically constructed

alphabets. In Africa there are only a few, in America and Oceania there exist none. In Europe the Greek, Roman, Gothic, and Slavonic alphabets prevail. Now, where a tribe or nation is provided with an alphabet, it would be very injudicious to introduce a new one; but where none exists, an improved and enlarged form of the Roman alphabet is usually adopted. The majority of the known alphabets of the world are represented in the books on the shelves of the Society.

I now pass on to languages, and notice each Continent separately.

In Europe the great Arian, or Indo-European, family of languages is the most important. It has four branches: Kelt, Teuton, Slav, Greco-Latin. Of the first the Society has published in Welsh, Gaelic, Manx, and Irish, within the British Dominions. Of the second branch, German, Dutch, Swedish, Norwego-Danish, are represented. In the third, I notice only the Russ, Wend, and Pole; and in the fourth, the French, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, Greek, and Latin. This by no means exhausts the linguistic resources of Europe, as of the Ural-Altaic family one branch, the Finn, is entirely, and the other, the Turki, all but unrepresented, as well as the two isolated languages of the Basque and Alban. In the family of the Arian, I look in vain for many important names.

Passing into Asia, I find the Semitic family represented by the Hebrew and the Arabic, with one dialect of the latter, that of Malta. Of the Arian, or Indo-European, family, there are two branches in Asia, the Iranic and the Indic. Of the Iranic the Society has published books in Persian and Armenian. The Indic branch is represented by works in Kashmíri, Hindi, and its great dialect Hindustáni or Urdu, the *lingua franca* of India; Bangáli, Assam, Sindhi, Maráthi, Barma, and Sinháli, the language of the lower half of the island of Ceylon. All these languages are spoken within the British Dominions, and one or two in addition. Of the non-Arian languages of British India, two subdivisions are represented, but inadequately, the Dravidian family by Tamil, Télugu, and Rajmaháli, alias Malto, and the Kolarian Group by the Sontál.

In Further India, or Indo-China, one only language, the Sgau dialect of the Karén, is found on the shelves of the Society. Of the great Maláyan family I notice the Malay language of Malacca and Sumatra, the Malagási of the Island of Madagascar, and a dialect of the Dyak, "the Sea-dialect," in the Island of Borneo. China is represented in two languages: that known as the Mandarin, the *lingua franca* of North China, and the Hang-chau. Specimens of the language of Japan and of the Ainu complete the library of

Of the five subdivisions of the languages of Africa four are represented. The Amhára, one of the languages of Abyssinia, belongs to the Semitic family, and is of importance. The Koptia.

a Hamitic language, is dead, liturgical, and useless. The Hadendoa, spoken by the tribes in the vicinity of Suakin, is also Hamitic. Turning to the West Coast, I notice in Susu portions of the Scriptures, a language spoken on the Rio Pongas, and the vehicle of teaching used by the West India Mission. Following the Coast I reach the Mendé tribe, and their language is represented. On the Slave-Coast is Yariba-land, and some books have been published for that tribe in Yariba. The basin of the Niger has been supplied with books in the Ibó, Igbara, Hausa, and Nupé, and these books have been compiled by Missionaries who are pure negroes: and one of their number has supplied a book of vocabularies of Niger languages, with which two languages of the Gold Coast have been bound up. The Fan language is spoken North of the Gabún River. South of the Equator is the great region, where all the tribes speak varieties of one family, the Bantú; in South Africa the Society supplies books in the Xosa, commonly called Kafir; Chuána, Suto, and Zulu. From the East Coast I pass my hands on contributions to the knowledge of Swahili, the great *lingua franca*, Bóndei, Nyika, Kamba, Ganda of Victoria Nyanza, Nyamwézi, Megi, Yao, and Makúa: all these are Bantú languages, but Kavirondo on Victoria Nyanza is a Negro language. Many of these are unique representations of the language, the work of Scholars like Bishop Steere and his brother Missionaries; they are but the preludes of a much greater supply, which is coming into existence each year. Malagási represents the Island of Madagascar.

Strange as these names may appear, America supplies specimens of names still stranger. The Society has not been wanting here also, and on its shelves has specimens of the Eskimó language from the Arctic Coast, and Tukudh from the Province of Alaska; of Shimshi, and Neklakapamak, Nishkah, and Kwa-Gutl from the Pacific Coast; of Chipewán, and Slavé, or Tinne, from the Athabaska Territory; of Beaver from the Beaver River, and Cree from Saskatchewan and Rupert's Land; of Blackfoot, and Dakóta or Sioux; of Ojibwa from Lake Superior, and Munsie from the Delaware. In South America books have been published in Karib, Akkaway, *alias* Accawoio, Arawak, and Warau in Guiana.

The world is generally considered to consist of the four continents above alluded to, but a fifth is acknowledged by geographers, consisting of four subdivisions: Polynesia, Melanesia, Mikronesia, and Australia. Unfortunately the last two are totally unrepresented. In Polynesia I handle with pleasure a book in the Maori language, spoken in New Zealand, and the Hawaii of the Sandwich Islands, far North of the Equator. In Melanesia I come upon the track of two great Missionaries: Selwyn, Primate of New Zealand, and Patteson, Bishop of Melanesia. The language of Sugar-loaf Island, *alias* Mota, of the group of Bank Islands, is the *lingua franca* of the Mission, and is represented by translations of the Bible. In the

Solomon Islands the languages of Florida and Isabel have been similarly honoured.

Here ends the tale of work done up to 1890; but the members of the Translation Committee have their eyes open to the north and the south, the east and the west, and are looking out for fresh business in every part of the world.

Now let us reflect what an enormous amount of good has been done by the money spent in the manner above described. The Bishops and Missionaries come home year by year with their manuscripts, the result of long tedious years of labour, and seek an opportunity of publishing, so as to carry back copies to their flock. The Society steps in, prints without cost under the superintendence of the authors, and presents a supply of printed matter to the delighted applicant. Who can say that such is not pure Missionary work, and of the highest kind? The Missionary Societies acknowledge with deep gratitude the relief to their funds by having this special work done by a special Society, specially fitted to do it well and quickly. The Branch-Societies in different central stations, and the Missionary printing-presses, are doing the same good work with the help of grants from the same Society. All lovers of Mission-work appreciate the value of the printing-press; and it is interesting to reflect that the children of cannibal tribes are, by the grace of God, acting through Missions, becoming type-setters, proof-readers, and even translators. Art and Science fight on the side of Religion.

THE CHURCHMAN, 1888.

IV.

OBITUARY NOTICES OF SCHOLARS.

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1. SIR T. E. COLEBROOKE.
 2. REV. P. O'FLAHERTY.
 3. REV. DR. SCHÖN.
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SIR THOMAS EDWARD COLEBROOKE, BART.

At the meeting of the Council of the Royal Asiatic Society on December 16th, 1889, and at the meeting of the Society held afterwards to discuss certain matters connected with the International Oriental Congresses, was present among us for the last time for 54 years Sir Thomas Edward Colebrooke, Bart., who had repeatedly filled the office of President, and was still our Vice-President, when he died, January 11, 1890. We shall never see his like again, as he was the only surviving son of our Founder, the illustrious scholar Henry Thomas Colebrooke, who died in 1837, and in the Fifth Volume of the first Series of our Journal, 1838, when all the present Council were still at their public schools, appears the first contribution of our lamented friend and Vice-President, who wrote a long and interesting account of the life and labours of his father. It falls to few to enter a learned Society at so early an age, and to take a sympathetic and intelligent interest in it for more than half a century. All those, who listened to his first contributions, have long since passed away. He was our oldest elected member by many years.

He was born in Calcutta in 1813. His mother died in 1815, and his father then left India finally, bringing with him his motherless children. His grandfather, Sir George, belonged to a family settled in Kent: he was member for Arundel in three Parliaments, and was Chairman of the Court of Directors. He succeeded to the Baronetcy, which had been conferred in 1759 on his elder brother, with remainder to him. Both his sons went out in the Bengal Civil Service: the elder, Sir James Edward, was Resident at Dehli, and died without issue in 1838. The second

son, Mr. Henry Thomas, was Chief Judge of the Sudder Court of Bengal, and member of the Bengal Council, and out and out the greatest Oriental scholar of his time, both in the originality of his researches, and the soundness and accuracy of his knowledge. His name is still revered, and his opinions appealed to, in the Oriental side of every Continental University.

The subject of this memoir was his third son : both his brothers predeceased their father. He was educated at Eton, and being destined, as a younger son, to the Bengal Civil Service, he was sent to the East India College at Haileybury in Hertfordshire, and arrived in India in 1832. He had acquired a knowledge of Indian languages at the College, and he himself mentions in his Obituary Notice of Mr. Colebrooke, that his father had "been urgent in recommending him to the study of Sanskrit on account of its utility to a member of the Civil Service, but he never expressed the slightest hope, that his son would imitate his example, or turn to Oriental study, except so far as it was connected with professional pursuits. This is not an unusual phenomenon : great scholars rarely have sons, who take the least interest in their fathers' studies, and so entirely is the aptitude for scholarship a personal gift, that few scholars, if any, take the trouble to recommend their sons to qualify themselves. "*Poeta nascitur non fit.*"

In 1836 a great sorrow fell upon Mr. Henry Colebrooke ; his eldest son, who had been the companion of his old age, and the sharer of his studies, and his attendant during his long illness, died : and the subject of this memoir, the last of the race, was sent for from India to soothe the closing days of his sorrowing parent, and the great scholar died on March 10, 1837. His elder brother, Sir James Edward Colebrooke, followed him to the grave November 5, 1838, and Sir Thomas Edward succeeded to the family title ; twenty years later he married, and is now succeeded by his son, the present Sir Edward Arthur, born in 1861.

For nearly forty years the late Sir Thomas Edward Colebrooke sat in the House of Commons, on the Liberal side. He represented Taunton from 1842 to 1852, and Lanarkshire from 1857 to 1868, and the Northern Division of that county from that year till 1885. In 1886, as a Liberal Unionist, he contested the seat of North-East Lanarkshire, but was defeated, and his Parliamentary career ended at the age of 72. He was Lord Lieutenant of Lanarkshire.

His acquaintance with national affairs was great : he was a man of excellent and judicious temperament, and his speeches were always of a thoughtful, well-considered, and suggestive character. On Educational matters he was an authority, and was Chairman of the Endowed Schools and Hospitals Commission for Scotland. Though he came to Scotland a perfect stranger, he conciliated to himself the love and confidence of his constituency in Lanarkshire to the highest degree : his portrait, at their request, was painted

for the County Hall, and a copy presented to Lady Colebrooke. We have on the walls of the room of the Royal Asiatic Society an excellent photograph, which will recall the features of our lost and honoured friend.

Without laying claim to the title of a scholar himself, he occupied the very important position of a scholarly statesman, who, from his earliest days to the last month of his life, sympathized with Oriental scholars, and with research in every branch of the subject. He was worthy of the great name among scholars which he inherited. Some years ago I went down to the House of Commons with Professor Whitney of Newhaven, United States, and meeting Sir Thomas Edward Colebrooke, I delighted the American Professor by presenting him to the son of the great old scholar, who revealed the learning of the Indians to Europe, and whose name was a household word to every student of Sanskrit.

As an illustration of his kindly feeling to the Royal Asiatic Society, it may be mentioned, that, though he had compounded for his subscription years before, yet, when the Society twenty years ago fell into financial trouble, he volunteered to become again a subscribing member, and continued so to the end. He was constant in his attendance at the Council, taking a lively interest in our welfare; when the question was discussed of the union of this Society with the new Imperial Institute, he took the lead in the negotiations. If his style of elocution, and indeed of conversation, was rather dry and restrained, yet those, who were privileged to know him, were confident of his kindly and benevolent nature; and his stately form and thoughtful countenance will long be missed. There is but one surviving representative of the great men, who made the Royal Asiatic Society illustrious for so many years, Sir Henry Rawlinson, and the conduct of affairs has passed into the hands of a younger generation.

Journal of Royal Asiatic Society, Jan. 1890.

THE REV. P. O'FLAHERTY.

THE SCRIPTORIUM OF A DEAD MISSIONARY.

"Their works shall follow them."

It is always an affecting task to examine the papers left by a deceased friend, more especially when that friend has died in a foreign land, or has been committed to the deep. We forget all his infirmities: death has left of him only the purer, the nobler, portion; the thought that he is no longer with us, and is beyond all earthly judgments, restrains our criticisms, and we turn over the leaves and unfold the packets with a certain amount of awe. The hand, that wrote these lines, is stiffened; the eyes, that last read these pages, are closed in a sleep, from which there is no awakening until the resurrection of the just.

These sentiments come home to us with greater force, when we reverently unfold the packets, that contain all that remains of a dead missionary ; of one who has not been unwilling to give up his life for the sake of the heathen ; the employment of whose life was to translate the Scriptures in a new language, and compile vocabularies and grammatical notes so as to facilitate the work of others who might come after him.

This morning it was my privilege to examine, with reverent care and sympathetic interest, the manuscripts left behind by the Rev. Philip O'Flaherty, who sleeps where the pearls lie deep beneath the waters of the Red Sea. For five years he had held the fort in U-Ganda, and had baptized the first converts of a young Church, whose union with Christ has been sanctified by the blood of early martyrs. I write now not on what he did, but as a scholar myself I record my opinion on the written memorials of his devotion, and the evidence of his industry, which he has left behind, and which came into my hand without note or comment. They might possibly, by a hard chance, have been stowed away in a dark closet, or used to light fires, and I am glad to think, that a small amount of justice can be rendered to the poor dead.

I am myself entirely ignorant of this particular language, but having turned over and critically examined scores and scores of vocabularies and grammars of languages in every part of the world, I am able to appreciate orderly compilation, unflagging industry, neat and clear transcription, and the evidence of a natural genius for this kind of work, when a vast amount of varied material is placed before me.

In Mr. O'Flaherty's scriptorium we found orderly translations of books of the Old and New Testament, portions of the Book of Common Prayer, a treatise of his own composition, or of some English author, on one of the Parables, materials for a Lexicon of Swahili and Ganda, another for a Lexicon of English and Ganda, a Grammar of considerable magnitude, a Grammatical Note of the Language of Nyamwézi. The caligraphy was above all praise, and there was a great deal of matter ready for the press, if the lamented compiler had been spared to return home. No opinion can be expressed by me on the correctness of these translations and compilations. But if such a wealth of material were to fall into the hands of a competent scholar, trained in the German Schools of Comparative Linguistic Knowledge, he could turn out grammar, vocabularies, texts, which, if not strictly accurate, would be at least genuine, and would mark an advance in our knowledge.

His literary work may, hereafter, by critics more competent to judge, be condemned as worthless. We must leave the matter to a coming generation of scholars of the calibre of Bishop Steere, or Dr. Schön, who will spring up. But the quiet devotion, the industry, the patient transcription, the orderly compilation, are

merits, which will not be forgotten or undervalued by those who appreciate linguistic aptitude and ability, so often found wanting; while the far greater grace of consecrating talents to the service of that Heavenly Father, who lent them, has no doubt found the reward promised to the good and faithful servant, who was not weary in well-doing.

Church Missionary Society Intelligencer, Feb. 12, 1887.

NOTICE OF REV. J. F. SCHÖN, D.D.

The Rev. James Frederick Schön, D.D. (Oxon), represents a type of missionary the like of which we shall not see again. He was born in 1803 near Baden, in Germany, was educated at the Basle Missionary College and the C.M.S. College at Islington. He was ordained deacon by the Bishop of London (Blomfield), in 1831, and ordained priest in St. Paul's Cathedral in 1832, and arrived at Sierra Leone in 1832: he is thus our oldest living Missionary, both in years and date of service. He accompanied Capt. Trotter in his scientific Niger Expedition in 1841, with a view of exploring new regions for the Gospel. Bishop Samuel Crowther (then a young lay teacher) was with him. He contracted the germs of a fever on that occasion, which eventually compelled him to leave Africa for ever in 1847, since which date he has resided in England. With Bishop Crowther and his son the Archdeacon, and Henry, and James Johnson, he has maintained a life-long friendship; they would have considered a visit to England incomplete without a pilgrimage to Palm Cottage, Chatham, to shake hands with the aged missionary scholar.

Last July I had the privilege of having a private interview with Dr. Schön and Bishop S. Crowther at the Church Mission House, and I was deeply impressed with the thought, how God has fashioned the lives of these His two aged servants, one white and the other black, to work His glory; they seemed both to have but one thought, one object in life, the good of the African, and the spread of the Gospel.

There are diversities of ministrations; and Dr. Schön has, since the year 1847 up to this very hour, been actively employed in compiling books and making translations in the languages of West Africa, a knowledge of which he acquired on the spot. He has spurned the name and the position of a disabled missionary, for his heart, intellect, memory, accumulated knowledge, and power of orderly disposition of collected materials, have been unceasingly dedicated to the service of the Lord, and he can with difficulty be kept back by the order of his doctor, at the age of eighty-five, from his daily work with eye and pen. The great language of the Hausa, spoken by tens of millions, and destined to be a most important element in the civilization of the Negro, has been, as it

were, revealed to the world by Dr. Schön, in dictionaries, grammars, reading-books, and translations of the Bible. Not content with publishing a book, he has, immediately after publication, commenced a studious revision and enlargement, and has lived to conduct through revised editions. When he was stationed in or near Sierra Leone, he studied and published works in the Mendé language; and, when on the Niger, he mastered the Ibo language; and by keeping himself in constant touch with Negro scholars in the field, he has kept his knowledge up to high-water mark. Large portions of the Bible and the Prayer Book in Ibo will survive as proofs of his industry and power. Some may think lightly of such labours. A house cannot be built unless some one makes the bricks; and Dr. Schön has made bricks which will last for all time. I have been thrown in constant connection with him for the last ten years at the Bible House, the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and the Church Mission House, and, when he is taken from us, I shall look round in vain for any one to occupy his peculiar position, and miss him sadly.

Nor has his influence as a missionary been without fruit. Archdeacon Henry Johnson, in writing last year to the Committee to announce his marriage, mentioned, as one of the chief recommendations of the object of his choice, that she had received her training under the loving care of Dr. and Mrs. Schön, and that he had himself had that advantage.

Honours! the desire of such things scarcely enter the thought of a true-hearted missionary, and, as was to be expected, he has not found them in this world. The French Institute indeed conferred upon him their Gold Medal for his Hausa Grammar and Dictionary; and one day he met Livingstone at dinner at Lambeth Palace, and the great traveller uttered the following remark to Archbishop Sumner: "This man's name, your Grace, will live generations after mine has been forgotten." I felt so ashamed at the neglect, shown to this great scholar by his native and adopted country, that I prevailed on the three great religious Societies above mentioned, whom he had served, to memorialise the Vice-Chancellor of Oxford for an honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity, and I forwarded it with a letter of my own, detailing all that he had done; and we were successful. In a special assembly the degree was conferred upon Dr. Benson, the Primate, "*causa honoris*," on account of his high station, and on Dr. Schön, "*honoris causa*," as a small acknowledgment of all his labour, all his knowledge, and all his devotion.

Of such dear friends we do not wait till the time comes to record a sad obituary notice; we do not wait till Dorcas is dead, and then in vain grief show the coats and garments, which she has made; but we spread out on the table in sight of the Lord's people his varied works of study and genius, the new words and sentences in which

he has clothed the everlasting Gospel. All his work has been sanctified by the love of Christ, and love to the poor African, and I write these lines rejoicing that he is spared to read them, and know how much we honour and love him, and that he can see the fruits of the travail of his life, and know that the labours of that life have not been in vain, a life as beautiful as his name in his own native language.

Church Missionary Gleaner, March, 1889.

REV. JAMES FREDERICK SCHÖN.

In Memoriam.

In the *Church Missionary Gleaner* of March appeared a photograph and a notice of an aged and esteemed missionary, Dr. Schön. They passed under his eye. His daughter wrote me word, that her father appreciated the kindness, but considered the notice too flattering. This letter was dated on the 7th of March. The good man passed away to his rest on the 30th, in perfect peace, and surrounded by the members of his family.

He had worked on to the last at his linguistic studies in the interest of the three great societies, the Church Missionary Society, to which he belonged, and the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge and the British and Foreign Bible Society, which he served. Like the Venerable Bede, he fell asleep over his books, and in some page of the translation of the Prayer-Book, or of his revised edition of his great Dictionary, a marker might be placed betwixt the leaves with the following words:

“He fell asleep here;”

or, as the Italian poet beautifully expresses it,

“Sulle pagine

“Cadde la stanca man.”

His was a life full of work for the Lord to the last, and far beyond the ordinary age of man. He was not content to wear out the last days of his prolonged life in idleness. His sentiments were different: “Lord, Thou hast given me one talent: behold, I have consecrated it to Thy service, up to old age, up to failing strength, up to the time of my departure!” So it has proved.

On the other side of Africa, another great Bible translator, Bishop Steere, late one night folded up a portion of the corrected proof of Isaiah, directed the cover to the printer, and retired to his rest, from which there was no awakening in this world. How the lot of such servants of Christ is to be envied!

I have so lately described Schön's work, that I refrain from repetition. He was a German, born in 1803, trained at Basle, and at the C.M.S. College, Islington, and employed in West Africa. The languages with which he was connected were Mendé, near

Sierra Leone; Ibo, in the Basin of the Niger; and Hausa, the great *lingua franca* of the Western Sudán. I am glad that he read what was written in the *Gleaner* of March, and felt that his labours were appreciated; but those who survive him feel that his loss is not easily supplied. Somebody is wanted to fill up that gap, and we have to go as far as Archdeacon Johnson, on the Upper Niger, to find a man to finish the work, which the old veteran was carrying on. He was nearly the last of the band of German scholars whom the prescience of Mr. Venn had brought over from Germany to elucidate the languages of West Africa. His life covers the whole period of the existence of the Society, and fifty-six years elapsed betwixt the date on which he landed at Sierra Leone, in January, 1833, and the date of his death. He belonged to a type of missionaries which has almost entirely passed away. We may see as good, but we shall never see better.

His life was not without trial, for he buried two wives in West Africa: their names are recorded in my Memorial Tablet in the Church Missionary House. His own health was so impaired by the climate, that he was unable to return to the scene of his labours; but he did what he could to carry out the purpose to which he had devoted his life. He did what no other living man could have done so well, or could have, perhaps, done at all; and in after-ages souls will be converted and brought to God by his translations of the Scriptures. The new Christians will know nothing of the good and holy man, who had paved the way for their Salvation; but his name will be recorded in the Book of Life, as the servant who only closed his labours for his Master when he ceased to breathe. He died, as he lived, an example to those who come after him.

Church Missionary Intelligencer, April 6, 1889.

V.

LETTERS ON AFRICAN TRANSLATIONS.

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1. To REV. DR. SCHÖN.
 2. To VENERABLE ARCHDEACON CROWTHER.
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LETTER TO REV. DR. SCHÖN.

JAN. 10TH, 1882.

Dear and Reverend Friend,

The Secretary has handed me your long and interesting letter of the 27th December, 1881, and in order to prepare the subject, I think it best to address you in my private capacity, being more informed on the particular subject than perhaps any other member. When certain points are cleared up, we shall be able to take action.

I have been much touched and pained by the tone of some passages in your affecting letter: I would try to comfort you. We do not work for earthly rewards or earthly renown, but for the *sake of the work itself*; and God's special work, such as you have done, brings, and no doubt has brought, its own reward. And after all, we are unprofitable servants in our own estimation at least. But I can assure you, dear friend, that the learned world, and those, whose interests are in Africa, do not consider your long, learned, and self-sacrificing, labours, as unprofitable. You have indeed employed the talents committed to your charge, and have been singularly blessed in having had such a long opportunity for employing them, for many are cut off in their prime; but you, like Dr. Krapf and Bishop Crowther, have been permitted to enjoy the exceedingly great privilege of labouring for your Master at early dawn, during the heat of the day, and at evening tide, when you feel, that there is light. Your name will never be forgotten in Africa while the Hausa language is spoken, and many will bless you for having conveyed God's truth to that language.

We will not go back to the causes, which have led to your good work being somewhat neglected; it is sufficient to say, that in some particulars the Committee is making a new start by a new division of labour, and I think I can see a way, by which all your wishes will be gratified.

In the inclosed abstract I have attempted to bring under review all your works since 1875; kindly inspect it, and carefully correct it, and return it. You must understand, that the British and Foreign Bible Society will do all the Bible-work, and the Christian Knowledge Society will publish your Grammar, and Book of Parables, etc., but the Church Missionary Society must be the channel, through which your application in each case must be made. I am myself a member of all three Committees, so there will be no difficulty, when once the plan of operation is decided upon.

Writing, as a practical man, I must suggest, that you utilize without delay the material, which you have ready for the Press; you must recollect, that, if you are called away, such manuscripts will be probably useless without your supervising eye. I remark (No. 11 in my list) a Book of Parables, Stories, Proverbs, etc., in Hausa, ready for the Press. If you will send these to the Committee, I will do my best to get them published at the expense of the Christian Knowledge Society. Then again (No. 12 in my list) the continuation of the Scriptures in the Mendé Language appears to be of the greatest importance. If you would kindly transmit the letters, which you have received from the late Lay Secretary on this subject, we shall be able to trace out the correspondence, and communicate with the Bible Society on the subject. Then again, the Manuscript Grammar of Mendé, to which you allude (No. 14 of my list) appears deserving of immediate attention. I am not aware of any Grammar of that Language, and if you will forward your MS., I will undertake to recommend it to the Christian Knowledge Society.

Then as regards to future work, I must call your attention to the Books of the Old Testament, which still remain untranslated in Hausa. I would also call your attention to the singular fact, that the Nupé translation of the Gospel of John (No. 4 of my list) does not appear on the lists of the Bible Society. Have you a copy, and can you explain this? Should not a second edition be published, and additional books translated in this important language?

I feel, as Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society, most grateful for your paper on the Hausa Language, for our Journal. You will receive a separate letter on this subject. If you were able to attend in person, you would be received with every honour as a veteran scholar, who has been crowned with the Volney prize at Paris.

I do not think that we have occasion yet for a second and enlarged edition of the Hausa-English Dictionary, but you will do well to attach an appendix to your own copy of that work, and keep on from time correcting that work, and leave instructions that this copy be forwarded to the Society, when God in his own time compels you to lay your pen down. *But we must all work on to the last.*

I cannot encourage you in the translation of such works as "Line upon Line," etc., while any portion of God's Inspired Word remains untranslated in Hausa. Anybody can do such translations, but your strength must be (as soon as you have cleared away accumulations of work ready for the Press) devoted to the Bible in Hausa and Nupé, and even in Mendé.

If Mr. John forwards to you the Prayer Book in Hausa, I can assure you of the readiness of the Christian Knowledge Society to publish it. If you can suggest any addition to Ibo literature, it would be a matter of rejoicing. Both Archdeacon Crowther and Archdeacon Johnson are taking a great interest in the languages of the Niger Basin, but your counsel and suggestions would be valuable.

So, my dear friend, let me try to hold up your hands, and strengthen you for the fight, while it is called to-day. I have at my disposal the grammars of every language in Africa, and they are all at your service.

LETTER TO VENERABLE ARCHDEACON DANDESON CROWTHER (A NEGRO).

Dear and Reverend Friend,

I have to thank you for your kind letters directed to me personally, and the valuable Language Map and Notes, which have been forwarded by you to the Church Missionary Society and kindly lent to me. So long an interval had elapsed betwixt my letter and your reply, that I feared, that my letter had miscarried, and, as intermediately a letter came to Salisbury Square from Archdeacon Johnson on the subject of the Languages of the Upper Niger Basin, I addressed him on the subject of the Niger Basin generally. I mention this, that you may not suppose, that I undervalued your labours. At the time that I wrote I had no idea, how extensive and valuable your researches had been.

Let me first make it clear to you, that in these linguistic labours my only object is the greater glory of God, and the wider spread of the Blessed Gospel. Science is the Handmaid of Divine Truth. How can the Nations, now lying in darkness, hear, unless they are spoken to? How can they be spoken to, unless the speaker can address them in their own proper language? How can he acquire that knowledge, unless he is previously informed, what Languages are spoken? So you perceive, that Linguistic Knowledge is one of the rounds of the Ladder, upon which the Evangelizer must climb. And we in England wish by the help of the Bible Society to supply you with Bibles in every Language of your field, and by the help of the Christian Knowledge Society to supply you with Prayer Books, Commentaries, Grammars, and Hymn Books, in the different Vernaculars, and by the help of the Religious Tract

Society to provide you with tracts, and the means of publishing local periodicals for the instruction of your flock.

Up to this time the Niger Basin has been an unknown land, and some of our friends fancied, that all the inhabitants spoke, or at least understood the Yari language. The labour of yourself, and Archdeacon Johnson, will clear all this away. I have myself published a volume on the languages of Africa, accompanied by a Language Map of that continent, and a Catalogue of every Book published on the subject of each of the Languages, which are arranged on Scientific Principles in Families, if they came from the same Mother-Speech, as in South Africa, or in Groups, if they have no other but a Geographical connexion. All the work of this generation is tentative. I run the risk of being called an ignorant person by the men of the next generation, who will build up their fuller and more perfect knowledge upon the basis and foundation, which we of this generation lay down. But what matters, so long as Science is advanced, and the Kingdom of God is thereby enlarged?

Nothing is more hurtful to the progress of knowledge than wild theories, and baseless speculations. I admit no language in my lists, or on my maps, unless I have information at *first hand*. as to the Geographical position of the people who speak it, and some specimens of the Language spoken. A Grammar is the *best* thing, but a Vocabulary of words written with care according to Lepsius' Standard Alphabet is the *least* proof of the existence of a language, that can be accepted. The Church Missionary Society have published Lepsius' Standard Alphabet for that particular purpose, and if you have not a copy, you can be supplied with one. A carefully compiled list of words and sentences can also be supplied to you in the English language.

You must also understand the difference between a language, and a dialect. A language is the great medium of communication of a Nation, such as English and Welsh. A dialect is a variation of that Language, spoken in a certain portion of that Language-Field, and it is sometimes difficult to decide, whether a form of speech is a language or a dialect. Now clearly Portuguese and Spanish are two separate sister-languages, and equally clearly Venetian and Tuscan are only Daughter-dialects of one Mother, Italian. I think I gather from your notes, that the Idzo languages, spoken at the Mouths of the Niger, had several dialects, such as Brass, Bonny, Okrika, etc. Dialects differ from their Mother Language (or Dominant Sister, which has become the chief Language) in I. Phonetics, or II. Vocabulary, or III. Structure, in some of these particulars, or all. It will exercise *your* judgment in the highest degree to decide upon such knotty points. We cannot help you there.

Again, all languages borrow the *words* of their neighbours, but,

very rarely the *structure* of neighbouring languages. Such words are called "loan-words," and must at once be struck out of any Vocabulary of indigenous words, as it would only be productive of error to introduce them.

I have written the above, because a great deal more has to be done in addition to the excellent work, which you have already done; it is necessary for you to know the extent of the Field, and the number of works already published, with copies of all of which you ought to be supplied.

I venture, with all due deference to the greater local knowledge of your revered father, the Bishop, of yourself, and your esteemed colleague Archdeacon Johnson, to suggest, that the languages, detailed in the Schedule, exist in the Nile Basin, and that dialects innumerable underlie them. I ask you to examine, criticize, and correct it.

I need scarcely point out to you, that the three great Societies above alluded to cannot discharge their duties to the fulness of their powers, and desire, until the vehicle is made ready for their use; and to you in the field is reserved the blessed privilege of fashioning, as it were, new silver trumpets, in which the Glorious Tidings may be published. I would bring to your mind another consideration. Of all the languages in which Xerxes, King of Persia, issued his letters, as recorded in the Book of Esther, not one has survived to our time, except the Hebrew and Greek, which were sanctified as the vehicles of God's Word. I can also tell you, that no language has ever perished from the knowledge of mankind, to which the Oracles of God have been committed, for having attained the exceeding precious privilege of being the vehicle to poor mortal men of Immortal things they have themselves obtained Immortality. If then you, as a Patriot, proud of your country, and your wonderful languages, wish them to survive to after-ages as the medium of communication of a Christian People, lose no time in committing to their keeping a portion of God's life-giving treasures. I would remind you, that the strength and beauty of the English and German languages repose upon the wonderful translations of the Holy Scriptures made three hundred years ago by men, who carried, as it were, their lives in their hands. How many stars will there be in the crown of those fortunate servants of God, who have been the first to convey the Precious Promises to previously unknown languages, and thus been the favoured instruments of converting millions!

We have arrived at a stage in our course, when we must go forward. The question is, how are we to reduce to writing, compile Dictionaries, compose Grammars, and translate the Scriptures, and elementary works, in these languages and their unknown dialects. Who is equal to these things? Already a learned German has been brought to my notice by the Rev. Dr. J. F. Schön,

who is a good Hausa scholar, who desires to be employed on such duties on the Niger, and inquiries are being made, whether he is a godly man. Your revered father has obtained a reputation throughout Europe, as a Linguist and a Geographer, and the honour thus obtained among men of this world is reflected back upon his holy vocation, and makes the name of a Missionary popular, and admired even among men, whose hearts are not given to God, and all this works incidentally in the cause of Missions. All this must act as an incentive to yourself and Archdeacon Johnson, and other men of accomplishments in the Mission, to do this great work, which God seems to have placed in your hands, and called you out to do. I have, as you may have heard, proposed to train and send into the interior Native Geographical Explorers, as we do in India; and I feel sure that this will sooner or later be done, and that Africa is quite able to produce men fit to be Pastors, Preachers, Linguists, Geographers, and Administrators, if only the way be shown to them by those more fortunate Nations, who have had hitherto greater opportunities.

You may perhaps think, that with the care of all the Churches on your hands you must put aside matters, which appear of secondary importance. But are these matters secondary? The great Livingstone left his Chapel and flock, because God called him to the special duty of revealing Central Africa to this generation. The venerable Krapf did not convert many Africans, but he has done a work in Grammar, and Dictionaries, and Translations, which will enable other men to do their work in an hundredfold degree. Your own venerable father is another example of what may be done, and must be done.

What we require of you, and those who work with you, in the Lower Niger Basin, is:

- I. Grammatical Notes, Vocabularies, and a portion of the Holy Scripture, in the Idzo Language.
- II. The same in the Isekiri.
- III. The same in the Igára.
- IV. The same in the Kúkurúku.
- V. The same in the Igbara.

Bishop Steere, who is doing the work of an Evangelist on the East Coast, has published several small volumes, which he calls "Collections," of each of the Languages, with which he comes into contact. This is a beginning obviously incomplete, and often incorrect, and yet still it is something, upon which further labours are based. These little volumes are at once published by the Christian Knowledge Society, and copies distributed. Do not seek for too much perfection, and do not delay printing, for life is so short and uncertain, and many a young scholar is cut off in his prime, and his knowledge perishes with him. It is given to few

to have the blessed privilege, conceded to your father, Dr. Schön, and Dr. Krapf, to work on to the end of their day, and work out the fulness of their knowledge.

I have ventured, dear friend, though a stranger, to write to you fully. Language is one of the great problems of human life : it runs through all Bible-History ; the confusion of Tongues in the Old Testament informs us of a phenomenon, which we cannot rightly understand : the miraculous gift of Tongues occupies the same position in the New Testament. We find in Judges xii. 6, that Dialects, differentiated by pronunciation, had already come into existence, and in Isaiah xxxvii. 13, that the same individual could speak two languages : we recognize the providence of God in committing His oracles to the Greek language, a language precise in its diction, and clear in its written character, at a date anterior to the birth of our Lord, that there might be no question of the authority of the Old Testament ; and we can see the same wisdom manifested in the completion of the Latin Version at a period anterior to the commencement of Papal Error. Finally we know that in the last day there will be a great multitude of all Nations, *and Tongues*. . God grant, that by your labours all the languages of the Niger may be represented *there* !

LONDON, DEC. 25, 1881.

VI.

EASTERN PROVERBS BY REV. J. LONG.

It is with pleasure I draw attention to this book, and make some remarks with regard to the author, and the contents of his volume.

The Rev. James Long, during his long residence in Bengal, established the character of a wise and true friend of the people of India, especially the agricultural classes. He endured obloquy and misrepresentation for their sakes among his own people, and actually went to prison, like a stout and steadfast confessor in their behalf. We have no doubt, that his antagonists regret the step that they took, which was fatal to their own interests. The imprisonment of a Christian missionary in the common gaol of Calcutta, for daring to speak up for the humbler classes of India, was in itself a great and striking lesson not easily forgotten. It need hardly be said that the cause of the prisoner triumphed in the end. "Speak the truth and shame the devil." "Do right whatever may be the consequences." These were proverbs, which James Long illustrated by his own acts.

In his old age, when infirmities have rendered his return to his unselfish and benevolent duties in India impossible, the old soldier has looked about, and considered what good he can still do to the people he has loved so well. This is another lesson, which he has read to his countrymen; it is not enough to give up the prime of your life and faculties to the interests of India. A real friend of India, like James Long, will find out a way, in which he can utilize his experience, his collected wisdom, his knowledge of the feelings, customs, and language of the people, whom he can hardly hope to see again in the flesh. Such should be the sentiments of us all. Little enough of material profit did he make out of his sojourn in India, and yet he was ready to try to repay the debt. How many have shaken the pagoda-tree, and then shake off the dust of India from their shoes, and remember nothing of that country and of the people, from the sweat of whose brows their abundance in England has been wrung!

He mentions in his preface, that his materials have been compiled from more than one thousand volumes, some very rare, and to be consulted only in India, Russia, or other parts of the Continent. The field has been so wide, and the material so immense, that the work of condensation has been as difficult as that of collection. The

author spared neither time nor labour in collecting and classifying, and a quarter of a century has been the period employed, and it is designed to convey instruction to the following classes: 1. Orientalists. 2. Lovers of Folk-Lore, Teachers and Preachers. "The selected proverbs, though limited to those seeming to illustrate moral and religious subjects, show how widely scattered nations under similar circumstances have come to similar conclusions. Many of these resemblances arise from the identity of human nature, or are a portion of the spiritual heritage, which me brought away with them from the cradle of the human race, and improved on by subsequent communication. They therefore form a bridge for those, who are labouring to bridge over the gulf betwixt Eastern and Western thought."

Solomon is credited with the honour of having collected proverbs. It is scarcely suggested that he invented them, for proverbs are not the productions of the sage or the scholar. They existed before books, and are the great heritage of tribes and nations, whose communications were only oral. Wit is said to be the thoughts of many, but the words of one. Proverbs may be described as a condensed parable, or wisdom boiled down to an essence, and presented to the public in the form of a lozenge, so as to be carried about in every pocket, and lain on every tongue. Who was the original composer no one can say. They have floated down on the lips of men like literary waifs, clinging perhaps to rural districts and isolated corners, while trodden down in the busy town or frequented market. Many more may possibly be gleaned from the lips of old crones, who draw out by chance almost forgotten treasures. Let no one despise them, for the wise old saw, the short and pointed apophthegm, find their way to the brain, head and conscience, by channels, and to an extent unknown to sermons and advice. "Honesty is the best policy." "After pride comes a fall." Such reflections may have saved from worldly ruin many a prayerless youth just tottering over the edge of a precipice.

To the Orient the present generation, the heir of all the ages, owes its stores of proverbs. In the form of Beast-Stories men of ancient days loved to inculcate moral maxims, putting them into the mouths of the elephant, the jackal, or even the jackass. Such stories ended with, "therefore I say," and a proverb. We have preserved to us among the Egyptian papyri a volume of such stories, and proverbs of an undoubted age anterior to the descent of Abraham into Egypt. Even then the collector of such proverbs and stories prated about the good old days that were past, and the degeneracy of his contemporaries. A thousand years later no doubt the Egyptian wife of King Solomon took a copy of this ancient book to Jerusalem, as Egypt had then, as ever, the reputation of being the land of the learned. Since then the stores have been ever collecting. We doubt whether any new proverbs were ever

coined in Europe. "Carrying coals to Newcastle," and "Taking the breeks off an Highlander," are merely re-minting with a new impression the old metal. The East had the start, and fairly exhausted this branch of knowledge. Many proverbs are frightfully improper, and, as in all human affairs, there is a current of evil running parallel to the current of good.

The Author quotes an extract from a Chinese authority as to the utility of proverbs: they would be considered pedantic and tiresome in Europe, and in modern days, but it was not so in ancient days, and even those, who have lived long in the East, know how often a pointed reply to the question is given in a proverb; how the coldness of an interview is warmed by a timely quotation of a truth acknowledged, though not practised by all: how an old white-beard with joined hands will suggest to the ruler in the most respectful manner some cutting remark of a general proverbial character, but bearing unmistakably on his case, creating a laugh, and helping the settlement of the matter. I asked a lad once why he had thrown up a lucrative post, and come back to his poor home: his reply was a beautiful old distich, "That the love of
" one's country was dearer than the throne of Solomon, that Joseph
" on the throne of Egypt sighed for his old poverty in Canaan." I asked an old man why he worried me by his unavailing petitions: his reply was in the famous couplet, "That no pilgrim on his way
" to Mecca sought relief at a brackish fountain, but wherever there
" was sweet water, man and beast would collect." In proverbs there is often alliteration of syllables, or rough rhymes, such as the agricultural joke of North India, "band o bast narm, tahsil garam:" "if the assessment be light, the collection will be brisk." In the school, in the address of the Missionary, or the Public officer to the assembled rustics, as a clenching retort by an advocate hard pressed in his case, how good and profitable is the use of proverbs! They must of course be brought forward in wisdom and love, and be opportune: their use is often that of a two-edged sword, and the swordsman must know both the cut, and the guard, and the object must be to counsel and lead, not to exasperate or humiliate the opponent. As an instance of a proverb being inopportune, I remember the case of a boundary dispute being settled by a just, though peppery, official: the party, against whom the case was going, cried out in his agony the well-known proverb, "Your Honour should look at the case with two eyes," without being aware, that the official had by an accident lost one of his eyes: and he was fined for his supposed impertinence.

The author divides his book into three parts:

- I. Proverbs chiefly Moral.
- II. Proverbs Moral and Religious.
- III. Proverbs Religious.

One of his critics has found fault with the prominence of religious teaching in his book : many more would have wondered, had the latest, perhaps the last, work of an old Christian Missionary been devoid of that element. But it is religious teaching of the highest order, drawn from that common fount, whence all good things flow, "the love of God and one's neighbour." It is free from the narrowness of the conventicle, and the shibboleth of the sect : that man would indeed be to be pitied, who could take exception to the words of wisdom presented to him in this book. The Christian Missionary, and the Teacher of the Secular School, the itinerant Lecturer, and the mover of the passions and minds of Mankind through the agency of the public press, printed books, or oral speeches, may find weapons of offence and defence in this arsenal. Let us for once and for all time disabuse ourselves of the idea, that there is no goodness, and no wisdom, and no fructifying power, in the sayings of uninspired men. God's blessed rain has at all times fallen upon the hearts of His creatures, and out of their thoughts and words have been distilled sweetness and light, and it is owing to the blessed influence of this common law of morality, handed down in the form of proverbs, that man has been kept so good as he is. The people of India have a grand and noble history, a vast and magnificent literature, a civilization of unequalled duration, languages, both ancient and modern, which rival and surpass those of Europe : it is not a matter of surprise, that there should be in India a wealth of proverbs, some good and some bad : but among the uncultivated, and less fortunate races of Asia and Africa, devoid of literature, and even of a written medium, legends, folklore and proverbs are found to exist, if only they are looked for by a sympathizing inquirer. There is no occasion to start a groundless theory of some affinity of race, or possible intercourse in time past, to account for the resemblance of such outcomes of the human intellect, for all mankind are endowed with the same feelings, the same aspirations, and the same weaknesses : and the same central truth is expressed in a pithy proverb in countries far off from each other, but resembling each other, inasmuch as they are drawn from the same fount of a common humanity.

Women in the East are said to be intensely fond of illustrations by proverbs, but this must be accepted as a fact on trust, for as yet little is known of the inner lives and thoughts of women, and they have not had fair play. Proverbs certainly have been used in all ages and countries to depress poor women in public estimation : it is possible, that within their inclosed walls, and secret gatherings, men catch it as severely from the mouths of females, and no doubt with justice : the time is coming when they will have their revenge : let husbands and brothers look to it. Still, in spite of themselves, men pay a tribute to the weaker vessel in the famous proverb, which I have heard from the lip, though I never saw it

in print, "that a hundred men make an encampment, and one woman makes a home."

In their last report the Folk-Lore Society, moved thereto by James Long, announces its intention to publish the Proverbs of England, arranged in a systematic classification, while at the same time strenuous endeavours are to be made to record any proverb which up to this time has remained unrecorded. There is not much to be picked up in England, where the schoolmaster and public press are unconsciously treading out the dialects, suppressing the use of local words, and rendering unfashionable the time-honoured proverbs. But in India there is no doubt an abundant harvest still to be gathered in, if sympathetic spirits can be found, who will supply themselves with an interleaved copy of these Proverbs, and add with a ready pencil the new treasures, which fall unconsciously from the lips of each chance speaker.

Journal of the National Indian Association, August, 1881.

VII.

THE INSCRIPTIONS OF KING ASOKA IN INDIA.

LE ISCRIZIONI DI RE ASOKA.

Dobbiamo questo scritto importante alla penna di un dotto gentiluomo inglese già noto ai lettori delle Rassegne delle letterature straniere, il quale, maneggiando con facilità la nostra lingua, scrisse in essa appostatamente per la *Nuova Antologia* l'articolo, che siamo lieti di pubblicare.—LA DIREZIONE.

Fu detto, e non senza un'apparenza di ragione, che Dario, figlio d'Istaspe, lasciò dietro di sè, sulla rupe "Behistun" la più orgogliosa e la più grande iscrizione monumentale che immaginar mai si potesse. Questa iscrizione ora scritta in tre lingue: l'antica persiana, la mediana, e l'assira; rappresentanti di tre distinti famiglie di favelle. Egli parla in stile ampolloso delle nazioni, che aveva conquistate, dei nemici che aveva sconfitti, e della gloria colla quale aveva circondato il nome degli Achemenidi. In ciascuna delle mille trecento linee, di cui è composta questa gran canzone trionfale, vi si scorge l'amor della gloria mondana, un'arroganza intollerabile, e una crudeltà spietata. Come se fosse ironia del destino, dal giorno in cui fu terminata, fino, si può dire, a oggi, l'esistenza sua fu dimenticata. I Greci non ne intesero mai nulla; neppure Erodoto, Senofonte o Ctesia. I Romani non si sarebbero degnati di farne alcun caso, quand'anche avessero saputo la sua esistenza o capito il significato. Stette ivi negletta e dimenticata sulla strada maestra tra Bagdad ed Ecbatana, fintanto che Rawlinson la trasse all'attenzione della generazione presente, e costrinse la rupe a cedere i suoi segreti.

L'India britannica ha, inconsapevolmente, messo insieme una raccolta d'iscrizioni monumentali più interessanti di quelle di Dario. L'industria e l'intelligenza degl'Inglese hanno costretto a certe rupi, caverne, e colonne, di palesare un capitolo dimenticato della storia, e di ravvivare il nome d'un re, Asóka, altrimenti chiamato Priyadási, il quale nel terzo secolo avanti l'era cristiana, eresse queste iscrizioni monumentali in ogni parte dei suoi vasti domini, avendo in mira di predicare pace e misericordia alla vita dell'uomo e della bestia; d'inculcare massime di moralità e di mortificazione; di ammaestrare i suoi sudditi, col dir loro che vi era una via più perfetta di quella della gloria terrestre; e massimamente insistendo che osservassero la tolleranza religiosa. Una tale rivelazione di superiorità morale esistente avanti l'Era cristiana e operata dagli

sforzi dell'uomo, basterebbe da sola a renderla uno dei più preziosi tesori, che l'orgoglioso tempo sia stato costretto a restituire alla energia di questa generazione; ma i monumenti stessi sono tesori di dottrina linguistica, paleografica, e storica, e gettano una nuova luce sui rapporti dei successori d'Alessandro Magno ai sovrani dell'India.

Nell'anno scorso, il generale Alessandro Cunningham, indagatore delle antichità dell'India, pubblicò il primo tomo della sua opera: *Corpus inscriptionum indicarum*, la quale è interamente consacrata alle iscrizioni d'Asoka, e radunale sparse notizie fornite da uomini eruditi, come il Westergaard, Giacomo Prinsep, Carolo Wilkins, Orazio Wilson, Norris, Eugenio Burnouf, Cristoforo Lassen, e da infiniti altri meno noti contributors a questa grand'opera. Siccome essa è rara e oltremodo dotta, sarebbe forse convenevole di compendiarne il contenuto, e dinotare brevemente la natura dei monumenti, il luogo, la data in cui furono eretti, il carattere nel quale sono scritte le iscrizioni, e la lingua che rivelano quei caratteri, lo scopo di quelle iscrizioni, la storia di quel sovrano, all'ingegno, alla pietà, alla possanza del quale audiamo debitori di questi preziosi avanzi del tempo, e finalmente i nomi dei sovrani greci, ai quali abbiamo già accennato.

I monumenti comprendono iscrizioni intagliate sulla rupe originaria, in caverne per lo più artificiali, e su colonne d'altezza uniforme e di disegno d'architettura. Queste sono le iscrizioni indiane le più remote che abbiano mai esistito o almeno che abbiano sopravvissuto alla devastazione del tempo; e quando ci faremo ad esaminare la loro data, sembreranno, a comparazione, moderne agli occhi dello studioso di monumenti egiziani, fenici, greci e italici. Vi sono tredici iscrizioni di rupi, quantunque cinque sole siano di prima importanza. Vi sono diciassette iscrizioni di caverne; ma esse sono nella massima parte, semplici frammenti; benchè esistano dieci colonne, sei sole hanno iscrizioni e solamente cinque sono d'importanza. Mettendo dunque da parte i monumenti privi d'iscrizioni, o che, se ne hanno, non sono leggibili o in frammenti, ci rimangono dieci monumenti del più grande interesse; cinque iscrizioni di rupi e cinque di colonne; i frammenti hanno qualche valore, essendo essi indubitabilmente scritti nello stesso carattere singolare; e perciò, aiutano il paleografo a decifrare lettere che hanno resistito al vento, al calore e alle piogge di vent'un secolo, e che hanno sopravvissuto alla trascuranza, allo sciupio, al barbarismo iconoclastico, e il pessimo gusto di sessantatrè generazioni di lasciare il proprio nome sulle iscrizioni delle antichità. Quelle, tra l'altre si ebbero un'avventurata sorte che furono protette dall'incrostatura del muschio o dall'abbraccio amorevole dell'impenetrabile selva. Quelle soffersero più che caddero sotto agli occhi dell'uomo e sotto alle mani degli arroganti re, i quali vi aggiunsero i propri nomi, o in quelle dei preti bacchettoni, che procurarono di distruggere quello che non erano atti a capire.

La campagna in cui sono sparsi questi monumenti è letteralmente tutta l'India settentrionale, dall'Oceano indiano all'occidente fino al Golfo di Bengala all'oriente, dal declivio meridionale della catena di montagne Vindhya, al mezzogiorno, fino al Passo Khyber attraverso il fiume Indo al settentrione. Se ne trovano alcuni in Ganjam nella provincia di Madras, ed alcuni in Kattiawar nella provincia di Bombay. Le provincie centrali, le provincie del Nord-Ovest e le provincie del Bangála e il Punjáb hanno i loro rappresentanti: uno è nella vicinanza di Jypúr nel Rajputána, un altro al luogo, ove il fiume Jumna lascia le montagne Himalaia. In fatti il campo dei monumenti d'Asoka è limitrofo con quello del popolo Ariano, e non se ne sono ancora trovati alcuni nel paese dei Dravidiani.

Le dieci celebri iscrizioni si trovano nelle seguenti località:

I. La rupe di Kapúrdagúrhi, la quale vien chiamata Shahbagúrhi da Cunningham, è nel paese di Yusufzai al di là del fiume Indo, ossia, nell'Afghanistan britannico, quaranta miglie E.N.E. dal Peshawar della provincia del Punjab. E una gran massa informe di "Trapp," lunga ventiquattro piedi, e alta dieci piedi, e ottanta piedi su pel declivio del monte. L'iscrizione sta su ambi i lati della rupe, e benchè per motivo della sua posizione non si possa farne una fotografia, si sono fatte delle impressioni e dei disegni a occhio. Fu scoperta dal generale Court, e trascritta dal signor Masson quarant'anni fa.

II. La rupe di Khalsi è posta sul lido occidentale del fiume Jumna, appunto ove lascia le montagne Himalaia, per passare entro le valli Dehra e Kyarda, quindici miglia ovest da Massourie nelle provincie del nord-ovest. Fu scoperta dal signor Forrest nel 1860, incrostata col cupo muschio di molti secoli; ma allorchè esso fu rimosso, la superficie ne rimase bianca come il marmo. Il testo è più perfetto di tutti gli altri. A cento piedi al di sopra del livello del fiume si vede un gran sasso di quarzo lungo dieci piedi, e alto dieci piedi; sul lato S.E., il quale è stato lisciato, vi si trova la maggior parte dell'iscrizione, il rimanente essendo sul lato S. Si vede sul lato N. la figura d'un elefante colla parola "Gajátama." Non ci vien detto per mezzo di qual processo se ne fecero delle copie.

III. La rupe di Gírnár è situata a mezzo miglio all'E. della città di Junagurh nel Kattiáwar della provincia di Bombay quaranta miglia al N. del celebre Tempio di Somnath. La prima copia dell'iscrizione fu fatta dal dottor Giovanni Wilson di Bombay quarant'anni fa; ma il maggior Tod ebbe l'onore di annunziarne la scoperta nel 1822. Essa copre più di cento piedi quadrati della superficie ineguale d'un immenso sasso di granito arrotondato, e alquanto conico, che s'innalza dodici piedi al di sopra della superficie del suolo; esso occupa la maggior parte del lato N.E. ed è diviso nel centro da una linea verticale. Se ne conosce bene la figura dalla

fotografia che si trova nella *Rivista Archeologica* dell'India Occidentale. Quantunque se ne fossero fatte ottime copie dal occhio, il signor Burgess fece una stampa dell'intera iscrizione, la quale è stata fatta in fotografia e pubblicata. Vi sono di essa altre iscrizioni d'una data più recente di quelle d'Asoka, ma di periodi ben conosciuti.

IV. La rupe di Dhauli è sulla costa opposta dell'India, nel distretto di Kuttack della provincia di Bangála, venti miglia a settentrione del tempio di Jagannath. Fu scoperta dal capitano Kittoe quarant'anni fa. E di pietra quarzosa, posta sopra un'eminenza, ed è stata tagliata e pulita per lo spazio di dodici piedi di lunghezza, e dieci di altezza; e l'iscrizione è profondamente tagliata in tre tavolette. Nella parte superiore si osserva la testa con le gambe interiori d'un elefante, lavoro di magisterio superiore, tagliato dalla solida rupe. Non si sa per mezzo di qual processo se ne fecero delle copie.

V. La rupe di Jaúgada è situata in una grande e vecchia fortezza a diciotto miglia W. N. W. delle due torri Ganjam nella provincia di Madras, e perciò vicinissima all'ultima rupe di cui abbiamo fatto menzione, in mezzo ad una popolazione che parla al tempo presente la stessa lingua, cioè la Uriya. L'iscrizione è intagliata sopra un'alta massa di rupe, voltata verso il S. E., e di cui s'ignorano le dimensioni. Il Governo di Madras ne fu informato nel 1859 dal capitano Harington, il quale ne mandò delle fotografie, ma si è saputo dopo, che la sua esistenza, e la natura del contenuto erano ben note a sir Walter Elliot nel 1850. Si sono fatte da quel tempo delle impressioni e altre fotografie, e si è ottenuto un buonissimo testo. L'iscrizione è scritta su tre tavolette. Simile alla sua compagna di Dhauli, ha il merito d'esser intagliata con gran cura e precisione, e di possedere gli aggiunti Editti. Essa è stata molto guastata dal decadimento della rupe.

Compresi gli aggiunti editti, abbiamo ora esaminato sette delle iscrizioni di rupe; le rimanenti sei posseggono un certo interesse poichè forniscono date cronologiche; sono situate a Sakasaràm sulla catena di montagne Kyonore, a settanta miglia da Benares; a Rupnauth ai piedi della stessa catena trentacinque miglia al nord di Jubbulpore, due a Bacrát, quarant'un miglio al N. di Jaipur; a Khandágiri presso Dhauli in Kuttack, e a Deotek a cinquanta miglia S. E. di Nagpur; esse sono molto brevi.

Le iscrizioni di caverne si trovano in quattro diversi luoghi. Tre esistono a Barabar, o tre a Nagarjuni; ambidue i luoghi si trovano a quindici miglia al N. di Gya, nella provincia di Bangála; nove sulla collina di Khandagiri in Kuttack, e due a Ramgurh in Sirguja.

Si crede che le colonne siano state assai più numerose; ma adesso poche sole esistono, oltre alcuni capitelli senza i loro fusti. I pellegrini chinesi fanno menzione di molte altre, oltre le cinque,

le quali colle loro iscrizioni sono ancora note a noi altri; e sappiamo dall'iscrizione sulla colonna Delhi-Siwalik, che il re aveva dato ordine che si facessero colonne di pietra, e tavole di pietra, onde "i suoi editti religiosi durassero fino ai secoli remoti." Ottimo uomo! le di lui brame sono state realizzate. Perchè Davide, e Iosia, ed Ezechia, dei quali non esiste neppure una linea scolpita per ricordo, non fecero lo stesso, se ebbero care l'eternità di cui erano i custodi? Cinque colonne offrono, in una forma alquanto diverso, il testo di sei degli editti. Il sesto è un breve e mutilato scritto sul frammento d'una colonna, che giace accanto al gran Sanchi Stupa a Bhilsa sul fiume Nerbudda; quel che vi si legge è troppo incerto per esser d'alcun valore.

I. Colonna o pilastro a Delhi, conosciuta come "Lat di Firoz Shah," la quale è così ben nota a tutti i viaggiatori. Istorici maomettani contemporanei dicono, che fu portata da un luogo sulle rive dell' Jumna, al di sotto della Catena Siwalik, novanta miglia al N. di Delhi, e perciò non molto lungi dall'iscrizione sulla rupe, di Khalsi. La colonna ha passato per molte vicende. E adesso alta quarantadue piedi, ed ha due iscrizioni principali oltre parecchie memorie minori di pellegrini e viaggiatori, dai primi secoli dell'era cristiana fino ai nostri tempi. La più antica iscrizione è quella d'Asoka, la quale è tagliata in un modo bello e chiaro; alcune lettere solo sono perdute col decadimento della pietra. Vi sono quattro differenti iscrizioni sui quattro lati, e una lunga iscrizione che va intorno alla colonna.

II. Colonna a Delhi, la quale, secondo gl'istorici contemporanei, fu portata da Meerut a Delhi da Firoz Shah. Fu per una disgrazia gettata a terra nel 1713 A.D. e vi rimase sotto. Dopo un secolo l'iscrizione fu trasportata a Calcutta, ma non è mai stata ristaurata, e la colonna fu eretta di nuovo nell'antico posto. Le iscrizioni sono molto imperfette, essendo mutilate e logorate dal tempo. Si fecero delle impressioni onde compararle col testo d'altre colonne. Non vi rimane che la metà, circa, dell'iscrizione originale.

III. Colonna ad Allahabad. E un semplice fusto di pietra arenaria pulita, alta trentacinque piedi; non esiste traccia del capitello; l'abaco circolare rimane ancora con una voluta di loto alternato con caprifoglio, riposando sopra un astralogo a palette, d'origine greca. L'iscrizione d'Asoka circonda la colonna in linee continue, profondamente intagliate, e con molta precisione; ma in gran parte è stata rovinata dall'iscrizione vanagloriosa dell'imperatore Jehanghir e dal decadimento della pietra. Sulla stessa colonna vi sono iscrizioni minori d'Asoka. Vi è una gran quantità di nomi di forestieri tagliati in caratteri affatto moderni. Sembra essere stata gettata a terra più d'una volta, e queste intagliature di nomi aiutano a indicare le date di questi sinistri. Sta ora al

sicuro nel centro della fortezza a Allahabad; ma il generale Cunningham crede che fu rimossa a Allahabad da Kosambhi dall'imperatore Firoz Shah.

IV. Colonna a Lauriya presso Bettiah nella Provincia di Bangála, è un semplice masso di pietra arenaria pulita, senza capitello alta trent'otto piedi; ed essendo in un luogo remoto ha sfuggito al pericolo di essere sfigurata dai nomi dei viaggiatori; il rame è bello e chiaro, e diviso in due distinte porzioni. Si sono fatte delle impressioni, e delle copie a occhio.

V. Colonna a Lauriya presso Bettiah, e presso alla fortezza rovinata di Navandgurrh, ha ritenuto ancora l'originale suo capitello, un leone seduto sulle anche, colla bocca aperta; ma è guastato da una cannonata. Ha trentadue piedi d'altezza, e il capitello ha un abaco circolare ornato d'una fila d'ocche selvagge che beccano il loro cibo. Compreso il capitello, il monumento è alto trentanove piedi. L'iscrizione è in due porzioni; chiara e profondamente tagliata. Vi sono sopra dei nomi intagliati, ma non sono di veruna importanza. Son queste le colonne che nel secolo passato furono descritte dal missionario Marco Della Tomba, come osservò già il professor De Gubernatis, che ne pubblicò gli scritti.

Ora conviene esaminare la data, in cui furono erette queste iscrizioni monumentali, e l'argomento sta entro un piccolo compasso. Portano il nome di Priyadási, identico con quello d'Asoka della dinastia Mauriya di Magadhá o Buhár secondo una serie d'argomenti affatto convincenti. Asoka fu il terzo della dinastia che regnò a Palibothra, cioè Patna, e il nipote di Chandragupta, identico con quel Sandracotto, a cui Seleuco, uno dei successori d'Alessandro Magno mandò Megastene in qualità d'ambasciatore a una data indicata nella cronologia della Grecia. Qui camminiamo sul sicuro. Nelle iscrizioni, Asóka fa menzione d'Antioco II. di Siria, di Tolomeo II. d'Egitto, d'Antigono di Macedonia, di Maga di Cirene, e d'Alessandro II. d'Epiro. Ciò prova che le date a.c. 253 fino a 251 furono assegnate alla promulgazione di questi editti. Per quanto recente ci sembri quest'epoca nella cronologia dell'Europa, pure è la più anziana nell'India, ed ha questo vantaggio, che è appoggiata su dati indubitabili.

Queste iscrizioni sono, sotto il punto di vista filologico, inestimabili, poichè ci offrono un esempio dello stile ufficiale di quel tempo; e dimostrano chiaramente, che quella lingua intermedia, per cui passarono i vernacoli Ariani moderni dell'India settentrionale, non fu la Sanscrita, ma la Pali.

L'asserire che questa fosse la lingua parlata dal popolo in una così vasta area, è irragionevole, e assai improbabile; poichè si dovrebbe in quel caso dimostrare che le lingue moderne di Kattiáwar, Kuttack, Buhar, l'India centrale, l'India settentrionale, e Pesháwar, le quali sono ben conosciute, siano rispettivamente derivate entro i due mila anni che sono scorsi fin d'allora, dalla

lingua adottata per le iscrizioni, e sappiamo benissimo, che la cosa non andò così. Si notano tre variazioni di dialetti sulla lingua di queste iscrizioni: uno settentrionale, uno centrale, e l'altro meridionale; ma queste variazioni sembrano estendersi soltanto ai casi fonetici; e non si fa menzione che d'un solo esempio di specialità di vocabolario e niuno di costruzione grammaticale.

La forma di carattere scritto adottato è ancor più prezioso e interessante; troviamo che vi sono due distinte varietà: quello conosciuto come *Asóka settentrionale*, o *Ariano-Pali*, è limitato all'iscrizione della *Rupe Kapúrdagúrbi* e l'altro chiamato *Asóka meridionale*, o *Indo-Pali*, è adottato per tutte le altre iscrizioni di rupi, caverne, e pilastri. Il primo si legge da destra a sinistra, e il secondo da sinistra a destra; e questa differenza, che sembra portentosa allo studente, svanisce affatto, allorchè vien rammentato che il carattere greco passò per ambedue le condizioni e fino anche l'intermedio *Boustrofedon*, che va avanti e indietro come l'aratro in un campo. Ci manca lo spazio per inoltrarci nella discussione che lo studio di questi due caratteri ha prodotto. Il generale *Cunningham* ha sviluppato una sua teoria, che il carattere alfabetico dell'*Asóka meridionale* è stato derivato da un semenzaio indipendente e indigeno nell'India.

Egli confessa che quello d'*Asóka settentrionale* ha avuto la sua origine dalla Fenicia; ma contro il parere di quelli che mantengono che quello dell'*Asóka meridionale* sia della stessa famiglia, egli ha esposto la sua idea dello sviluppo di questi caratteri alfabetici dalle figure di vari oggetti; e dallo stesso processo chiamato *acrostico* l'oggetto venne adottato come simbolo del suono della prima lettera della parola che lo esprime.

Lo scopo di questi editti è come segue:

1. Proibizione d'ammazzare gli animali per cibo, o per sacrificio;
2. Provvedimento d'un sistema d'assistenza medica, per gli uomini, e per gli animali, e di piantagioni e pozzi ai lati delle vie;
3. Comando per un'umiliazione quinquennale, o ripubblicazione dei gran precetti morali del culto *Buddhistico*;
4. Comparazione dell'antico modo di vita, colla felice condizione del popolo sotto il *Re*;
5. Nomina di *Missionari* per andare nei paesi enumerati a convertire il popolo o gli stranieri;
6. Nomina di delatori e custodi di moralità;
7. Dichiarazione del desiderio che ci sia uniformità di religione ed eguaglianza di casta;
8. Contrasto dei divertimenti in uso sotto gli antichi sovrani coi pii godimenti del presente *Re*;
9. Inculcazione della vera felicità, che si trova nella virtù mediante la quale soltanto si possono ottenere le benedizioni del Cielo;

10. Contrasto della gloria vana e transitoria di questo mondo colla ricompensa che il Re si sforza ad ottenere nell'altro ;

11. Inculcazione della dottrina che insegnare il Dharma o la Virtù, è il più grande dei doni caritatevoli ;

12. Avvertimento a tutti gl'incereduli ;

13 (imperfetto). Non si può che conghietturarne il significato ;

14. Ricapitolazione dei suddetti.

E un'acerba satira per noi il riflettere, che negli ultimi due mila anni vi siano state prediche sulle pietre, e precetti morali intagliati col ferro su rupi durevoli, e che non vi sia stato nessuno per leggerli, meditarvi sopra, o capirli. Non vi sarebbe stato luogo pegli abbozzamenti del Sivaiismo o Vaishnavismo ove avesse prevalso un simile codice. Di più, egli prega in ogni varietà di preghiera " per quelli che differiscono da lui in religione, i quali, seguendo " il suo esempio, possono ottenere con lui la salute eterna." (Editto VI. di Colonna). Ciò ha l'impronta del vero Cristianesimo.

Egli comanda la tolleranza colle seguenti parole : (Editto VII. di Rupe) " Brama che tutti gl'incereduli possano dimorare dappertutto " senza esser molestati, siccome essi bramano un raffrenamento " morale e purità di costumi. Poichè gli uomini hanno diversi " intenti e diverse brame."

L'anima si desta con dolce meraviglia al pensiero, che uomini antichi abbiano concepito nel cuor loro tante belle cose ; e la stessa sensazione si prova quando leggiamo i discorsi di Socrate. Se le iscrizioni monumentali non avessero fatto altro che registrare gli editti del Re Asoka, avrebbero fatto al genere umano un dono incorruttibile. Il suono delle trombe regie del Re Dario, il lamento d'Ezmunazar Re di Tiro sulla vanità della vita ; la fastosa divozione d'una lunga serie di Re Egiziani e Assiri, per Amen Ra, e Assur, i loro gran Dei e Signori ; l'orgoglioso patriotismo degli Ateniesi in quei famosi versi greci, su quelli che perirono a Potidea ; le pompose memorie nei registri Ancireani dell'Imperatore Augusto, di tutto ciò che fece per Roma ; tutte queste diverse note commoventi, che ci furono risparmiate, mentre tempio e torre caddero a terra, risuonano languidamente per gli anditi del tempo, a paragone del " suono somnesso e sottile " che ci viene dal rotto pilastro, dalla rupe muschiosa, dall'obblita caverna dell'antica India, predicando all'uomo, misericordia, tolleranza, e la somma idea dell'umana bontà. Quanto ci sembra nobile quella figura principesca, il di cui solo titolo era : " Amato dagli Dei," il di cui solo vanto fu, che aveva vinto sè stesso, comparato a quegli altieri monarchi, che non volevano esser ramentati dalla posterità se non come uccisori dei nemici, distruttori delle città, devastatori delle provincie, nemici del genere umano !

London, 1881.

Nuova Anthologia of Florence.

VIII.

THE LORD'S PRAYER IN TWO HUNDRED
LANGUAGES.

A book is in my hand, which is of such interest, that I describe it. It was published at Leipzig in 1748, in the German language, and is called "The Oriental and Occidental Teacher of Languages," and it contains, not only specimens of a hundred forms of alphabetic writing used by European, Asiatic, African, and American nations, and specimens of the forms to express numerals, but it supplies copies of the Lord's Prayer in two hundred languages or dialects.

A careful analysis of this collection is necessary before any conclusion can be arrived at as to the accuracy of the high figure. I have gone over each entry separately, and make out the following return: Europe, 27 languages; Asia, 35; Africa, 7; America, 6; Oceania, 0; total, 75. A great many versions, or slight dialectal variations, extend this seventy-five to two hundred, and under a stricter examination this seventy-five could be further reduced. It will be remarked how Oceania is entirely unrepresented. Africa supplies the dead Coptic and Ethiopic, and only four living languages. In America there are six vague entries, and among these the dead Mexican. Europe and Asia, as would be expected, comprise far the larger number of names.

No Protestant Missionary Society to the Heathen, except the Moravian, existed in 1748, and for another fifty years the same state of things continued. With the new century the dawn of missions and of translations commenced, and after the lapse of about one hundred and fifty years we can supply the Lord's Prayer beautifully and accurately rendered in three hundred and thirty-one distinct languages and dialects in all the five regions of the world, and the entries have been made after careful inquiry and inspection of existing documents: Europe, 80 languages; Asia, 113; Africa, 59; America, 40; Oceania, 39; total, 331. When it is remembered that we are writing about the most perfect form of prayer, in which man can address the common Father of all, and that this prayer was dictated by our Lord Himself, and is now used daily by millions upon millions, we can faintly realize the wonderful advance that has been made, spiritually as well as linguistically, in the century and a half; and the credit of this advance is solely due to the great Missionary Societies and the Bible Societies of Great Britain, Scotland, and the United States. "*Laus Deo!*"

Reporter of British and Foreign Bible Society, 1885.

IX.

NOTICES OF LANGUAGES IN ASIA, AFRICA
AMERICA, AND OCEANIA.

(1). Korku, India.	} Asia.	(10). Gúarani.	} America.
(2). Singpho, India.		(11). Blackfoot.	
(3). Korea.		(12). Samoa.	} Oceania.
(4). Kavirondo.		(13). Melanesia.	
(5). Fan.	} Africa.	(14). W. Africa.	
(6). Kongo.		(15). E. Africa.	
(7). Mbundu.		(16). N. Africa.	
(8). Swahili.			
(9). Nyika.			

LANGUAGE OF THE KOR-KU, A NON-ARIAN TRIBE IN CENTRAL
INDIA.

AFTER the meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society on the 21 Jan. 1884, to discuss the subject of the origin of the Indian Alphabet, brought forward by me, a printed pamphlet and a lithographed Vocabulary of the Language of the Kor-ku, were found in the Rooms of the Society, left intentionally, or by accident, by some unrecognized visitor. From internal evidence they appear both to have been composed by Mr. Albert Norton, an American Missionary, working among the tribe at Ellichpúr. It appears to be a proper compliment to him to insert the Vocabulary and Grammatical Note in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, as they are genuine, entirely new material, and a contribution to our knowledge.

In my "Sketch of the Modern Languages of the East Indies" (1878) I remarked as follows:

KUR.

"The Kur or Kur-ku dwell in the Central Provinces on the Mahadéo Hills, and Westward in the Forests on the Rivers Tapti and Nerbada, up to the Bhíl Country. On the Mahadéo Hills they prefer to be called Muási. They are Pagans, and, though residing amidst the Gond, (who are Dravidians), their Language is Kolarian. Vocabularies are supplied by Hislop and Dalton. They are wholly illiterate. In the Districts of Ho-shangábád and Betúl their number exceeds fifty-nine thousand."

The name of the tribe is another instance of the egotistical character of barbarous tribes, of which we have so many instances

in Asia and Africa. The word "Koro" in their Language means "Man"; with the plural suffix Kor-ku, means "Men," *the men* par eminence. The grammatical construction has a strong affinity to the Sontal, and there is ample evidence of their both belonging to one family, the Kolarian.

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1884.

THE SINGHPO LANGUAGE, ASSAM.

This is a grammar, phrase-book, and vocabulary, of about 110 pages, prepared by J. F. Needham, an officer of Government, and printed in the official press of the administrative division. It is a very creditable performance, and an entirely fresh contribution to knowledge. Sadiya is on the River Brahmapútra, at the head of the Assam Valley, which is flanked on both sides by high mountains, and these mountains are occupied by barbarous tribes, speaking hitherto imperfectly known languages. They dwell entirely within British territory.

The Singhpo are classed in my "Modern Languages of the East Indies" in the Tibeto-Barman family. They have the Patkoi range on their rear, but they are but the advance-guard of a much greater horde lying beyond the Patkoi range, within British Barma, known as Kakyen or Kaki. They are to a certain extent civilized, but Pagan, *i.e.* neither Hindu, Mahometan, nor Buddhist. Singhpo, or Chingpau, means merely "a man." Vocabularies, and Grammatical Notes, have previously existed, but this Outline Grammar relates to a particular portion of a large tribe localized near Sadiya, and has been compiled by the author, in whose civil charge they have been placed.

The author has already published a Grammar of the Mìri language, spoken by another barbarous tribe, and he has a third of the Khampti language, belonging to a totally different family, the Tai, or Siamese, in preparation. This is very creditable to his industry and ability. It is much to be regretted that other officials with similar opportunities do not work the virgin soil of their neighbourhood in the same spirited manner.

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, July, 1890.

LANGUAGE OF KOREA.

In the Annual Reports of previous years I have noticed the languages of the Indo-Chinese Peninsula, and the Indian Archipelago. With a view of exhausting the "Extreme Orient," I have thrown together all that is published of the language of Korea, that unknown and debateable land, which lies, as it were, betwixt China and Japan, connected with both, but on bad terms with, and trying to be independent of, both. I have been fortunately placed in communication with Mr. W. G. Aston, the Japanese scholar, who published lately the best account hitherto

available of the language. I have also consulted the writings of M. Léon de Rosny of Paris, and looked to the right and left for any other source of original information. The subject was lightly touched upon by Professor Vassilief at the International Oriental Congress of St. Petersburg, 1876.

I can supply the following Bibliography:

1. "Sankoku Tsuran Tosetsu," translated by Klaproth, 1832.
2. "Thousand-Character Classic," with Korea version. Siebold, 1833.
3. "Comparative Vocabulary of Chinese, Korea, and Japanese." Medhurst, 1835.
4. "Chinese-Korea Vocabulary," with German version. Siebold, 1838.
5. "Histoire de l'Eglise de Koree." Dallet, 1874.
6. "Korea Primer." Ross, Newchwang, 1877.
7. Articles in the Journal of Société Asiatique. Léon de Rosny, 6th series, vols. iii. and viii.
8. "Russo-Korea Vocabulary." Pontzillo.
9. "Chinese-Korea and Korea-French Vocabulary." Callery.
10. "Vocabulary Japanese-Aino-Korea." Metchnikoff, 1887.
11. Translation of portions of the Bible.
12. Concise Dictionary and Grammar by Underwood, 1890.

It is remarkable, that the people of Korea have an alphabet called "onmun," with fourteen consonants and eleven vowels, written, either in an ordinary, or a cursive, form, from the top to the bottom of the page, syllable by syllable. It had been stated by Rémusat, that this alphabet was identical with the New-chih and Kitan characters of the Chinese: but Mr. Wylie is of opinion, that this is not correct. We have yet to learn how they acquired their alphabet, whether from Tibet or Mongolia, or from other sources. The vocabulary, like that of Japan and Annam, is heavily laden with Chinese loan-words, but these words undergo a considerable change of pronunciation, and form, and have to submit to the grammatical processes of the Agglutinative method, for to that linguistic order the language belongs. The higher classes use the language of China for writing and social intercourse: all laws, and books of science, are written in that language, but the pronunciation is so different, that it is unintelligible to residents of China proper.

After eliminating Chinese loan-words, the language of Korea is found to be totally distinct from Chinese. As a nation, they have kept themselves very much apart, and have held communication with the Chinese and Japanese alone. There may have been at some period an extensive native literature, but it is now represented by a few poems, romances, and nursery tales, and in later days by a number of works composed by Christian missionaries, who have here, as elsewhere, encouraged vernacular literature.

Klaproth is the first scholar, whose contributions to the knowledge

of this language are worthy of notice. A still more substantial addition was made by Siebold. He published first a vocabulary picked up from the mouths of natives of Korea shipwrecked at Nagasaki in Japan; then the work cited in the commencement of this notice, and, in 1838, the *Luiko*, a Chinese work, giving the Korea words at the side of the Chinese characters, without any attempt at grammatical construction. Medhurst published his dictionary in 1835, chiefly for the use of Korea students of Japanese, and arranged according to the usual system of classes, or categories, and giving, first, the Chinese character; second, the Japanese sound of the Chinese character expressed in the alphabet of Korea; third, the Korea word followed by the Korea pronunciation of the Chinese character; and, lastly, the Japanese word, all expressed in the Korea alphabet. An English version is added, and, as it contains about four thousand words, it is a most useful work. The Roman Catholic Missionaries had prepared a grammar and dictionary, but it perished, while in manuscript, in a fire, and they were expelled in 1866 from the kingdom. M. Dallet, in 1874, in the introduction to his history of this Mission, published a short but valuable Grammatical Note, compiled from materials furnished by the Missionaries, and this is the only Korea Grammar extant, and, as far as it goes, is excellent, and is indispensable to any student. The Rev. Mr. Ross, of the American Presbyterian Mission, has since published a small volume of Dialogues on ordinary subjects, which is valuable, as being the only publication which gives grammatically constructed sentences. He has published translations of portions of the Bible. Nothing had previously existed, except a bald vocabulary, and Grammatical Notes. Mr. Ross has therefore extended the means of learning this language very considerably, as the interior structure is for the first time revealed by him.

Mr. Ross's system of transliteration is approved by Mr Aston, with one exception. He gives *g* and *k* as the values of the two gutturals, *d* and *t* of the dentals, and *b* and *p* of the labials, but other scholars maintain, that there are no such sounds as *g*, *d* and *b*, and they substitute *k*, *kh*; *t*, *th*; *p*, *ph*. A proof of the correctness of the latter view is that, when the natives of Korea write words of other languages, in which the letters *g*, *d*, *b*, occur, they have recourse to signs, never used for any Korea word, such as a combination of *m* and *p* for *b*.

The Manuals, compiled by the Japanese College of Interpreters at Fusankai, present many advantages, but unluckily they have never been printed; they contain phrases, dialogues, and sentences, illustrating the words of a Chinese Categorical Dictionary. The relationship of the language of Japan to Korea is so close, that the Japan interlinear translation corresponds, not only word for word, but particle for particle, with the Korea original, which is rendered

more striking by the circumstance, that the order of construction of the two languages is almost precisely identical, and the Japan version thus discloses the minutest details of the structure of the Korea. Mr. Mayers' untimely death has destroyed all hope of the publication of his intended Korea Grammar, and the materials left by him are in too unfinished a state to be utilized by others.

Mr. Aston remarks, that the Korea language unmistakeably belongs to the Agglutinative order, but it is not obvious to which of the families that adopt that method, it belongs, for later investigations have brought to light the existence of several. In its grammatical construction it exhibits a strong resemblance to Japanese. There are also points of phonetic resemblance, such as the refusal of the Korea to allow the letters *l* or *r* to stand at the beginning of a word, and the use of honorific auxiliary verbs and particles. Points of difference are also noted by Mr. Aston. In Korea the vowel of one syllable exercises a modifying euphonic influence on the vowel of the preceding syllable to an extent unknown in Japanese. Indeed, the vowels are a great difficulty to the student, as they are not only freely modified for grammatical reasons, but even the same word is not unfrequently spelt indiscriminately with different vowels. It is true, that the Korea alphabet is in itself much more simple and consistent than the Japanese syllabary, but the spelling is in a state of confusion, which is a sad contrast to the regularity of Japanese, and forms a very serious obstacle to progress in the language. The rule, that every syllable must end in a vowel, is not observed in the language of Korea.

Resemblances between Korea and Japan words are by no means unfrequent; but no complete survey has as yet been made of the vocabulary of the former language. In some cases a regular law of letter-change seems traceable. Mr. Aston supplies the following among other instances. That the Korea final *r* or *l* corresponds to the Japanese *ts* or *ds* is confirmed by finding, that this is indubitably the case in words taken from the Chinese. The Japanese *k* or *f* corresponds to the Korea *p*. The most convincing resemblances are those, which occur between pronouns, particles, and grammatical terminations in the two languages. With the means of grammatical analysis of Korea at present available, it is difficult to institute satisfactory comparisons of these elements of the two languages, and nothing can be done until we have a scientific grammar.

The noun is described as having nine cases, and there are no adjectives properly so called, their functions being supplied by the noun and verb. The verb has a simple affirmative form, a conditional, an interrogatory, an honorific, a causative, and several others, but it marks no distinction of number or person.

Journal of the Philological Society, 1879.

LANGUAGE OF THE KAVIRONDO, VICTORIA NYANZA, AFRICA.

The Kavirondo tribe reside on the East side of Victoria Nyanza, in East Africa, on the Equator, within the British sphere of influence: their country was traversed by the travellers Joseph Thomson, and the late Missionary Bishop Hannington, and it is hoped that they may in course of time be accessible to the Missionaries of the Church Missionary Society, who are stationed at the South-eastern corner of the Lake: and it is with reference to this contingency that this Vocabulary, presented to me by the Rev. Mr. Wakefield of the East African Mission of the United Methodist Missionary Society, is printed. The language is mentioned at page 284 of my *Modern Languages of Africa* (Trübner, 1883). It is classed in the Nile sub-group of the great Negro sub-group, and it is the only instance of a Negro Race having pushed down to the Equator.

Preface to a Vocabulary published by the S.P.C.K., 1887.

LANGUAGE OF THE FAN, W. AFRICA.

Senor Don Amado Osorio Zabala called upon me in London last April, and informed me, that he was an agent of the Spanish Government, who had resided some time in the country of the Fan tribe, who are settled on the upper stream of the River Gabún in South-west Africa, or thereabouts, for little is known of them, except that the tribe is strong, numerous, and cannibal. The Spanish Government in the process of the scramble of the European Powers for Africa appear to claim a certain amount of territory, intervening between the Southern frontier of the German Annexation of the Kameruns, and the Northern frontier of the French Annexation of the River Gabún. The Don handed to me a carefully prepared Vocabulary of the Fan language with Spanish renderings, and asked me to get it published.

This language is described at page 422 of my *Modern Languages of Africa* (Trübner, 1883): very little is known of it, and I welcome this addition to our knowledge.

I sent the Don to call upon Herr Ravenstein, who is occupied in the preparation of the Maps of Western Africa for the Royal Geographical Society, and I learnt from him, that Don Osorio was well known as a successful explorer of that part of Africa, which is to the North of Corisco Bay, and had driven a formidable wedge into the Pangwe or Fan, and that his Vocabulary was worthy of publication. As there was little chance of any publisher undertaking the matter as a commercial speculation, and as I felt, that if published in a scientific serial, it would be lost sight of, I have

undertaken to publish it at my own charge, as my contribution to a subject in which I have such a deep interest, and I have asked the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, to allow it to appear in their interesting and important series of linguistic works of the same character.

Preface to a Vocabulary published by the S.P.C.K., 1887.

THE KONGO LANGUAGE.

As one deeply interested in the evangelization of the people of Africa, and in all that relates to modern discovery, and philanthropic efforts, to ameliorate the lot of the African, I have been asked to write an introduction to this valuable addition to our knowledge of the language commonly called "the Kongo," although only one of the numerous forms of speech spoken in the basin of that great river.

The Rev. W. Holman Bentley belongs to the Missionaries of the English Baptist Society, and his knowledge has been primarily acquired during a five years' residence among the people who speak that language, and during his stay in England he has carefully matured that knowledge, and arranged his materials. In spite of the heavy affliction of the temporary loss of his sight, and prolonged ill-health, he never abandoned his great work, and by God's grace has been permitted to bring it to a conclusion before he returns to the field of his labours. I may be permitted to add, that during his malady he was enabled to continue his work by the help of his wife, who has evidenced a singular aptitude for such studies, and has supplied another instance of women not being backward in this special work of the Lord.

For it is for the purpose of advancing the Kingdom of God, that this great work has been commenced, continued, and completed. It is a solid brick in the great edifice of the Evangelization of Africa, for : how can they hear unless they are spoken to ? How can they be spoken to unless the Missionary masters the vulgar tongue of the people to whom he is sent ? Mr. Bentley has consecrated his great talents to this noble work in the hope, that it will enable his colleagues, and those who come after him, to spread the Gospel of Christ. This was his main object, and for this purpose only the funds of a Missionary Society can be properly devoted to the expense of such publications.

But the Scholars of Europe and North America would indeed be dead to all feeling, did they not feel gratitude to Missionaries, like Mr. Bentley, who have revealed to them new worlds, and helped them to enter in and admire the beauties of hitherto sealed gardens. The Kongo language takes its place by the side of the Swahili,

the Zulu, and the Pongwe, as one of the typical languages of the Bantu Family. Differing from each other in many particulars, they still have such ineffaceable affinities, as indicate their common stock. The mechanism of one often explains the misunderstood anomalies in the others. Mr. Bentley has been able to get to the bottom of many knotty points, which will no doubt throw a reflected light on unexplained features in sister-languages, of which the study is only now commencing.

A Dictionary and a Grammar are but means to an end, and that end, from the point of view of all who love the Lord, is the translation of the Holy Scriptures, and the circulation and faithful preaching of the Everlasting Gospel. All human knowledge, all intellectual talents, are vain and profitless, unless directly, or indirectly, they lead on to the Salvation of Souls, and I heartily congratulate Mr. Bentley, that he has been permitted to render service to the great cause, which will be lasting, and pave the way to services, whether performed by himself, or others, which will be still more endurable, still more acceptable, still more blessed.

Preface to Bentley's Dictionary of the Kongo Language, 1886.

THE MBUNDU LANGUAGE.

I have been asked to write a few lines, to explain who the author of this Grammar is, and where the language is spoken.

In 1884 the late Dr. Summers, whose premature death at Lulua-burg, on the Upper Kassai, we all deplore, accompanied by M. Heli Chatelain, a native of Switzerland, called upon me in London, and told me, that they were proceeding to Loanda, in the Portuguese Colony in West Africa, South of the Equator, as part of Bishop William Taylor's Self-supporting Mission. M. Chatelain had all the gifts of an accomplished linguist, being acquainted with French and German, his two native languages, English, Italian, Spanish, Greek, Latin, and Hebrew. On his voyage out to Loanda he studied the Portuguese language, thus in a peculiar manner fitting himself to be the linguist of his Mission, as his labours would lie among tribes, who spoke dialects of a language, totally unrepresented in literature, and unknown in Europe, though some light had been thrown upon it by Portuguese Scholars. M. Chatelain acquired this language and collected materials for a Grammatical Note, and Bible-translations. John's Gospel has been printed at the expense of the British and Foreign Bible Society : the former is put forth by himself, at his own charges, assisted by the donations of friends. It is a Grammar of the *Mbundu* language, interpreted in Portuguese. It is for the use of the natives and of Missionaries actually in the Mission-field, where that last-named language is the official language :

otherwise we could have wished, that the Grammar had been in one of the great languages of Europe. Probably a translation will accompany new Editions. The meaning of words has been given in English, and few linguists will be at loss in understanding the Portuguese.

The language is described, as far as our knowledge went in 1883, at page 393, vol. ii. of my "Modern Languages of Africa" (Trübner, London). It was called Bunda or Mbundu, or in the native parlance Ki-Mbundu. It belongs to the Western branch of the Great South African, or Bantu, Family of Languages, and is one of great importance, being the *Lingua franca* of the region. In 1697 P. Dias, a Jesuit, published a Grammar of the language under the name of Angóla. The Capuchin monk Cannecattim published at Lisbon in 1804 a Dictionary, and in 1805 a Grammar, which passed through a second edition in 1859.

Both these works are creditable productions for their period, the result of local inquiries, and in the Portuguese language; however, neither of the compilers had realized the fact, that Bunda was a member of a great Family of languages, nor had they fully discovered the great, unique, grammatical features of that Family. I remarked in my Book, that a new Grammar of the Bunda language was required, and rejoice that the matter has fallen into the hands of a scholar so peculiarly qualified to undertake it, both by his linguistic acquirements, and his professional opportunities, as M. Heli Chatelain.

He had previously prepared a Primer of this language, which is appreciated by the inhabitants of the town and Mission-station of Malangé: it appears that there are two dialects of the language, that of Loanda and that of the Interior, but they are mutually intelligible. He has also prepared two short Vocabularies of Mbamba and Umbangála (Kasanji), which have been published in Dr. Büttner's "*Zeitschrift für Afrikanische Sprachen*," at Berlin. A Dictionary of the Mbundu language is in preparation, which will be enriched by a comparative study of this particular language in juxtaposition with the well-known Swahili, the *Lingua franca* of the East Coast, the Kongo on the West Coast, illustrated by Mr. Holman Bentley, the Umbundu, the Vernacular of the District of Benguella, which has been made known by the excellent publication of the American Missionaries, and the Hereró, the Vernacular of Damara-land, South of the River Kunéne, which has been illustrated by the conscientious labours of the German Missionaries. It will thus appear, that we are most fortunate in securing the services of so capable an author. for this particular and most important language. Had the lamented Dr. Summers lived, we should have learnt from him all about the mysterious and unknown languages of the Ma-Kioko and Ba-Shilange (Ba-Luba). I trust that his MS. collections may fall into competent hands.

Our author has devoted himself, from his early years, to the cause of Missions to the Heathen : his intellectual capacity and acquired knowledge might have raised him to a position of independence ; but he felt, and feels, that all his Talents are consecrated to the service of his Master. In sickness, in poverty, in exile, in circumstances, which would have crushed a spirit less dauntless, he has striven to discharge the duty of extending the Kingdom of Christ, and has so far been a worthy ally of Bishop William Taylor, though I, as a critical observer of Missionary methods, cannot approve of the method of this Self-supporting Mission.

I recommend this work to the favourable consideration of African Scholars, and the author himself to the affectionate interest of all those, who love their Lord, and seek to carry out His parting commandment.

Preface to Chatelain's Grammar of the Mbundu, 1889.

THE SWAHILI LANGUAGE.

In 1879 the Committee of the Church Missionary Society put forth a circular inviting subscriptions to a Dictionary of the Swahili language, which their honoured and aged missionary, Dr. Ludwig Krapf, proposed to publish under their auspices. The work was entrusted to Messrs. Trübner, Ludgate Hill, with whom a contract was entered into by the Committee to take a certain number of copies.

While a few sheets remained in the press, the venerable compiler fell on his last sleep, leaving the great work of his holy and useful life incomplete ; on his table lay a corrected proof-sheet, as some of his latest thoughts before his sudden call had been devoted to what he deemed an important factor in the great enterprise of converting the Pagan tribes of East Equatorial Africa, all of whom spoke this or a kindred language. The Committee accepted as a solemn duty the task of completing the work in the manner, and on the lines laid down by their revered friend, and resisted all suggestions to make changes. Such as the work was designed and carried on by Dr. Krapf, such is it issued to the public. The Committee were perfectly aware of a difference of opinion existing between two schools of Swahili scholars, that of Zanzibár, and that of Mombása. They were also perfectly aware, that Dr. Krapf, who was the first in this linguistic field, was a scholar of high European repute ; they laid stress upon the fact, that the Dictionary was his, and that of his lamented friend Dr. John Rebman, one of their honoured Missionaries, and they determined to accept the merits and demerits of the work, whatever they might be.

There may be a difference of opinion on the mode of rendering the language into the modified form of the Roman alphabet and the mode of spelling. Such differences have occurred repeatedly in dealing with other languages of Asia, Africa, America, and Oceania. It is natural, that each author should desire to have his own views carried out. Experience will decide upon a question, which is not one of principle but of practice. Those who have to make use of English, German, and French dictionaries of the same language, know that the inconvenience of a different transliteration of the same vocable only lies on the surface.

At any rate, here is now something, where nothing existed at all. Had the life of Dr. Krapf not have been prolonged to the close of last year, the public would not have had the invaluable aid of his long experience in acquiring a knowledge of the word-stores of the language.

Preface to Krapf's Swahili Dictionary, 1882.

THE NYIKA LANGUAGE.

The tribe of A-Nyika are about fifty thousand in number, and occupy the low country Northward to Mombása, with two tribal subdivisions, Wa-Digo, and A-Lupanga. The Church Missionary Society from Rabai, and the United Methodist Mission from Ribé, have for many years worked in their midst: their language is not widely different from the pure Swahili of Mombása, yet it is different. The venerated Missionary Rebman made large Manuscript Word-collections. Krapf and New published Vocabularies. It is a matter of certainty, that Rebman had prepared a Dictionary, which is alluded to by Krapf and others in their writings: it was seen and handled by living missionaries; but, by a strange chance, after the death of Krapf and Rebman, it disappeared, and, in spite of diligent search and inquiry in Germany and Africa, has never been recovered. I myself, by the kind permission of his widow, in 1886, searched the cupboard in his home at Kornthal in Wurtemberg, where the old scholar kept his papers; but I only brought away a few scattered leaves of MS. The fair copy, which had been bound, was not to be traced. Fortunately, among the Manuscripts, which, after the death of Rebman, were forwarded to Salisbury Square, the rough copy has been found, perfect, with the exception of a considerable *lacuna*. Instructions were sent to the Missionaries at Mombása to supply this void by fresh Word-collections, and the editing and preparation for the press was entrusted by the Committee to the Rev. Mr. Sparshott, one of their African Missionaries, who had been employed in completing the publication of Krapf's Swahili Dictionary, when the old man's hand

failed, and he fell on his last sleep over a corrected proof of his great Life-work.

This cannot be called an important, and possibly may not be a "permanent" language, and may yield in the struggle for life to its powerful congener, the Swahili. Portions of the Holy Scriptures, and Hymns, have been published in it, and the Church Missionary Society adheres to the principle of preaching and teaching in the vulgar tongue of each tribe, and does not condescend to the easy policy of instructing the Missionary in one popular Vernacular, and imposing upon the unlettered villagers the hard task of learning new and divine truths through the medium of a foreign language, which policy effectually shuts all the women and the elderly men out of all Evangelizing influence. I lay stress upon this, because in one Mission-field, which I have visited this year, and in another in West Africa, English has been introduced in substitution of all Vernaculars for the convenience of the Missionary, and even in Eastern Africa I remark signs of the old "Middle Ages" delusion, that it is not necessary to translate the Scriptures into the language of each tribe, *as the people readily learn Swahili, and the Native Christians beg to have their religious instruction in Swahili.* But how about the poor ignorant heathen, who know neither Christ, nor Swahili? The common vulgar tongue is undoubtedly the one, in which all mankind should read the wonderful works of God, and this is the justification for incurring the expense of publishing this Dictionary, which is but a stepping-stone to further translations of the Scriptures. This language is mentioned at page 355 of my "Modern Languages of Africa."

Preface to Rebman's Nyika Dictionary, 1887.

THE GUARANI LANGUAGE.

A copy of a new edition of the Grammar of this South American language has been forwarded to the Library at the Bible House by Mr. Henriksen, who has been the British and Foreign Bible Society's valued Agent in the Argentine Republic and adjoining countries since 1882. Mr. Henriksen has now accepted an appointment under the South American Missionary Society as leader in a new Mission to the "Natives" of Paraguay, which it is about to establish, and he has been summoned to England by that Society to confer with its Committee on the arrangements for the enterprise. The Bible Society is in the mean time seeking a new Agent to superintend its Colporteurs, and conduct its operations in and around the Argentine Republic. A man of spiritual earnestness, of courageous, cheerful faith, of enterprising activity, and of linguistic attainments, more especially in Spanish, Italian, German, and French, as well as English, is required.

The Gúarani Grammar mentioned above is in the Spanish language, and was published in 1876 at Buenos Ayres by Father Juan N. Alégre, of the Seraphic Order. The first edition was published at Madrid in 1639, nearly two centuries and a half ago, by Father Antonio Ruiz de Montoga, a native of Lima, a Missionary of the Roman Catholic Church and Superior of the College of the Assumption in Paraguay. The Grammar was prepared on the spot for the use of Missions. The language was considered to be the foundation of all the dialects spoken in the Missions to the Natives of Paraguay, Uruguay, Parána, Santa Cruz of the Sierra, and several other Provinces. The Grammar was accompanied by a Vocabulary and Dictionary, of which a second edition has not yet been published.

The success of the noted Mission of the Jesuits to these natives was much paraded, but *permanent* good is not effected, where conversion to Christianity is only nominal, and the Scriptures in the Vernacular are withheld. As the late Bishop Steere, of Zanzibar, wrote to the Bible Society, when he accepted the office of one of its Vice-Presidents: "I feel here that our work must be all unsound without a Vernacular Bible." When the Order of Jesuits was suppressed, and the Mission was withdrawn from Paraguay in 1768, the Gúarani returned to their savage and heathen life, just as the people of Kongo in West Africa have done.

Many years ago Mr. Armstrong, of Buenos Ayres, made a communication respecting a Translation of Scripture, which was said to exist; but it never came to hand, and the subject dropped before 1860.

A version of the whole Bible into the Eastern dialect of the language was made by an English Minister in the early half of the seventeenth century. It did not reach the press, and it would have been unsuitable for the people of Paraguay, who speak another dialect.

A translation of the Sermon on the Mount has been recently prepared, and Mr. Henriksen has endeavoured to get a tentative edition of it printed at Buenos Ayres. But when the printer discovered, that it was a portion of the Bible that he would be producing for circulation, his conscience would not allow him to proceed with the work, and he returned the manuscript. It will be printed in England. The new Mission to the natives of Paraguay will increase the need to push on a version in Gúarani, as the language of some hundreds of thousands of people. It is also of importance that the Vocabulary and Dictionary referred to above should be brought to light, and issued in a new edition without delay. I trust that the conscience of the printer may be enlightened.

Monthly Reporter of the British and Foreign Bible Society, 1886.

THE BLACKFOOT LANGUAGE, NORTH AMERICA.

The compiler of this Grammar and Dictionary of the language of the Blackfoot Indians is the Rev. John William Tims, trained at the Church Missionary College, Islington, and sent out in 1883 to the North-west American Mission of that Society. His station is at "Blackfoot Crossing," on the Canadian Pacific Railway, in the Province of Alberta, and the Diocese of Calgary, which for the present is united to Saskatchewan, about 50° North Latitude and 110° West Longitude, on the East side of the Rocky Mountains.

The Blackfoot, called by the French *Pieds Noirs*, and by the Germans *Schwarzfusse*, are so named on account of their black Moccasins. They are or were a powerful tribe, divided into four bands: (1) the Blackfoot proper; (2) the Pa-e-gun; (3) the Blood; (4) the Small Rover. Under the arrangements of the Canadian Government, reserves have been set apart for these tribes, and the reserve of the Blackfoot proper, among whom Mr. Tims resides, is actually upon the railway. The reserve for the Blood Band is to the south, not far from the frontier of the United States. It is stated with confidence, that the same language is spoken by the Blackfoot proper, the Pa-e-gun, and the Blood. This linguistic work is of considerable importance. The Gospel of Matthew is passing through the press. The tribe belongs to the great Algonquin family, and, like all the languages of America, is Polysynthetic. The written character is the Roman. Vocabularies existed previously, but this is the first grammar, and we have to thank Mr. Tims for this important contribution to knowledge.

Preface to Grammar published by the S.P.C.K., 1890.

THE LANGUAGE OF SAMOA.

A cluster of Islands in the Southern Pacific is known as the Samoa and Navigator's Islands. They were discovered in 1721 A.D. Some of the Islands are among the largest and finest in the Southern Seas. The inhabitants number thirty-five thousand, and are stout, and well made. Among them for a long period, and with considerable success, have laboured good and earnest Missionaries of the London Missionary Society, on whose work in the cause of civilization and Christianity I do not pause to dwell here, because my attention is confined to the language of this people, of which the book quoted above is the representative and illustration.

The old fond fancy, that the first Grammarian of a language invented the grammar, has passed away. The Grammarian's work is to collect, codify, and explain the laws of spontaneous growth, which regulate the structure of a language, as regards

its sound-lore, word-lore, and sentence-lore, commonly called Alphabet, Accidence, and Syntax, while the compiler of the Dictionary collects from the mouths of the people the word-store of the language. Where there is no indigenous, or borrowed, form of written character, the Grammarian and Lexicographer have to transliterate the living words on some fixed and understood method into the Roman character.

This is the work, which Mr. Pratt, forty years a Missionary of the London Society, has done for the first time in the history of the world as regards the language of Samoa, and has done excellently well. To enable me to judge as to the correctness of his work would require a knowledge of the peculiar form of speech equal to his own, or to consult other Grammarians, which in this case do not exist. I take the facts upon trust, with the knowledge, that he writes for the use of a long succession of Missionaries, and a large company of native converts, who will hourly sit in judgment on him. My trust is also justified by my knowledge, that he has resided a long period in these Islands as a Missionary among the people, and that the Scriptures have been translated into that language, and are used with satisfaction week by week in the Native Congregations and Sunday Schools. I welcome therefore this volume as a positive, and scientific, addition to linguistic knowledge. The first edition was published in 1862: this is the second, enlarged and improved.

Mr. Pratt had the advantage of the assistance of Mr. S. J. Whitmee, who is engaged with others in the task of editing a Comparative Polynesian Dictionary. The portion of the Globe, known as Oceania, is divided into four regions, I. Polynesia, II. Melanesia, III. Mikronesia, IV. Australia. The Polynesian Family consists of the following languages: I. Hawaii, II. Maori, III. Tahiti, IV. Rarotonga, V. Tonga, VI. Marquesas, VII. Niue or Savage Island. Samoa is the eighth. They have all been studied, and illustrated by Bible-Translations. It is a doubtful question, whether there is an affinity betwixt these languages, and those of the Malayan Family in the Indian Archipelago. The Polynesians may have borrowed loan-words, but that seems to be the limit of the affinity.

I notice the characteristic linguistic types of this family as stated by Mr. Whitmee. The sounds are simple; and expressible in the Roman alphabet with the ordinary values. Every syllable is open: some words consist of vowels only. A law of phonetic permutation exists: the accent is on the penultimate: there is an article. Some words can be used at pleasure to represent nouns, adjectives, verbs or adverbs, without change of form. Some nouns are formed from verbs by taking a suffix. Gender is only sexual. There is some variety in the mode of indicating number in the noun: cases are indicated by prepositions; adjectives follow the substantives.

Pronouns are numerous, and personal pronouns have three numbers. Tense, mood, and voice are indicated sometimes by a prefix, sometimes by a suffix. In the Samoa language the verb has a special plural form. The causative verb is formed by a prefix, the same method adopted in the old and extinct Egyptian. The verbs have intensive, frequentative and reciprocal forms. Many ceremonious words are used only to Chiefs, and the different grades of rank are indicated in conversation by the use of particular words: it may be said to have three dialects, (1) that of the high Chiefs, (2) that of the Chiefs, (3) that of the people. Words, which form part of a Chief's name, are often disused during the Chief's life, and in some places are not received back into use after his death. Imagine the inconvenience, if all the component syllables of Victoria and William were "tabú" from use in any word of the English language either for the reign of the monarch, or for ever. What should we do without the words "Victori" and "Will"?

The peculiarities above stated speak volumes of interest to the comparative linguist. How has it come about, that the reasoning powers of man should have evolved analogous or similar linguistic methods without the possibility of any intercommunication? There is an amount of resemblance not so much of the word-store, as of the machinery for using those words, which in dealing with races isolated from contact of the outer world implies irresistibly a common origin of language, if not of race. The work of the Missionaries, who have revealed to us this knowledge, is doubly blessed: blessed to the people who receive the Scriptures, and Christian instruction, and a moderate amount of civilization, and with an indirect blessing of throwing a light upon the intellectual history of the human race. Let those, who undervalue foreign Missions, pause and consider what is the outcome of the work among the Polynesians during this century.

The language of Samoa henceforth takes its place among the languages of the World, represented by its Bible; and it is a notable fact, that the people of Samoa, who at the close of the last century were such savages, that they devoured a boat's crew of the fleet of La Perouse, have paid for the whole cost of the printing and publishing of the whole Bible, and they did this voluntarily, growing special fields of arrowroot for the purpose, as they had no currency. Let this fact be reflected upon. The language is musical, and highly polished, the Italian of the Pacific. There are many different kinds of poetical composition, but metre is unknown, and the best are in rhyme, a sweet habit, into which all nations insensibly fall. They are mostly responsive, each verse being commenced by a few persons, the remainder being taken up in chorus, with strict attention to musical time. Some of the Polynesian tribes have recently changed the pronunciation of one or two consonants. They are doing so to the apparently great

injury of their language, but it is hopeless for Emperors, or Grammarians, to arrest the spontaneous exhibition of the taste of a Nation: we all know how the English language is being modified in its pronunciation and word-store by our cousins across the Atlantic, and by ourselves.

The Nonconformist, London, 1876.

LANGUAGES OF MELANESIA.

Linguistic Science is greatly indebted to the Church of England. Bishop Caldwell in South India, Bishop Steere in East Africa, Dr. Schön, and Dr. Koelle in West Africa, the Missionaries to the Cree, Chipewyan, Blackfoot, Shinshi, Kwagutl and Hydah in North America, and the Missionary of the Falkland Islands in South America, have made notable contributions, not the result of quiet work in a comfortable study in an English Parsonage, but the outcome of hard and persistent labour in the field, and much privation. I am glad to chronicle another remarkable work, the result of long years' devotion to Missionary work in the South Seas in connection with the blood-stained Mission of Bishop Patteson in Melanesia. It is really a beautiful work, luminous, scholarly, and yet interesting, failing in one particular only, that it has no index of names or subjects, a serious deficiency to the student of so vast a compilation.

The late Bishop Patteson, my schoolfellow at Eton, had a singular aptitude for acquiring the use of a language, but he left little behind him, with the exception of a grammatical note and vocabulary which he printed in three languages, which were the basis of the treatise on the languages of Melanesia, published by the late Scholar, Conon von der Gabelentz. Dr. Codrington did not make use of these materials: his study was independent, either by ordinary contact with the people, or through the medium of picking the brains of lads from the different Islands of Melanesia who were brought to Norfolk Island for the purpose of training. It appears that the language of the tiny Island of Mota has by a mere accident become the *lingua franca* of the Mission, and is therefore the most thoroughly known.

Oceania consists of four divisions: (1) Polynesia; (2) Melanesia; (3) Mikronesia; (4) Australia. Melanesia comprises that long belt of Islands, which, beginning in the Indian Archipelago, where the deep sea and a difference of Fauna and Flora fix Nature's landmark, and divide the region from Malaysia, runs south-east for a distance of 3500 miles to New Caledonia in 167° East Longitude, and Eastward to Fiji in 180°. Within this, but much less than this, area, is the Diocese of Melanesia. The region begins with New Guinea, that

great island being viewed as the headquarters of the dark Papuan race. To the East of New Guinea lie the great Islands of New Britain, and New Ireland, with the Duke of York's Island between them. Next come the seven large Islands of the Solomon Group, extending 600 miles. Further on, Santa Cruz, Bank's Island, and Torres Islands, extending with the New Hebrides 500 miles. North-West 200 miles is New Caledonia, with the Loyalty Group to the East. Fiji is still more Eastward, approaching nearly to the imaginary line, which separates Polynesia from Melanesia. To the North are the small and scattered Islands of Mikronesia.

The separation ethnically and linguistically between the Melanese and Polynesians is very marked indeed. Dr. Codrington gives information about thirty-four languages, spoken by the tribes residing in Melanesia, the very names of which were previously unknown, except to individual scholars, or to persons like myself, who happen to be Members of the Editorial Committee of the British and Foreign Bible Society, and of the Translation Committee of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, for many of these names appear in the Catalogues of those Societies. The Author tells us the plan of his work, and supplies many scientific illustrations; for this work is one of a Scholar as well as a Missionary, which two words are often not synonymous. The allusion made incidentally in a note to the receipt of the Vocabularies of nine languages spoken in British New Guinea, forwarded by Mr. McFarlane, gives an idea of the multiplicity of languages, spoken in that remote corner of the world. It may be accepted, that in the whole world the number of mutually unintelligible forms of speech spoken at this moment exceeds two thousand, and I should not be surprised, if the list reached three thousand. The Author mentions casually, that in one Island fifteen miles long, there were as many as fifteen different dialects, which have disappeared owing to the depopulation caused by the atrocious labour trade to Queensland or Fiji. The language of Fiji is also omitted, having been illustrated by another Scholar: this rather destroys the completeness of a Comparative Grammar of the Group, for it can by no means be called a Family, as is the case of Polynesia, where identity of origin, both of language and of race, is placed beyond doubt.

Singularly enough, by the caprice of a storm or the drifting of a canoe, Polynesian settlements are found in several Islands of Melanesia, and the intruding language is easily recognized. On the small scale of these Islands, phenomena present themselves susceptible of explanation, but similar phenomena, which happened generations ago, are wholly inexplicable in the crowded regions of Europe, Asia, and Africa; but the secret is now revealed, how such and such settlements came into existence.

The author goes carefully into the subject of the connection of the Melanesian with the Malayan on one side, and the Polynesian on the other. The fact of a comparison being possible betwixt the grammars of all three Groups goes some way, and a considerable way, to show affinity betwixt them all. He sums up his argument by the conclusion, that the Vocabularies and Grammars exhibited by him do not point to the existence of more than one Family, but this must be accepted with reserve. He argues, that the languages are numerous, separate, and various, and mutually unintelligible, and that some of them depart considerably from the common type; but on the whole they have certain features of word-store and structure, which are found in all Melanesian languages, and which may be found also in the languages of the other divisions of Oceania: here we must draw our breath and wait: we may go as far as to admit, that they resemble each other more than they resemble any other group in the world. It is plain, that there has been no one unbroken flow of population into and among these Islands: it is quite uncertain how they got there. There may have been an ancient movement of the inhabitants of the Indian Archipelago, possibly of a race antecedent to the present Malayan race, which came clearly from the mainland of Asia; this movement may by successive advances have arrived at the further Islands. Upon this may have succeeded immigration from one quarter or the other of Oceania, probably intermixed with Australian, certainly with Asiatic, blood.

Dr. Codrington divides his work into five chapters: (1) the Introduction, from which I have quoted; (2) Vocabularies of forty languages of seventy words, chosen from Mr. Wallace's Vocabularies in his celebrated book on the Indian Archipelago; (3) Short Grammatical Notes on different Melanesian languages. None of them have any inflections, and there is a total absence of gender. Number and person only exist in pronouns. The comparison is made with languages of the Malayan, Mikronesian, and Polynesian Families, which are well represented by works of esteemed authors. (4) Phonology. As was to be expected, no written character existed, and the Roman character has been adopted. (5) Numeration and Numerals. To this follows thirty-five short but comprehensive Grammars: it is a noble work, and the author deserves our best thanks.

Athenæum, London, 1886.

LANGUAGES OF WEST AFRICA.

“Ἄει φέρει Λιβύη τι καινόν.”

“*Libya is always giving us something new.*”

So said Aristotle three centuries before the Christian era ; so it is now. New rivers, new regions, new tribes, new customs, new products, and new languages, are always being revealed to us. Great has become the responsibility of this generation to convey the Word of Life to millions long lying in darkness.

My present object is to draw attention to the wants of Western Africa, from Cape Juby, in the latitude of the Canary Islands, to the River Kunéne, in the latitude of the Island of St. Helena. This was once the region of the western slave trade, but that curse has been extinguished, to be followed by the greater curse of the import of alcoholic drink from Great Britain, North America, and Germany. The nations that convey the poison should not be backward in supplying the antidote.

Along the whole of this coast are different missions from Switzerland, Germany, Great Britain, and the United States ; some are Protestant, some Roman Catholic ; the way has been opened into the interior along the basins of the great rivers Senegál, Niger, Kongo, and Coanza ; otherwise the European influence does not extend beyond the coast. France, Great Britain, Germany, Spain, and Portugal have annexed islands, or established themselves on the coast, and Liberia is an independent Republic, founded by Negro Freedmen from the United States. It may be stated generally, that the door is open to Christian efforts. The climate is the only real difficulty.

There is a great variety of language spoken : from Cape Juby to Rio del Rey, close on the Kamerún Mountain, the languages belong to the Negro group ; from that river to the River Kunéne they belong to the Bántu Family ; one language intermixed with the Negro languages, the Fulah, belongs to the Nuba-Fulah group. Arabic is known to a few, but only imperfectly. I pass under review, commencing from Cape Juby at the North, the most important vernaculars : I. Wolof ; II. Serer ; III. Mandé or Mandingo ; IV. Susu ; V. Temne ; VI. Bullom ; VII. Mendé ; VIII. Vei ; IX. Kru ; X. Grebo, at Cape Palmas, where the coast trends eastwards ; XI. Ashanti, with its dialect of Fanti ; XII. Akrá or Ga ; XIII. Ewé, with its dialect of Popo ; XIV. Yariba. This brings us to the mouth of the Niger.

In the basin of that great river are spoken the following languages worthy of notice : I. Idzo ; II. Ibo ; III. Igára ; IV. Igbirá ; V. Nupé ; VI. Fulah ; and many others in the regions beyond, as we work our way to Lake Chad, notably (VII.) Hausa, the *lingua franca* of the region. Returning to the sea-coast, we find in the oil rivers the important language of (VIII.) the Efík. This brings us

to the Rio del Rey, and the linguistic boundaries of the Negro and Bantu languages. There are scores of additional languages, omitted now, but which will have to be dealt with by the next generation. Portions of the Holy Scriptures have been published by one or other of the three great Bible Societies of London, Edinburgh, or New York, in the following languages: Wolof, Mandé, Susu, Bullom, Temné, Mendé, Grebo, Ashanti, Akrá, Ewé, Yariba, Ibo, Igára, Nupe, Efik, Hausa, sixteen in all. There have been a great many celebrated missionary scholars in this region, chiefly German; they are all dead or retired, the work of distribution remains to be done, and of carrying on the further work of translation: the former is the most pressing duty.

Passing into the Bantu region, we find translations in (I.) Dualla by Baptist missionaries, and in (II.) Pongwé and (III.) Kelé by American missionaries, and this brings us to the mouth of the Kongo. In that great waterway there is a wealth of unexplored languages. The (IV.) Kongo and (V.) Teké are partially represented by translations made by Baptist missionaries. Further south we come on the (VI.) Bunda and (VII.) Umbundu, represented by translations of American missionaries, the former published by the British and Foreign Bible Society.

Everybody is desirous to do something for Africa. Can we lend our helping hand? It is not now necessary to prove to Protestants, that the Bible is the greatest civilizing agent that the world ever knew, and that the preacher and teacher is helpless, and his work profitless, until he is supplied with the Word of God in a form intelligible to the women, children, and least educated members of the community. They may not all be able to read, but they have all ears to hear; and experience in Asia, Africa, America, and Oceania has taught us our duty, and it is always safer to do our duty than to neglect it.

Monthly Reporter of British and Foreign Bible Society, 1890.

LANGUAGES IN EAST EQUATORIAL AFRICA.

In 1844 Dr. Krapf, of the Church Missionary Society, was driven from Abyssinia and settled at Mombasa, on the East Coast of Africa, south of the Equator. He was joined by his countryman, Dr. Rebman, and these ancient heroes held the fort alone for a long period, and in their tours and palavers with the natives became aware of lofty mountains and vast lakes, which have since been revealed to the world by British explorers. All the vast region of Eastern Equatorial Africa, including the sources of the Nile, Kongo, and Zambesi, have been now amicably partitioned between the Queen of Great Britain and her young grandson, the German Emperor; but it is significant, that the existence of this

region, with its tribes and languages, was revealed by German missionaries, the honoured and faithful servants of the great Evangelical Missionary Society of Great Britain.

This region has now been annexed to two great earthly kingdoms, and brought under two spheres of material influence, but nearly half a century back it was annexed to the heavenly kingdom of Christ, and brought under the spiritual influence of the Gospel. Evangelization and Bible-work do not recognize the temporary boundaries of earthly kingdoms. It is the same wide-open Bible, and the same evangelical doctrine, that is preached by both nations within both regions. There are German missions established in the sphere of British influence, and British missions are honoured and are doing a great work in the sphere of German influence. The British and Foreign Bible Society has been the willing handmaid of both nationalities, and looks over the fences of Churches and Nationalities.

In Abyssinia the Society has translated and published the whole Bible in Amháric, the leading vernacular, a Semitic language, and the four Gospels in Tigré, a sister-vernacular; it has also printed new editions of the venerable Gíz or Ethiopic, the work of Frumentius, in the fourth century of our era. The Hamitic family of languages in Abyssinia is represented by a Gospel in the Bogos; a Gospel in the Falásha-Kara, for the use of the poor lost sheep of the House of Israel; the New Testament and part of the Old in the Shoa dialect of Galla; a Gospel in the Ittu dialect, and a Gospel in the Bararetta dialect of the same language, which is spoken over a vast area.

South of the Equator the whole Bible is available in the great *lingua franca* of the Swahili, entirely in the Roman and partly in the Arabic alphabets. This great work was commenced by our lamented friend, the late Bishop Steere, and completed by the members of the Universities Mission to East Africa. In the language of the Nyika tribe, within the sphere of British influence, two Gospels are in circulation. In the language of the Bondei tribe, within the sphere of German influence, one Gospel is in circulation. Far in the interior of the British sphere a Gospel in Ganda, spoken in the north-west corner of Victoria Nyanza, has been published, an earnest of more to come. Far in the interior of the sphere of German influence a Gospel has been published in the language of the two tribes of Gogo and Kagúru; still farther south, on the frontier of the German and Portuguese spheres and beyond, four Gospels and the Acts have appeared in the language of the Yao tribe.

For many centuries the people of East Africa, from Abyssinia to the mouth of the Zambesi, have lived their lives and passed away without the knowledge of salvation. We regard it as a blessed omen, that the work of enlightening them was commenced, carried

on, and will now with redoubled vigour be continued by the two great branches of the great Teutonic race. In this they are following the example of their two Bible heroes, Wycliffe and Luther, in giving an open Bible in the vulgar tongue to the people, who can either read themselves or listen to the reading of others.

Monthly Reporter of the British and Foreign Bible Society, 1890.

THE LANGUAGES OF NORTH AFRICA.

M. Renan some years ago struck out the idea of forming a Group of Non-Semitic Languages in North Africa; they had previously been intermixed, or imperfectly separated, the vague terms Semitic, Hamitic, or Sub-Semitic being used. Hamitic languages resemble Semitic in the great feature of having Gender, and using Suffixes, but in other particulars they are very different. The task of arranging them and compiling a comparative Grammar has yet to be done. M. Renan, in his Farewell Report of the Société Asiatique, commended it to the French School of Savants in Algeria.

The following subdivisions may be provisionally adopted :

- I. Old Egyptian and Coptic (all dead).
- II. Libyan or Berber.
- III. Ethiopic.

Of the first subdivision nothing need be said. The second is a most interesting group, extending from the Oasis of Ammon, on the confines of Egypt, to the Canary Islands, and from the Mediterranean to the Senegál River. These languages are perhaps the most ancient in the world. All the nations of Europe, and Asia, are speaking languages, which have for the most part come into existence in historical times, but the Hamitic races speak the same language now, which their ancestors spoke before the Phœnician settlement at Carthage. Hannibal must have given his orders to his Numidian cavalry in one of its Dialects. Massanissa, Jugurtha, Juba, and Sophonisba spoke it. Augustine and Cyprian preached in it. The names of Libyan, and Berber, may have been given to the tribes by their Arian neighbours, but they call themselves Imoshagh, or Amazirg, 'the Free.' Some words have survived, notably 'magulia' in Virgil's first *Æneid*, and 'elephas,' the name assigned to the great African beast by the Latins and Greeks, but unknown to any other Arian nation. On the other hand, in the mouths of the Berber tribes, who occupy the Aures Range on the edge of the Sahára, are found Latin words, 'orto' for a garden, 'olmo' for the elm tree, Bouine the new year's salutation, from 'Bonus Annus,' and lastly the use of the Latin year and the names of the months, Yenar, Mars, Maio, Yunio: the

remnants of the Latin colony, which escaped from the Arab invasion, fled to the mountains, and left these faint traces of their existence. Had this Latin Colony, which had been settled so long in Africa, not been thus destroyed, we should have had another great Neo-Latin language by the side of the great Neo-Latin languages of Spain, Italy, and France.

There are eight distinct Languages to be traced in this Group.

I. The Kabáíl, spoken in many parts of the French Province of Algeria, with several dialects, of which the Zouáve is the leading one. We have a capital Grammar, Translation of the Bible in progress, and Text Books.

II. The Tamáshek, spoken by the Tuwárik tribes of the Great Sahára: of these there are four well-marked dialects, and, strange to say, there is a distinct form of written character, both ancient and modern, known as Tifinag. There is an excellent Grammar of this language.

III. The Ghát language is spoken in the town and neighbourhood of that name: it is said to be one of the purest of the Berber languages, and most free from Arabic intermixture. We have a Grammar, compiled by a Mahometan.

IV. The Ghadámsi is spoken in the Oasis of that name, in the Province of Tripoli. There is no Grammar in existence, but Texts and Vocabularies.

V. The Shilha, or Shlu, spoken in several dialects, notably the Riff, all over the Kingdom of Morocco. There is no Grammar, but Texts and Vocabularies.

VI. The Zénága is spoken by the Nomad Berber as far South as the North bank of the River Senegál. A Grammatical note exists of this Language.

VII. The Guanch is the extinct language of the Canary Islands. Vocabularies have been collected in several dialects.

VIII. The Siwah is the language of the inhabitants of the Oasis of Ammon, used in family life to this day. Vocabularies have been collected.

In the third, or Ethiopic Subdivision, we have a very remarkable, but imperfectly studied, row of languages. The Hamite tribes must have crossed the Red Sea from Arabia at a very remote period indeed, pushed forward by the Semites, who now inhabit Arabia, and part of whom also crossed the Red Sea, and superimposed themselves over the Hamites: thus we have an Ethiopic Branch of the Semitic Family, intermixed with the Ethiopic Sub Group of the Hamitic Group.

There are nine important Hamitic languages, and about nine more unimportant ones, whose names have been recorded, so as not to be overlooked, when the time comes for a closer scrutiny. The nine important Hamitic languages are:

I. The Somáli, spoken by those wild and independent tribes who

inhabit the Eastern horn of Africa, known to the ancients as *Regio Aromatifera*, from the Straits of Bab el Mandal round by Cape Guardafui. They are Mahometan Nomads. We have a very good Grammar of this language.

II. Galla. This tribe calls itself *Orómo*, or 'Men,' and occupies a vast region behind the *Somáli*, from the Southern frontier of Abyssinia to the mouth of the River Dana, and extends far back to the Nile Valley. It is a fierce and restless Pagan race. There are five well-distinguished dialects, and we have Vocabularies and Grammatical Notes, and Translations of portions of the Scripture, but much remains to be desired.

III. Bishári. This language is of great historical interest, as it is the living representative of the language used in the Hieroglyphic Inscriptions in Nubia. The Nuba are a totally different tribe of another linguistic Group, brought down to the central valley of the Nile by the Emperor Diocletian for the purpose of ousting the Bishári. They occupy the vast region between the Nile and the Red Sea, divided into many tribes, and these are the people, who fought against the English at Suákim, and have nothing whatever to do in language or race with the Arabs. The Hadendoa is one of their chief subdivisions. We have an excellent Grammar of their language.

IV. Dankáli. This language is spoken in the narrow strip of land between the Red Sea and the Plateau of Abyssinia. One of their tribes is called *Afar*, which may possibly be connected with the uncertain locality of Ophir, and the origin of the name "Africa," which name was quite unknown to the Greeks. We have only a Vocabulary.

V. Bilin is the language spoken by the Bogos tribe, who inhabit the low ranges North of the Plateau of Abyssinia, West of Massowah: they are Mahometan and 10,000 in number, and were once the bone of contention betwixt Egypt and the Ruler of Abyssinia. We have Grammar, Vocabulary, and Translation of the Scriptures.

VI. The Saho are Mahometan Nomads in the low land on the shore of the Red Sea, South of Arkiko. We have a Grammar and Vocabulary. One Section is called *Irob-Saho*, and the legend runs, that they are the remnants of the Greek Settlers in the palmy days of Adúlis. It is even hazarded that the word "Irob" is a corruption of "Europe." When the Semitic invasion took place, all the Arian Settlements were swept away, or trodden down, and it is possible, that some miserable remnants may have been amalgamated among a friendly Hamitic tribe, as we have already seen in the case of the Kabáil of the Auros Mountains. They have maintained their ancient, though debased, Christianity, and differ from the other Saho in that they have settled habitations. They speak a kindred but different language, of which we have a Grammar, but no facts

corroborative of their Arian origin are derived from linguistic analysis.

VII. The Agau is one of the most ancient languages of Abyssinia: the tribe has several subdivisions, as it has been broken up by Semitic invasions, if indeed the same does not include races and languages not kindred to each other. We have Vocabularies, and Grammatical Notes under different names, Waag, Lasta, and Hhamára. The most remarkable variety, however, is that of the Kara-Falásba or Abyssinian Jews, who are not Semites at all, and speak a Hamitic language. Their legend is, that a Priest came with a copy of the Law in the train of the Queen of Sheba from Jerusalem. The old Ethiopic, or Gíz, is their sacred language. We have a Grammatical Note and Texts in this language.

VIII. In the vast debateable region traversed by the Rivers Gask and Takazze, affluents of the Nile, lying betwixt the Nile Valley and the Abyssinian Mountains, dwells the Kunáma tribe, which is Pagan. It must have been in its present position before the Semitic invasion of the Ethiopians. We have Grammars and Vocabularies. It consists of savage and untameable Mountaineers, harried both by Egyptians and Abyssinians. The language is called Bazéna.

IX. The Bárea occupy an adjacent region, and are the same kind of people, fierce Pagan Savages. Their language is known as Nere, and we have a Vocabulary and Grammars. Doubts have been expressed, whether it really is a Hamitic language, as it is entirely devoid of Grammatical Gender: the male and female cat, the bride and bridegroom, are expressed by the same word. Lepsius, who adheres to the strict test of the presence or absence of Gender, would exclude it; but Reinisch, who has local knowledge, and has made a careful study, considers that the Bárea and Kunáma belong to the oldest phase of the Hamitic Word-formation.

Journal of the Philological Society.

In addition to the above, I have published prefaces, or notices in periodicals, regarding the following languages, the object being to popularize the subjects: (1) Asia: Luchu; Aino; Brahui; Gond. (2) Africa: Ganda; Kamba; Masai; Makúa; Denka; Sagára (Kagúru); Tigrú; Hausa; Lunda; Bogos; Yao. (3) America: Eskimó; Tukudh; Kwagutl. (4) Oceania: New Guinea.

X.

COMMUNICATIONS TO INTERNATIONAL
ORIENTAL CONGRESSES.

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- (1). NON-ARIAN LANGUAGES OF THE EAST INDIES. (Italian.)
 - (2). LANGUAGES OF AFRICA. (German.)
 - (3). LANGUAGES OF OCEANIA. (German.)
 - (4). LANGUAGES OF THE TURKI BRANCH OF URAL-ALTAIC FAMILY
(German.)
 - (5). Do. (English.)
 - (6). THE EIGHTH INTERNATIONAL ORIENTAL CONGRESS HELD AT
STOCKHOLM.
 - (7). SPEECH AT OPENING OF LEYDEN CONGRESS.
 - (8). SPEECH AT CLOSING BANQUET OF LEYDEN CONGRESS.
 - (9). SPEECH AT OPENING OF VIENNA CONGRESS.
 - (10). SPEECH AT CLOSING BANQUET OF VIENNA CONGRESS.
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I.—NON-ARIAN LANGUAGES OF THE EAST INDIES.

Ognuno ha inteso parlare delle molte lingue del ramo indico dell' Ariana, ovvero della famiglia indo-europea, voglio dire la sanskrita ed i vernacoli prakritici e sanskritici moderni, parlati da una popolazione di più di cento cinquanta milioni, nell' India settentrionale e centrale; delle quali, le lingue Sindhi, e Hindi, Bangáli, Maráthi, Gugeráti, Cashmiri, e Sinháli, sono le più note all' orecchio dei dotti Europei. Convieno anche aggiungere a queste, la lingua di Balúci, e la Pashtu del ramo iranico della famiglia indo-europea. Il mio scopo è ora di descrivere brevemente le lingue non ariane delle Indie orientali; tali quali sono parlate da una popolazione non minore di cinquanta milioni. Si dividono in sei famiglie: 1ª la Dravidiana; 2ª la Kolariana; 3ª la Tibeto-Barmána; 4ª la Khasi; 5ª la Tai; 6ª la Mon-Anam. Avrei voluto limitarmi ai dominii soggetti allo scettro della Regina d' Inghilterra, ma conviene ricordarsi che le lingue della famiglia Tibeto-Barmána, della Tai, e della Mon-Anam, hanno un' estensione assai più grande.

Siamo tutti d'accordo che la famiglia Ariana entrò nelle Indie dalla parte settentrionale-occidentale, per via delle montagne Himalaia e Hindu-Kush, ad un' epoca non più vicina di duemila anni A. C. Dal paese del' Penjáb, dove furono composti i Veda, questa famiglia si estese giù pel bacino dei fiumi Indo e Gange fino all'

oceano. Che gente trovo dunque questa famiglia, nel paese di cui si fa così frequente menzione, sotto il nome di Nisháda?

Nell' assenza totale di ogni indizio storico, non possiamo far altro che notare i fatti, che ci stanno davanti agli occhi, e le induzioni ragionevoli che da essi si possono trarre.

Nel mezzogiorno dell' India troviamo una famiglia robusta e compatta, alla quale è stata assegnato il nome di Dravidiana; questa comprende quattro grandi lingue: la Tamil, la Telugù, la Karnáta, e la Malayálam, che hanno tutte una letteratura. Le popolazioni, che parlano queste lingue, montano a trenta milioni, ed hanno adottato una cultura e la religione Braminica: e benchè la loro lingua sia agglutinativa, essa ha adottato e assimilato molte parole sanscritiche; come anche delle forme che quasi somigliano al metodo inflessivo. In questa famiglia vi sono otto altre lingue di minor importanza, in quanto al numero della popolazione che la parla; sei di queste sono interessanti, perchè parlate da popoli tuttavia pagani, adoratori della natura, senza coltura e dimovanti nelle montagne; anche per questo le loro lingue sono più essenti dall' influenza sanskritica. La principale di queste è la lingua Gond, poichè il numero di quelli che la parlano eccede un milione. Si suppone che la famiglia Dravidiana sia entrata nell' India dal l'occidente traversando il Passo del Bolan e l'Indo Inferiore. E un fatto interessante, che lascio tracce delle sue singolarità linguistiche nella lingua Brahúi, parlata da una tribù considerevole, che dimora frammischiata coi Balúci; un altro fatto degno d'esser ricordato è che la famiglia Dravidiana deve aver avuto un' estensione più settentrionale prima dell' immigrazione degli Ariani, un membro di questa famiglia, cioè la Rajmaháli occupa tuttavia dei monti in un distretto della provincia di Bangála sovrapposta al Gange.

Nel centro dell' India vi è un' altra famiglia, la di cui lingua appartiene all' ordine agglutinativo, e alla quale è stato assegnato il nome di Kolariána. Essa conta nove lingue, e l'intera popolazione monta a circa due milioni; parecchie di queste lingue sono parlate soltanto da poche centinaia d' abitanti selvaggi che abitano nella foresta. Una di queste tribù, cioè i Juang o Puttoah, merita d'esser specialmente notata, poichè le donne non vogliono vestirsi per paura, dicono esse, d'esser divorate dalle tigri se portassero abiti. Sono comparse alla presenza d'ufficiali inglesi con cinture di foglie verdi, e sono state così riprodotte in fotografia. Negli ultimi tre anni il governo Britannico ha distribuito del panno, ed ha costretto gli uomini, sotto pena di castigo, a non permettere che le femine delle loro famiglie comparissero più in publico senza la solita veste delle Indiane. Le due tribù più civili fra i Kolariani, sono: la Mandári e la Sontál; sono ottimi agricoltori, e benchi pagani e affatto ignoranti, e senza alcun carattere scritto, sono suditi bravi e industriosi, che aumentano in ricchezza e in numero. Quantunque questa famiglia linguistica sia agglutinativa, pure

differisce interamente nel suo vocabolario, e nel suo metodo dalla Dravidiana; ed ha un sistema coniugativo assai più elaborato. La lingua Sontál benchè non iscritta, non è neppur inferiore all' Osmanli-Turki in quanto alla ricchezza e alla simmetria della sua struttura grammaticale. Che cosa si dirà d'una lingua selvaggia, che ha un meccanismo per le espressioni del tempo, e del modo, che un Greco avrebbe invidiato? Poichè il suo verbo ha cinque voci, cinque modi, ventitrè tempi; tre numeri, quattro casi, ed esprime, anche il genere. Un' ottima grammatica è stata composta in lingua inglese da un missionario norvegiano, e adesso scatturisce una copiosa letteratura che adottò, per la trascrizione, il carattere romano. È siconosciuto che i Kolariani ci devono esser stati prima che i Dravidiani a gli Ariani comparissero nell' India: e la probabilità è, che entrassero nell' India dall' Oriente scendendo dalla pianura del Tibet, attraverso i molti passi dell' Himalája, o aprendosi la via giù per la valle de fume Brahmapútra attraverso Assam.

Feci menzione più in su, che l'onda d'immigrazione Indo-Europea, scorse giù pel bacino del Gange e dell' Indo fino all' Oceano, rinchiudendo in questo modo le due famiglie Dravidiane e Kolariane entro un recinto; ma allorchè traversiamo questo largo stabilimento Ariano nella valle del Gange incontriamo un altro gruppe non ariano parlante lingue, le quali, se non sono agglutinative, occupano una posizione di transizione fra quell' ordine, e il monosillabico; le quali si possono più accuratamente porre nella prima e più remota fase del metodo agglutinativo, pure facendo uso in varie occasioni di toni speciali onde distinguero il significato del *monosillabo*. A questo gruppe è stato assegnato il nome Tibeto-Barmáno, perchè la lingua rappresentativa dei suoi due gran rami, e le sole lingue coltivate letterarie della famiglia, sono la Tibetána e la Barmána; egli comprende più di ottanta lingue distinte, con più di ottanta dialetti subordinato di queste lingue. Il territorio occupato da questo gigantesco gruppo, e la gran Giongaja delle Montagne Himalája stendentesi dal fiume Indo, non lungi dalla cima del Pamír in una direzione sud-est, attraverso il bacino del fiume Brahmapútra, attraverso la giongaja del Patkói, che separa l'India dall' Indo-Cina, attraverso il bacino del fiume Iraváti, fino al bacino del gran fiume di Kambogia il Mekong. Questo vasto territorio è posto entro il dominio politico della Regina d'Inghilterra e del suo tributario il Maharaja di Cashmir, dell' imperatore della Cina e del suo tributario il Maharaja di Nopál, del re di Siam, e d'altri piccoli capi di tribù. Questa popolazione Tibeto-Barmána è per lo più pagana, e selvaggia; e solo parzialmente Braminica o Buddista; è incivilita, o deve esser venuta in qualche epoca remota attraverso i passi dell' Himalája, dalla pianura del Tibet, o dalla provincia di Yunán nella Cina.

Onde rendere la descrizione più comoda, divido l'intero campo linguistico in cinque distretti geografici; 1° Nopál e Sikhim, 2°

Assam, 3° Munipúr-Chittagong, 4° Barma, 5° Trans-Himalája. Si è fatto qualcho passo per raccogliere informazione, e tutte le lingue, e tutti i dialetti sono rappresentati da vocabularj; la località d'un gran numero di esse è stata stabilita; di alcune lingue abbiamo delle notizie grammaticali più o meno dettagliate; ma soltanto della Tibetana e della Burmána, forse anche della Karén, abbiamo grammatiche complete e sufficienti. La famiglia delle lingue che vien dopo, presenta un contrasto segnalato, poichè non consiste che di una sola lingua, la Khási, parlata da una popolazione assai limitata, che abita una parte meridionale delle giogaje dei monti della provincia d'Assam nell' India Britannica; son pagani, e totalmente illetterati; e la loro lingua, benchè monosillabica, differisce ne' suoi tratti essenziali dalle altre famiglie appartenenti all' ordine morfologico; s'ignora come questa nazionalità isolata, sia venuta nell' attuale sua posizione, e da qual parte; e come la sua lingua abbia mantenuto le sue speciali forme caratteristiche. Abbiamo un' ottima grammatica di questa interessante lingua, e si sta creando una letteratura in carattere Romano dai Missionarii.

La famiglia Tai che segue nella lista, consiste d'un piccolo e compatto numera di lingue parlate da una popolazione Rudista. Sono questi rispettivamente sudditi della Regina d'Inghilterra, dell' Imperatore della Cina, e del Re di Siam. Il territorio occupato da questa famiglia è un cuneo ristretto di non meno di quindici gradi di latitudine, stendentesi dal fiume Brahmapútra nella valle d'Assam direttamente al sud, attraverso il bacino dei fiumi Iraváti e Mekong. Giù pel bacino del fiume Menam, fino al golfo di Siam, e la penisola di Malacca. La nota più caratteristica di questa famiglia, è la gran rassomiglianza, delle lingue, (ve ne sono sette) le une alle altre, e il fatto che sei di esse hanno distinte forme di carattere scritto, indicanto la relativa civiltà della gente, la loro rassomiglianza, e contuttocio la loro indipendenza reciproca. Il Siamese è la lingua dominante e letteraria: ma su questa lingua, la lingua religiosa dei Buddisti, la lingua Pali, una delle Prakitiche Ariane, ha avuto una grand' influenza, e ha cagionato una notabil divergenza dal puro tipo originario monosillabico. Contuttocio essa ha conservato i suoi suoni. L'ultima gruppo di cui farò menzione, è quello del' Mon-Anam, una delle cui lingue, la Mon o Peguana è parlata dai sudditi della Regina d'Inghilterra nel Delta del fiume Iravati, e le altre sono passato sotto la protezione della Francia. Fo allusione alla Kambogiana e all' Annamita. Questo gruppo è monosillabico ed è interessante di notare, che colla Kambogiana nel bacino del fiume Mekong arriviamo ai limiti della coltura indiana e all' influenza della lingua Pali e del Buddismo indiano. Gli annamiti devono la loro coltura e la forma del loro, buddismo alla Cina. Le nostre informazioni riguardo a quest' angolo remoto del mondo non sono giunte al livello della scienza. Ci raccomandiamo ai nostri confratelli francesi, acciò gettino luce su questa regione,

perchè oltre queste gran lingue vi sono numerose forme di favella selvaggia e non coltivata nel bacino del Mekong superiore i di cui vocabolarii ci sono stati palesati dal compianto signor Garnier uffiziale di marina francese. Cosè ho brevemente passato in rivista le lingue non ariane delle Indie orientali. Mi manca il tempo per continuare questo soggetto nel l'Arcipelago Indiano. Ho posto sulla tavola del Congresso un saggio sull' intero soggetto, compilato da fonti originali, dimostrante che non vi sono meno di cinquecentotrentanove forme di favella nelle Indie orientali e le due carte linguistiche appese alle pareti del Congresso espongono le diverse localita fino al livello della nostra attuale conoscenza. Spero che quando un futuro Congresso si riunira di nuovo in Firenze, la nostra conoscenza sarà assai più estesa.

Fourth International Oriental Congress, Florence, 1878.

II.—LANGUAGES OF AFRICA.

In keinem Zweige der Sprachkunde sind die Fortschritte in den letzten fünf und zwanzig Jahren so bedeutend gewesen, wie in dem afrikanischen. Gleichen in den nächsten fünf and zwanzig Jahren die Fortschritte in dieser Richtung den unmittelbar vorhergehenden, so dürfen wir für den Schluss dieses Zeitraums auf eine bedeutende Errungenschaft rechnen.

Nachdem ich gerade eine eingehende Untersuchung des ganzen Terrains vollendet, welches hier in Frage kommt, und mich an Herrn Ravenstein's Aufzeichnung einer Völker- und Sprachen-Karte Afrikas theiligt, welche diesen Herbst der in Venedig stattfindenden Internationalen Geographischen Versammlung vorgelegt werden soll, erlaube ich mir der Internationalen Orientalisten-Versammlung die folgenden Ansichten über den gegenwärtigen Stand des genannten Zweiges der Sprachkunde, sowie darüber vorzulegen, nach welchen Richtungen hin wir zunächst weiterer Aufschlüsse bedürftig sind, und welche Klassen-Eintheilung anzunehmen ist. Ausserdem werde ich der Gelehrten, der Reisenden, der Staaten und Gesellschaften Erwähnung thun, welchen wir die ausserordentliche Erweiterung und Nutzbarmachung dieses Zweiges der Wissenschaft verdanken.

Die gebildeten Völker des Alterthums besaßen nur eine sehr beschränkte Kenntniß der Sprachen Afrikas, und jede dieser Sprachen, welche vor der Zeit des Christenthums gesprochen wurde, ist ausgestorben, ohne Nachkommen zu hinterlassen. Die Sprachen der Aegypter, Kopten, und Punier, haben keinen merkbaren Einfluss auf neuere Sprachformen ausgeübt. Man darf übrigens annehmen, dass das alte Numidische, Gaetulische und das Mauritanische durch die verschiedenen Dialekte der Berber in Nordafrika sprachlich vertreten werde. Ebenso sind in Habesch die Tigrésprache und das Amharische directe Nachkommen der

alten Abyssinier. Monumentale und literarische Ueberbleibsel bezeugen das frühere Dasein jener Sprachen sowie deren Schriftformen; aber auf ihre Nachbarn sind die genannten Sprachen ohne den geringsten Einfluss geblieben. Kein Strahl der Civilisation berührte von Abyssinien, Aegypten, von den phönizischen, hellenischen, oder von lateinischen, Niederlassungen aus das Dunkel des übrigen afrikanischen Festlandes.

Viele Jahrhunderte vergingen, ehe der Einfluss Arabiens, Indiens, der Türkei, Portugals, Spaniens, Hollands, Italiens, Frankreichs, und Englands, anfang, sich an den afrikanischen Küsten geltend zu machen, und einige Sprachen der eben genannten Länder schlugen Wurzeln, welche keine Zeit auszuroden vermag. Was das Arabische betrifft, so machte sich die Einwirkung desselben weithin im Innern des Landes fühlbar, und es hat mehrere einheimische Sprachen wesentlich geändert. Von diesen Sprachen wusste man zu Anfang unseres Jahrhunderts nur sehr wenig, mit Ausnahme des Inhalts einiger unsichern Skizzen, welche von römisch-katholischen Missionairen in den portugiesischen Niederlassungen, südlich vom Aequator, mitgetheilt wurden.

Wem verdanken wir nun die Erweiterung unseres Wissens? Wem anders als dem christlichen Missionair? Keine weltliche Rücksicht hätte gebildete Männer veranlassen können, bei herabgewürdigten Menschenrassen, in dem widerwärtigsten und ungesundesten Himmelsstriche sich niederzulassen, sondern nur das Pflichtbewusstsein gegen den Stifter unserer Religion, und der Wunsch Christo Seelen zu retten. Die Bibel ist in vielen Sprachen das erste geschriebene Buch gewesen, und in vielen das einzige Buch, mit Ausnahme von Elementarschriften die Kenntniss des Buches vorzubereiten und zu begründen. Wie viel anderes auch in Asien die Erweiterung der Sprachkunde gefördert haben mag, in Afrika war der erste und hauptsächlichste Factor die Religion. Reisende und Kaufleute mögen Worterverzeichnisse gesammelt haben, welche dem Handel förderlich waren, der Missionair allein verwandte unendliche Mühe darauf, zum Besten unwissender und stumpfer Wilden, den Schlüssel zum Organismus ihrer Sprache aufzufinden, ihre unvollkommenen und systemlosen Dialekte zu entwickeln, und aus denselben Organe zu schaffen, geeignet die Wahrheiten der Offenbarung mitzutheilen.

Welcher unter den Nationen Europa's gebührt nun die himmlische Palme? Ohne Zweifel gebührt sie den Anglo-Sachsen Englands und Nordamerika's, den Vordersten auf dem Felde der Entdeckung, Colonisation, der Unternehmungen im Interesse des Handels und Missionswesens. Die Portugiesen und Holländer mögen den Weg gebahnt, und gewisse vortheilhafte Punkte besetzt haben, welche später von Anglo-Sachsen benutzt wurden; aber wie wenig wusste man von den Stromgebieten des Nigers, Kongo, Zambési, des obern Nils, und von den grossen Seen im Innern, ohne den Unterneh-

mungs-Geist, die Energie und die Hilfsquellen der Anglo-Sachsen? Als aber die Zeit gekommen war, zufällig zusammengewürfeltes Material systematisch zu ordnen, Grammatik und Wörterbuch herzustellen, Verwandtschaften zu entdecken um Gruppen und Familien nach wissenschaftlichen Grundsätzen zu bestimmen, da machte sich das Bedürfniss deutscher Gelehrsamkeit, deutscher Geduld, und deutscher Intelligenz fühlbar. Der Antheil französischer Gelehrten an diesen Arbeiten ist zwar nicht bedeutend, aber doch nützlich gewesen; sie beschränkten sich auf die Berber-Dialekte, und auf die den Strombecken des Senegals und Gabuns angehörigen Sprachen.

Es ist billig, hier in Berlin zuerst die Namen vier grosser deutscher Gelehrten zu nennen, deren Arbeiten mehr als bloß eine oder zwei Schriften umfassten; Lepsius, Friedrich Müller, Koelle, und Bleek. Ach, hätte nur Bleek etwas länger gelebt, wie viel weiter wären wir jetzt! Zum Glück für die Wissenschaft zeugt die Mutterpflanze, wenn eines ihrer goldenen Blätter gefallen, ein anderes von gleicher Vorzüglichkeit, und so sehen wir jetzt dem Ergebniss der Arbeiten Theodor Huhn's entgegen auf dem südafrikanischen Felde, welches nicht länger jungfräulichen Boden, wohl aber viele Räthsel darbietet, deren Lösung die reifste Einsicht erheischt. Bei der Betrachtung der verschiedenen Sprachen jeder Familie werden wir noch andern deutschen Namen begegnen. Doch wer soll entschieden, wenn deutsche Doctoren sich widersprechen, wenn Lepsius und Bleek die eine, und Friedrich Müller und Reinisch die entgegengesetzte Richtung verfolgen? Der weniger wissenschaftliche, aber praktische Anglo-Sachse wartet den Ausgang des Streites ab, ehe er über die Gruppen und Familien zu einem Schlussurtheil kommt, und sein Wissen gemeinnützlich veröffentlicht. Eine deutsche Abhandlung ist in der Regel zu gelehrt und zu schwer, um populär zu sein, und von andern als Fachgelehrten gelesen zu werden.

Wir sind mit unserer Kenntniss der Sprachen Afrika's an dem Punkte angelangt, wo das Gerüste für ein Sprachgebäude aufgerichtet werden muss, wo den Sprachen, welche wir hinlänglich kennen, ein bestimmter Theil des Gebäudes anzuweisen ist, wo Plätze einfach anzugeben und für Sprachen offen zu lassen sind, deren Dasein keinem Zweifel unterliegt, welche aber noch nicht hinreichend bekannt sind. Ausserdem muss freier Raum gelassen werden für die Menge unbekannter Sprachen im mittleren Afrika. Allerdings können unter so bewandten Umständen Vorbereitungen dieser Art nur vorläufige Geltung beanspruchen, denn es handelt sich hier um noch nicht entdeckte oder nicht genau bekannte Elemente. Nichtsdestoweniger wird es den Fortschritt des Wissens erleichtern, wenn wir ein Skelett aufstellen, welches nach und nach, im Verlauf der Jahre, eine Bekleidung von Fleisch gewinnt. Indem ich mich auf die Autorität einiger geachteten Schrift-

steller stütze, und die mit ihren Ansichten unvereinbaren Meinungen anderer, ebenso geachteter Männer, für den Augenblick bei Seite setze, will ich jetzt der Versammlung den folgenden Entwurf eines afrikanischen Sprachen-Systems vorlegen. Es hat dasselbe sechs Abtheilungen, die wir "Familien" nennen wollen, wenn Verwandtschaft und gemeinsame Abstammung sich vernunftgemäss annehmen lassen, oder "Gruppen," wenn sich keine Verwandtschaft zeigt. Die Anordnung ist theils geographisch, theils so gegeben, wie es im allgemeinen passend erschien.

- I. Semitische Familie.
- II. Hamitische Gruppe.
- III. Nubische-fulahische Gruppe.
- IV. Neger-Gruppe.
- V. Bantu-Familie.
- VI. Gruppe der Hottentotten und Buschmänner.

Die beiden ersten sind Fremde, Einwanderer, die übrigen sind, in soweit sich über dieselben eine Theorie aufstellen lässt, theilweise oder gänzlich eingeboren.

Die semitische Familie ist wohl bekannt. Das Punische des Alterthums war ein Spross des Phönizischen. In späteren Zeiten verbreitete sich das Arabische von Arabien aus längs der Nordküste und wird von Arabern reinen oder gemischten Blutes, auch von Stämmen anderer Rassen gesprochen, welche diese Sprache angenommen haben. Es ist die Sprache der Abkömmlinge der alten Aegypter im Nilthale, der arabischen Niederlassung an der Ostküste in Zanzibar, die Sprache der Nomaden im Stromgebiete des Nils, die Sprache der herrschenden Rasse in Wadai und Darfur, das Verkehrsmittel der Karawanen-Kaufleute im Innern des mittleren Afrikas, sowie das Zuführungsmittel der mohammedanischen Religion, und der vorhandenen geringen Bildung. Dieselbe Sprache hat das Swahili der Bantu-Familie, und die Berber-Sprache der hamitischen Gruppe, durchdrungen. Sie hat in den Namen von Oertern, Volks-Stämmen und Sachen ihre Spuren hinterlassen, aber nirgends ist eine Sprache ihres eigenen Geschlechtes aus ihrem Verfall hervorgegangen. Sie war, ehe Engländer, Holländer und Franzosen, auf jenem Festlande erschienen, das bei weitem wichtigste Mittel für den Gedankenaustausch und hatte die weiteste Verbreitung. Dem Maghrabi-Dialekte der Araber hat Herr Professor Moridtman seine Aufmerksamkeit zugewendet.

Eine andere Strömung semitischen Einflusses, ausgehend von den südarabischen Ländern am rothen Meere, ergriff Aethiopien und Abyssinien. In dem Gíz, dem Tigré, und dem Amharischen erscheinen dieses Zweiges ältere und neuere Sprachen. Der Herr Präsident, Dr. Dillmann, hat Europa hierüber aufgeklärt, unterstützt von Merx, Munzinger, Practorius, Beke, Isenberg, Ludolf, Schrader, Lottner, und Gesenius. Sollen wir Reinisch's Ansicht folgen, so müssen wir die Sprache der Saho der semitischen Familie

zurechnen; dem widersprechen Lepsius und Friedr. Müller. Wir begegnen noch anderen Sprachen von geringer Bedeutung auf demselben Gebiete, welche der genannten Familie zugezählt werden, namentlich dem Harári. Es bleibt der Missionaire in jenen Ländern abzuwarten, wo unser gemeinsamer Glaube durch Vereinsamlung und Verwilderung dermassen herabgewürdigt ist, dass wir uns des abyssinischen Christenthums schämen müssen.

Die Menge hamitischer Sprachen wird eine Gruppe genannt, denn die unter diesen Sprachen sich vorfindende Verwandtschaft berechtigt nicht zu dem Namen Familie. Die besagte Gruppe zerfällt in drei Sondergruppen, die ägyptische, die nordafrikanische und die äthiopische. Die ägyptische, bestehend aus dem Altägyptischen, und dem Koptischen, ist todt und ohne Erben für die grosse Hinterlassenschaft gestorben. Durch das Studium ihrer monumentalen und Papyrus-Ueberbleibsel können wir uns jedoch auf dem Wege rückwärts zurechtfinden bis zur frühesten Bildung menschlicher Rede, und eine Wort- und Satzschrift untersuchen, welche, sofern wir Einfachheit und Altherthümlichkeit zum Massstab nehmen, hinter der Sprache der Wilden Südafrika's weit zurücksteht, indem letztere einen Charakter viel weiter vorgeschrittener Entwicklung aufweist. Wie tief Afrika auch gesunken sein mag, Europa und Asien verdanken den ersten Gedanken zu einem Alphabet einem afrikanischen Volke.

Die nordafrikanische Sondergruppe ist darum interessant, weil sie die Lebenskraft einer rohen, unausgebildeten Sprache bezeugt bei der Gegenwart und dem in langem Zeitverlauf ausgeübten Drucke grosser, gebildeter und siegreicher Sprachen, nämlich der phönizischen, der griechischen, der lateinischen, der arabischen und der französischen. Besagte Sondergruppe erstreckt sich oder hat sich erstreckt über ein weites Gebiet vom Mittelmeer bis zum Senegál und dem oberen Niger, von der Oase des Ammon bis nach den Kanarischen Inseln. Es sind in der That Dialekte einer und derselben Sprache, unter mancherlei Namen: Berbersprache, eine von den Griechen hochmüthiger Weise unbekannten Sprachformen beigelegte Bezeichnung; Kabylich in Algier und Tunis; Schilha in Marokko; Guanch auf den Kanarischen Inseln; Siwa auf der Oase des Ammon; das Tamáschek, Ghadamsi, Beni Makassar in der grossen Sahára; das Zanága an den Grenzen des Senegál. Seit der Eroberung Algiers und der Colonisation Senegambiens haben französische Gelehrte viel beigetragen, über die Sprachen dieser Sondergruppe Licht zu verbreiten. Sie haben sich ein gleiches Verdienst erworben in Betreff der todtten Sprachen der Tamáschek und der Guanchen. Die Namen Faiderbe, Hanoteau, Brosselard, Venture de Paradis, verdienen ehrenvolle Erwähnung. Die zu vor genannten Sprachen besitzen eigenthümliche Schriftzeichen alter und neuerer Form.

Die hamitisch-äthiopische Sondergruppe ist über sehr weite Länderstrecken verbreitet, und steht mit dem äthiopischen Zweige der semitischen Familie, mit der Neger- und der Nubisch-Fulahischen Gruppe, sowie mit der Bantu-Familie in naher Berührung. Sie nimmt somit eine hervorragende Stellung auf den weiten Länderstrecken ein, welche zwischen dem Rothen Meere, dem Indischen Ocean und dem Strombecken des oberen Nils, den Grenzen Nubiens und dem Aequator liegen. Die betreffenden Volksstämme sind wilde Nomaden, von welchen wir nur sehr wenig wissen, nämlich die Somáli, Galla, Beja oder Bishári, die Faláscha oder abyssinischen Juden, die Bogos, die Dánkali, die Agau, die Bárea und viele andere nach Osten hin bis an die Insel Sokótra. Hier weider verdanken wir viel deutschem Fleisse und deutschem Scharfsinne und werden an die Namen Tutschek, Lottner, Lepsius, Reinisch, Flad, Isenberg, Munzinger, und Waldmeier, erinnert. Noch aber wissen wir sehr wenig und haben noch viel zu lernen. Structur und Wörterverzeichnisse, sodann das verwandtschaftliche Verhältniss, einerseits zur semitischen Familie und andererseits zu einigen der eingeborenen Sprachen Afrikas, bieten sehr viel Interesse Erregendes. Lepsius und Bleek wollen die Hottentotten des äussersten Südens dieser Gruppe beizählen, und regen damit Fragen von unvermuthet grosser Bedeutung an, Fragen, zu deren Entscheidung bis jetzt noch nicht hinreichendes Material gesammelt ist, und welche wohl der Beurtheilung der Gelehrten nächster Generation anheimfallen werden.

Dem Zusammenhang der Nubisch-Fulahischen Gruppe lässt sich keine Dauer versprechen. Es zeigt sich hier eine geschickt getroffene Auskunft, zwei völlig verschiedene Sondergruppen von Sprachen zu vereinigen, welche einen schmalen, zwischen der Sahára und den Grenzen der Negerrassen gelegenen, die ganze Breite Afrikas vom Atlantischen Ocean bis zum Stromgebiete des Nils durchziehenden Landstrich einnehmen. Mit Ausnahme der Nubier von der einen Sondergruppe und der Fulah-Völker von der andern, fehlt es hier an klaren und sichern Bestimmungen. Von beiden Sprachen besitzen wir Grammatiken, eine für das Nubische von Lepsius, und eine für das Fulah von Reichardt. Unsere Kenntniss der verschiedenen Glieder dieser Sondergruppen ist gering und unzureichend. In der Nubischen Gruppe finden wir ausser dem Dongoláwi, dem Tumáli Kordofans, dem Kóldaji und dem Konjára Darfurs, vage Namen wie Schangalla, Masai, Kwafi, Mombutto, Nyam-nyam, Fertit und andere. Wir besitzen hierüber nur spärliche Nachrichten von deutschen Reisenden und Missionären, von Krapf, Rebman, Schweinfurth, Tutschek, Erhardt und Reinisch. Noch grösserer Unsicherheit begegnen wir in der Fulah-Sondergruppe, im Bereiche der mahomedanischen Staaten Futajóro, Futajallo, Sokótu, Bondu und Kanem. Nur wenige der dortigen Sprachen oder Dialekte derselben Sprache, zeigen Verwandtschaft unter-

einander, und in wie weit sie von einander verschieden sind, wissen wir nicht. Dem Reisenden Barth und dem General Faidherbe, der sich in einer vortheilhaften Stellung befand, um Nachrichten einzuziehen zu können, verdanken wir Einiges, aber leider höchst Dürftiges.

Die Neger-Gruppe ist ein riesiges Conglomerat, dessen Theile ohne alle gegenseitige Beziehung erscheinen, ähnlich dem alten Turanischen vor etwa fünf und zwanzig Jahren, einem Sacke vergleichbar, in welchen alle Sprachen ohne Unterschied geworfen wurden, welche sich nicht anders unterbringen liessen. Gerade wie der Ausdruck Turanisch nach und nach bei der Classification asiatischer Sprachen ausser Gebrauch gekommen, oder allmählig auf die verhältnissmässig engen Grenzen einer Familie beschränkt worden ist, ebenso wird das völlig unzureichende Wort "Neger" einer wissenschaftlichen oder wenigstens verständlichen Nomenclatur Platz machen. Nach Allem, was wir wissen, sind diese Sprachen wollig und fliessartig behaarter Rassen agglutinativ und können nicht einer und derselben Quelle entsprung sein. Wenn diese Gruppe einerseits für die zahlreichste gilt, so ist doch ihr Gebiet ein sehr beschränktes: es erstreckt sich vom Senegál bis zum Niger, wo es die Bantu-Familie vier Grade nördlich vom Aequator berührt. Obgleich an vielen Punkten von der nubisch-fulahischen Gruppe unterbrochen, dehnt sich doch die Neger-Gruppe über das Festland bis zum Stromgebiete des oberen Nils aus. Die Rückkehr freigelassener Sklaven von Amerika, welche die englische Sprache sprechen und von allen Gewohnheiten der betreffenden Stämme frei sind, hat, in Folge von Vermischung durch Heirathen, die Reinheit der Rasse an der Küste sehr beeinträchtigt. Dazu kommt noch eine bedeutende Beimischung fremden, nämlich semitischen, hamitischen und nubisch-fulahischen Blutes. Es wäre schwer, den Negern die Ehre abzusprechen, ursprünglich eingeborene Stämme Afrikas zu sein; mit dem Studium und der Classification ihrer Sprachen jedoch tritt uns ein grosses und schwer zu lösendes Problem entgegen.

Drei grosse Negerlandschaften lassen sich ungefähr so bestimmen: 1) Die Westküste vom Senegál bis zum Quarra-Arme des Nigerstromes. 2) Das Stromgebiet des Binué-Armes des Nigers nebst dem unteren Gebiete des genannten Stromes und dem Flussgebiete des Schad-Sees. 3) Das Stromgebiet des oberen Nils. Die grossen leeren Stellen auf der Karte mahnen uns an eine terra incognita und an unbekannte Millionen Bewohner. Friedrich Müller bezeichnet vierundzwanzig Sondergruppen, aber in vielen Fällen sind es blosser Namensverzeichnisse. In Senegambien finden wir das Wolof, dessen Kenntniss wir französischen Gelehrten verdanken; in den britischen Niederlassungen der Westküste, in Liberia, an der Getreide-, Elfenbein-, Gold- und Sklaven-Küste bis nach Lagos hin finden wir das Mandingo, Bambara, Vei, Susu, Mendé, Bullom, Temné, Hausa, Surháí, Kru, Grebo, Ewé, Nupé, Yáriba, Odschi

oder Aschanti, Akra oder Ga und Efik. Diese Sprachen sind uns zugänglich geworden durch ansehnliche Arbeit von Deutschen, Engländern und Negern. Die Namen Schön, Nylander, Koelle, Schlenker, Schlegel, Steinthal, Christaller, Riis, Rask, Zimmermann verdienen hier ehrenvolle Erwähnung. Der Antrieb zu den besagten Werken kam grossentheils von englischen Herzen, und das für Grammatiken und Uebersetzungen der heiligen Schrift erforderliche Geld kam sumeist aus englischen und amerikanischen Kassen, von Nationen, die sich bestreben, auf solche Weise die Missethaten ihrer Vorfahren abzubüssen. Der höchste Ehrenpreis aber gebührt jenem schwarzen Sklaven, der durch einen brittischen Kreuzer befreit, und hierauf in einer Missionsschule erzogen, erst zum Prediger und dann zum Bischof der anglicanischen Kirche ernannt wurde. Er führte ein tadelloses Leben und bethätigte sich als Grammatiker, Uebersetzer, Geograph und Entdecker. Ich meine Samuel Crowther, den alten, ehrwürdigen Bischof des Nigers.

Was wir von der zweiten Sondergruppe Mittelafrikas wissen, verdanken wir Barth, Nachtigall, Rohlf, Koelle und Schön; es ist aber nur wenig.

In der dritten Sondergruppe, nämlich der des Stromgebietes des oberen Nils, erweitert sich unsere Kenntniss mit jedem Jahre. Mit den Dinka-, Schilluk-, Nuer- und Bari-Stämmen werden wir immer genauer bekannt. Wir besitzen Grammatiken für die Dialekte der beiden erstgenannten von Mitternützer, und noch eine für das Dinka von dem Italiener Beltrame. Es ist, als stünde man am Seeufer, und lauschte auf das unbestimmte Getöse der Wogen, oder auf einem hohen Thurme, und hörte das verworren heraufdringende Tönen der Stimmen; denn bis jetzt wissen wir noch nichts Bestimmtes über des Negerlandes Sprachen. Selbst die grossen Sammlungen in Dr. Koelle monumentalem Werke "Polyglotta Africana" gleichen einer Hand voll auf das Ufer geworfener, dann vom Sturme weit ins Land geblasener und auf das Gerathewohl aufgelesener Muscheln; der genannte Gelehrte sammelte sein Wissen aus Erinnerungen freigelassener Sklaven. Ehe seine Sammlungen in die Hände eines geschickten Ordners gelangen, sind sie von keinem Nutzen, und vielleicht ist der Nutzen auch dann noch ein fraglicher.

Von Friedrich Müllers vierundzwanzig Sondergruppen bestehen elf aus einer einzigen isolierten Sprache. Diese Thatsache deutet an, dass die sprachlichen Phänomene jener Region nur unvollkommen sichtbar sind; denn anderwärts begegnen wir nur in Ausnahmefällen isolierten Sprachen, und es sind in der Regel Ueberbleibsel ausgestorbener Familien. Ein fortwährender Druck ist vom Innern aus auf die mehr civilisierten Stämme der Küste ausgeübt worden. Mit Ausnahme der Küste und dem oben genannten Stromgebiete ist uns nur sehr wenig bekannt. Grosse Gelehrte stimmen keineswegs in jedem Punkte überein. Das Hausa, die verbreitete Handels-

sprache, wird nordwärts bis nach Tripoli hin gesprochen, und der Umstand, dass es von seinen hamitischen und nubisch-fulahischen Nachbarn mancherlei Eigenthümlichkeiten angenommen, hat verschiedene Gelehrte veranlasst, es verschiedenen Gruppen beizuzählen. Das Tibbu wird von einigen der hamitischen, von andern der Neger-Gruppe zugetheilt. Bleek, ein so bedeutender Gelehrter, vermag Verwandtschaft zwischen den Sprachen der Negergruppe und denen der Bantu-Familie zu entdecken, was andere als eine Unmöglichkeit bezeichnen. Dies beweist, wie weit wir noch von der nöthigen Sicherheit entfernt sind.

Die Bantu-Familie umfasst, mit Ausnahme einer Enclave für die Hottentotten- und Buschmänner-Gruppe, ganz Afrika südlich vom Aequator und ausserdem die Westküste nördlich vom Aequator bis zu den Grenzen des Stromgebietes des unteren Nigers. Der Veteran Krapf verkündete zuerst die Thatsache, dass alle Sprachen südlich vom Aequator, mit Ausnahme der oben erwähnten Enclave, einer und derselben Familie angehören. Die seitdem gemachten Erfahrungen liefern untrügliche Beweise dafür, dass besagte Sprachen ihrem Genius nach, in phonetischer Beziehung und der Eigenthümlichkeit der Wörter gemäss, als einer und derselben Mutter angehörig zu betrachten sind, und dies darf mit derselben Sicherheit angenommen werden, wie von der arischen und der semitischen Familie. Obgleich das Gebiet jener Sprachenfamilie jedes andere compacte Sprachen-Feld an Umfang übertrifft, so lässt sich doch hinsichtlich der Bevölkerung nicht einmal annähernd ein Ueberschlag machen. Jeder vom östlichen oder vom westlichen Meere kommende Reisende, welcher den Hof des Muata Yanvo, den Cazembe, den Kassongo, oder den Häuptling der Marotze erreicht, sieht sich von zahllosen Schwärmen Volkes umgeben. In jedem Jahre werden neue Stämme, neue Sprachen oder Dialekte entdeckt. Die sprachlichen Typen dieser Familie sind durchaus unabhängig von denen jeder andern Familie, und besitzen einen ganz besonderen Charakter. Derselbe ist entschieden agglutinativ-alliterierend, und ausserdem sehr verwickelten Gesetzen der Euphonie unterworfen. Wir besitzen grammatische Werke über zwei Sprachen den Westküste von portugiesischen Missionären des sechszehnten Jahrhunderts. Sie gewähren einen gewissen Maassstab, mit welchem der Einfluss der Zeit auf diese ungeschriebene und somit unstäte Vocalisation gemessen werden kann. Reisende, welche von Zanzibar aus nach der Westküste südlich vom Aequator gelangten, erklären mit Bestimmtheit, dass sich die Swähili mit Eingeborenen, welche Sprachen des westlichen Afrikas redeten, verständigen konnten.

Bleek hat sich eingehend mit dem Gesetze der Euphonie befasst, nach welchem sich eine Sprache dieser Familie oder ein Zweig ihrer Sprachen von den andern unterscheidet, und hat diesem Gesetze den Namen "Grimm's Gesetz für Südafrika" ertheilt. Er wies nach, dass sich die besagten Sprachen in einem höheren Grade von

einander unterscheiden, als die teutonischen von denen des neulateinischen Zweiges der arischen Familie. Er zeigte zugleich, dass die grössere Menge der Wörter, obwohl dem Ursprunge nach identisch, durch das Gesetz der Euphonie, das ihre Form geändert, ein ganz verschiedenes Aussehen erhalten habe. Auch die grammatischen Formen sind so verschieden, dass die Ama-Xosa, gewöhnlich Kafir genannt, und die Bechuána sich nicht verständigen können, obgleich beide dem südlichen Zweige der Familie angehören. In ihrem Nebenzweige, nämlich in der Kafirland-Sprache, finden sich drei verschiedene Schnalzlaut, eine Eigenthümlichkeit, welche ohne Zweifel von den benachbarten Hottentotten herrührt; andererseits gilt die besagte Sprache für die reinste und am wenigsten von fremden Einflüssen berührte in dieser Familie.

Wenn wir bedenken, dass ein sehr bedeutender Theil des der genannten Familie angehörigen Sprachfeldes nur sehr unvollkommen oder gar nicht erforscht, und dass unsere Kenntniss desselben in fortwährendem Zunehmen begriffen ist, so kann eine Classification nur als vorläufig bezeichnet werden, und ist so einzurichten, dass sie eine bedeutende Erweiterung zulässt. Die geeignetste Eintheilung besteht in drei auf geographischer Basis anzunehmenden Hauptzweigen, welche in Nebenzweige eingetheilt werden, so zwar, dass sich die von Missionären und Reisenden neu entdeckten Sprachen anreihen lassen. Diese drei Hauptzweige sind 1. der südliche, 2. der östliche, 3. der westliche.

Den südlichen Zweig hat Bleek in drei Nebenzweige getheilt, nämlich 1) Kafir-Land, 2) Bechuána-Land, 3) Tekéza. Im ersten dieser Nebenzweige haben wir die berühmte Sprache der Ama-Xosa oder Kafir und der Ama-Zulu. Hier eingeschlossen sind noch andere Stämme, die Ama-Ponda, die Ama-Fingu, Ama-Zwazi, Ma-Tabéle, Ma-Kalála, die herrschenden Klassen in Umzila's Land und die zerstreuten Banden der Ma-Viti oder Wa-Tuta, unter manchen andern Namen nördlich vom Zambesi bekannt. Die beiden grossen Sprachen dieses Nebenzweiges sind genau bekannt und, auf Veranlassung der grossen englischen und amerikanischen Missions-Gesellschaften, zu einer ausgedehnten Literatur grammatischer und religiöser Werke und Erziehungs-Schriften verwendet worden. Die Namen der hier zu erwähnenden Schriftsteller sind Schreuder (aus Norwegen), Grant, Colenso, Perrin, Bonatz, Dohne, Roberts, Boyce, Davis und Appleyard. Viele ihrer Schriften haben classischen Werth.

Der Be-Chuána-Nebenzweig umschliesst die Sprachen der Mehrzahl jener gewaltig grossen Bevölkerung im Innern Afrikas, südlich vom Wendekreise des Steinbocks; sie ist vermengt mit Buschmännern und aus Mischlingen bestehenden Volksstämmen. Das Drackenburg-Gebirge trennt sie von den Kafirn. Südlich reichen sie bis an den Orangefluss, westlich bis an die Kalahári-Wüste und nördlich bis an den See Ngami. Si haben sich in

Folge ihrer Macht Volksstämme unterworfen, welche andern Familien angehören. Einer ihrer eigenen Stämme hat seine Eroberungen bis über den Zambesi ausgedehnt und bildet da die herrschende Klasse. Andere Stämme zwischen dem Limpopo und dem Zambesi nehmen unter Zulu-Eroberern als Hörige eine untergeordnete Stellung ein. Ehe eine regelmässige Landschau vorgenommen wird, lässt sich die Vertheilung der Nebenzweige dieses Zweiges nicht genau bestimmen. Von östlichen Be-Chuána-Stämmen kennen wir die Be-Suto, Ma-Kolólo, Ma-Rutze, Ma-Konda und andere. Von westlichen Bechuana sind bekannt die Ba-Rolung, Ba-Thlapi, Ba-Mangwáto und andere. Die Kenntniss ihrer Sprachen verdanken wir Brown, Moffat, Fredoux, Archbell und Casalis; in denselben sind Uebersetzungen der Heiligen Schrift und zahlreiche Werke für Erziehung so wie von religiösem Inhalte gedruckt worden.

An dem dritten Nebenzweig "Tekeza" ist festzuhalten auf Bleeks Autorität hin, welche durch die, von Friedrich Müller angenommene, Classification unterstützt wird. Diese Annahme gründet sich auf ein bemerkenswerthes sprachliches Phänomen, welches in der Rede gewisser Stämme nördlich vom Zulu-Lande und bei den Ma-Tonga und den Ma-Hloega in dem, der Delagoa-Bai zunächst gelegenen, Inlande sich zeigt. Ob sich diese Classification wird halten lassen, scheint zweifelhaft. So weit unsere Erfahrung geht, sprechen die herrschenden Rassen Zulu und die beherrschten Suto.

Was man vom östlichen Zweige der Bantu-Familie weiss, rührt von Engländern und Amerikanern her. Wir warten auf die Erscheinung deutscher Gelehrten unter den Sprachen dieser Region. Im Laufe der nächsten fünfundzwanzig Jahre wird sich hier eine reiche Ernte von Material anhäufen. Die Grenze des Feldes lässt sich mit Bestimmtheit angeben; aber es ist jungfräulicher Boden. Ich habe die Verantwortung auf mich genommen, demselben eine dreifache Theilung zu geben.

1. Das untere Stromgebiet des Zambesi;
2. Zanzibar und das umliegende Land nördlich vom See Nyasa, wo die Wasserscheide dem Indischen Ocean zugewandt ist;
3. Das Flussgebiet der Binnenseen Victoria Nyanza, und Tanganyika.

Das Stromgebiet des Zambesi umfasst eine Anzahl Sprachen, welche von Stämmen gesprochen werden, die mit den englischen Missionären in Berührung kommen. Wir hören stets von neuen, bisher unbekannten Sprachen dieser Region. Die Sprachwissenschaft hat nur sehr wenig gewonnen in Folge der mehr als zweihundertjährigen Besetzung des Landes durch die Portugiesen. Die Grenzen dieses Nebenzweiges sind nach Norden eine imaginäre Linie bis zum See Nyasa und darüber hinaus bis zum See Bangwoco, nach Westen bis zu den Grenzen des Königreichs der

Ma-Rutze Mobunda, welche Suto sprechen; nach Süden bis zu den Grenzen des Königreichs Umzila, wo Zulu und Suto gesprochen werden. In Anbetracht des spärlichen Materials ist alles dieses nur als provisorisch und als ein Anfang zu betrachten, die Namen der Sprachen zu sammeln, über deren Dasein kein Zweifel waltet. Nur durch beständige, den Berichten der Reisenden und Missionäre zugewandte Aufmerksamkeit, lassen sich hier Fortschritte machen; es ist aber der wissenschaftliche Charakter der von den Missionären ausgehenden Berichte von ungleich höherem Werthe, als der, welchen wir gelegentlichen Notizen gewöhnlicher Reisenden beimesen können. Ohne letztere der Ungenauigkeit zeihen zu wollen, können wir doch nicht umhin zu bemerken, dass sie bisher für die Wissenschaft von geringer Bedeutung gewesen. Rebman und Krapf haben nach den Angaben eines Wanderers ein Wörterbuch der Sprache am See Nyasa zusammengestellt; andererseits aber besitzen wir im Druck kleine werthvolle Abhandlungen von Missionären, Sammlungen enthaltend aus dem Munde des Volkes am Nyasa, von den Nyanja, Makúa, Kondé und den Yao. Wir haben ausserdem noch Wörtersammlungen.

Die Wohnsitze der Stämme werden nach und nach bestimmt.

Der andere Nebenzweig, nämlich der Zanzibars, erstreckt sich südlich vom Kap Delgado längs der Küste hin, bis zu den Grenzen der Galla von der hamitischen Gruppe, und zu den Kwafi und Masai von der nubisch-fulahischen Gruppe. Hier eingeschlossen sind auch alle Inseln an der Küste, ausserdem die Gruppe der Komoro-Inseln; doch Madagascar ist auf der Sprachen-Karte Afrikas weggelassen worden, da es einem andern Sprachen-System angehört. Die herrschende Sprache ist das Swahili, die Küstensprache. Die Structur derselben ist Bantu, aber ganz und gar vom Arabischen durchdrungen. Sie wird hauptsächlich von Mahomedanern geredet, welche einige Bildung/besitzen; den Beweis für die letztere liefert ihre arabische Schreibart. Es ist die *Lingua franca* des östlichen Afrikas, und unsere grossen Entdecker haben in der Regel mit Hülfe dieser Sprache, welche mit allen anderen, die wir kennen, verwandt ist, ihre Aufgaben gelöst.

Wir besitzen Skizzen elementarischen Inhalts, ausserdem Uebersetzungen und Wörterbücher des Nyika, Pokómo, Shambála, Bondei, Kamba, Zarámo, Gindo und Angazidja, ebenso die ziemlich vage Mozambische Wörtersammlung, die Peters aus Berlin geliefert und Bleek herausgegeben.

Der dritte Nebenzweig, nämlich der der Flussgebiete des Victoria Nyanza und des Tanganyika bietet ein vielversprechendes Feld die oberen Gewässer des Nils und des Kongo umfassend. Zwei bedeutende protestantische Missionen und eine römisch-katholische in zwei Abtheilungen haben diese Region besetzt. Vermittelst einer Kette von Stationen ist eine Verbindung von

Zanzibar aus mit beiden Seen hergestellt. Eine zweite Route ist nach dem Tanganyika über den See Nyasa vorgeschlagen. Dieses wunderbare Unternehmen ist der Erfolg des Missions-Eifers, den Henry Stanley's Aufforderung hervorrief. Ist nun schon so viel in fünf Jahren geschehen, was dürfen wir da nicht von den nächsten fünfundzwanzig erwarten? Der englische Handel wird sich bald auf den Wegen entwickeln, welche englische Missionäre angebahnt, Engländer und Amerikaner erforscht haben. Jeder von dort eingesandte Bericht enthält Wörterverzeichnisse irgend einer neuen Sprache und Anzeigen, dass an Uebersetzungen der Bibel und an Elementarschriften gearbeitet werde. Druckpressen werden verlangt, und das Standard-alphabet des Herrn Lepsius wird für Sprachformen verwandt, von deren Dasein man vor einigen Jahren noch nichts wusste. Für eine solche Entwicklung lässt sich kein Ziel abschen. Bereits ist das Manuscript einer Grammatik der Sprache von Ganda, dem Hofe des Königs Mtesa, mir zur Begutachtung vorgelegt worden; es wird noch diesen Herbst zum Drucke gelangen. Ebenso steht zu erwarten ein Theil der heiligen Schrift in der Sprache vom See Tanganyika.

Die westliche Grenze dieses Nebenzweiges lässt sich bestimmen, indem man eine imaginäre Linie von Niangwe am Kongo südwärts nach dem See Bangweolo zieht. Während uns Wörterverzeichnisse von den Sprachen der grossen Volksstämme zugehen, deren Namen wie aus einem Feenmärchen an unser Ohr klingen, werden diese Namen an den für sie freigelassenen Stellen verzeichnet werden, und der grosse für uns leere Raum des östlichen Afrikas im südlichen Wendekreis wird nach und nach seine Ausfüllung erhalten, denn, wie bei Besprechung des nächsten Zweiges zu sehen ist, werden die Erforscher vom Westen aus bald Nyangwe und die Hauptstadt des Cazembe am See Moero erreichen.

Der westliche Zweig der Bantu-Familie begreift die westliche Hälfte des südtropischen Afrikas in sich, von dem Namáqua-Land der Hottentotten-Gruppe an im Süden bis zu den Cameroon-Bergen im Norden. Nördlich wird dieser Zweig von der Neger-Region durch ungewisse Grenzen eines unerforschten Landes geschieden. Es ist bemerkenswerth, dass einige der Abstammung nach den Negern angehörige Stämme Bantu-Sprachen reden.

Im Osten liegt der ungeheure Raum des unerforschten mittleren Afrikas, an beiden Ufern des Kongo, wo kriegerische Wilde und Kanibalen hausen.

Der besagte westliche Zweig theilt sich in drei Nebenzweige. 1) Die portugiesische Niederlassung Angola mit dem was dazu gehört; ausserdem das Land südlich bis an die Grenzen des Namáqua-Landes. 2) Das Stromgebiet des unteren Kongo. 3) Das Stromgebiet des Ogowai-Gabún und das Land nordwärts bis an die Cameroons. Dieser ganze Zweig bietet ein hoffnungsreiches Feld für die Forschung, da ein sehr reges Leben längs der ganzen Küste

herrscht, in Folge der Gegenwart englischer, französischer, deutscher, portugiesischer, spanischer und amerikanischer Besucher, welche dort verschiedene Zwecke verfolgen.

In dem ersten der genannten Nebenzweige finden wir die Heréro-Sprache, deren Kenntniss wir Herrn Hahn verdanken, und das Ndonga von Ova-Mpo, welches im Süden des Flusses Cunéne von Volksstämmen geredet wird, welche dem Namen nach unter englischer Botmässigkeit stehen. Nördlich von dem erwähnten Flusse, in der portugiesischen Niederlassung, begegnet man der Bunda-Sprache. Für diese haben wir das Wörterbuch und die Grammatik des Capuciners Cannecattim, veröffentlicht in Lissabon i. J. 1504; auch die Grammatik des Pedro de Diaz 1677. Wie es scheint, erstreckt sich diese Sprache über ein weites Gebiet; doch berichten spätere Reisende von dem Dasein einer andern Sprache, welche in Bihé gesprochen werde. Von jenseits der portugiesischen Grönze kommen uns andere Namen zu: so haben uns Pogge und Buchner, welche bis nach Kabebe, der Hauptstadt des Muata Yanvo vordrangen, andere Namen, aber sehr wenig Verlässliches berichtet.

Der Nebenzweig des Kongo enthält den Keim zu weiteren Entdeckungen. Missionäre und Erforscher dringen nach und nach den Fluss aufwärts zu dem Stanley Pool. Das Kongosprache wird uns durch eine Grammatik von Brucciottus erleichtert, welche 1659 in Rom im Druck erschien. Möglicherweise bekommen wir im Verlaufe einiger Jahre Dampfboote, welche dann von Stanley Pool nach Nyangwe fahren, und da werden wir viele neue Sprachen kennen lernen. Wir sehen mit Zuversicht einem in der nächsten Zeit zu erwartenden Berichte über die im Stromgebiete des Kongo, westlich von Stanley Pool, herrschenden Dialekte so wie Bibelübersetzungen entgegen. Von diesem Nebenzweig, der so voll von unsichern Versprechungen ist, und keine Frucht trägt, welche unter der Pflege moderner Bildung reift, gehen wir nach Norden über zu dem Nebenzweig des Stromgebietes des Ogowai-Gabún, wo wir mehreren genau bestimmten Sprachen begegnen, welche durch Arbeiten von hervorragendem Verdienste zugänglich geworden. Diese gewähren einen vollständigen Einblick in die Natur der Sprachen, welche den Pongwe, den Dualla, den Kelé und den Bewohnern der Insel Fernando Po eigenthümlich sind. Wir besitzen davon gute zweckmässige Grammatiken, Uebersetzungen von Theilen der Bibel und sehr viele kleinere Schriften, die im Laufe einer langen Reihe von Jahren von englischen und amerikanischen Missionären verfaßt worden sind.

Wir kommen jetzt, zufolge unserer Eintheilung der Sprachen Afrikas, zu der sechsten und letzten Gruppe, nämlich zu der der Hottentotten und Buschmänner.

Vom Norden her von mächtigeren Stämmen nach dem äussersten Süden gedrängt, und nur durch die Ankunft der Engländer in der Niederlassung am Kap, sowie durch die menschenfreundlichen

Bemühungen englischer und deutscher Missionäre vom Untergang gerettet, finden sich hier diese beiden Ueberreste früherer Bevölkerung. Sie stehen in keinerlei Verwandtschaft zu einander oder zu der Bantu-Familie und sind an Farbe und Körperbildung durchaus verschieden. Wie wir schon früher erwähnt, gehören nach der Ansicht einiger namhaften Gelehrten, die Hottentotten, welche die erste Sondergruppe ausmachen, zu der hamitischen Gruppe, während die Buschmänner offenbar der Ueberrest von Ureinwohnern sind. Spuren von solchen finden sich an vielen andern Orten des afrikanischen Erdtheils. Bei zunehmender Kenntniss wird es vielleicht möglich, nach sorgfältiger Vergleichung, eine Gruppe von Ureinwohnern zu bilden, als Ueberbleibsel von Bewohnern, welche zu einem Helotenthum oder zu einem Zustande von Verwilderung und Verworfenheit herabsanken. Die Hottentotten oder Koikoi sind zu bekannt, um hier eingehend besprochen zu werden. Es finden sich unter denselben vier Dialekte: 1) Das Nama oder Namáqua, der reinste dieser Dialekte; 2) Das Korana am Orange-Fluss; 3) Der Dialekt der im Osten zerstreuten Stämme; 4) Derjenige Dialekt, welcher von den Hottentotten in der Nähe der Kapstadt gesprochen wird. Ausserdem gehören hieher die Griqua und andere aus Mischlingen bestehende Stämme; sie sind mit Holländern der Sprache und dem Blute nach vermengt. Ueber die Sprache, die nicht mehr lange andauern kann, sind viele vortreffliche Arbeiten von Missionären verfasst worden. Sie hat vier Schnalzlaute.

Die zweite Sondergruppe ist die der Buschmänner oder San. Ihr niedriger Wuchs, ihre Blödigkeit und Furchtsamkeit mahnen sofort an andere zwerghafte Stämme, deren Dasein in andern Theilen dieses Festlandes ausser Zweifel steht. Sie leben in zerstreuten Gruppen in Be-Chuána und Damara-Land, auch anderwärts. Man hat verschiedene erfolgreiche Versuche gemacht, ihre Sprache und ihre Sagen zu erkunden. Ihre bekannten sechs Schnalzlaute sind eine höchst interessante Eigenthümlichkeit.

Es möchte denen, welche sich mit dem Ursprung der Sprache beschäftigen, zu rathen sein, ein halbes Jahrhundert zu verziehen, bis alle Sprachformen Afrikas gesammelt, untersucht und deren Phaenomene erklärt sind.

Manche Sprachformen sind wie Blätter verweht, und, dürfen wir gewissen Berichten Glauben schenken, so giebt es manche, die noch im Werden sind. Der Structur und dem Organismus einer Sprache ist eine merkwürdige Lebenskraft eigen, aber die Wörter sind vielfältigem Wechsel unterworfen. Auch erschen wir aus den Sprachen Afrikas, dass ein sehr complicierter Sprachorganismus mit einem Zustande sehr wenig entwickelter Civilisation vereinbar ist, und dass die Sprachen der Wilden nicht nothwendig das Gepräge der Einfachheit tragen; ferner dass der Organismus der Wort- und Satzbildung diesen Wilden von selbst gekommen,

und dass sie nicht anders hätten reden können, hätten sie selbst den Versuch gemacht anders zu reden.

Es ist für mich ebenso wohl eine Ehre als ein Vergnügen, in einer deutschen Versammlung meine Anerkennung der grossen Verdienste auszusprechen, welche sich deutsche Gelehrsamkeit um Afrika erworben hat, und auf die grossen Hoffnungen hinzuweisen, mit welchen man ihren zukünftigen Leistungen entgegen sieht. Durch die Kraft und Energie, womit das englische Volk die Versuche fortsetzte, welche die Portugiesen eingestellt hatten, ist für Afrikas Osten, Westen und Süden das Thor Europas geöffnet worden. Die Engländer haben weder die Anmuth und Leichtigkeit des zierlichen französischen Volkes, noch besitzen sie die solide und tiefe Gelehrsamkeit der Deutschen; sie sind aber praktisch, kraftvoll und eigenwillig. Für sie ist das Kameel ein Lastthier, bestimmt Baumwollballen und Bibeln zu tragen. Ein Volksstamm ist für sie ein Haufen Männer und Frauen, welche mit der besagten Baumwolle zu bekleiden und mit den Bibeln zu bekehren sind. Sprachen werden erlernt und Bücher in denselben verfasst zu praktischen Zwecken, ohne irgend romantisches oder wissenschaftliches Interesse.

Es trifft sich glücklich, dass die Deutschen Arbeiten, wie das Verfassen von Grammatiken, das Uebersetzen der Bibel und beiläufig auch die Errichtung selbstständiger Missionen übernehmen. Zum Studiren hat in der Regel der Engländer nicht die Zeit. Als ich vor vierzig Jahren zum ersten Male nach Indien reiste, traf ich Lepsius bei der grossen Pyramide, und erhielt dort den ersten Unterricht in der Hieroglyphen-Schrift. Der berühmte Gelehrte malte gerade eine Hieroglyphen-Inschrift zum Ruhme Preussens über den Eingang der Pyramide. Seitdem hat das Stillleben des Museums und der Universität ihn in den Stand gesetzt, bedeutende wissenschaftliche Schätze aufzuhäufen, unvergängliche monumentale Werke zu veröffentlichen, und eine Tiefe zu ergründen, zu welcher bis dahin kein Senkblei gereicht hatte. Während dieser Zeit war ich bei der Erweiterung der brittischen Herrschaft in Indien thätig, war gegenwärtig in grossen Schlachten, half grosse Provinzen regieren, und bisher unbezähmbare Rassen an eine feste, doch milde Regierungsweise gewöhnen, mit eiserner Hand in einem Handschuh von Sammet, mit offner, entschiedener, doch nicht der Theilnahme entbehrender, Rede. So mangelte dem Engländer, vor der Neige des Lebens, die Zeit, den Organismus selbst derjenigen Sprachen zu studieren, die ihm so geläufig sind wie seine eigene. Unter solchen Verhältnissen schulden die Engländer Deutschland um so grösseren Dank für das, was seine Gelehrten für Indien und Afrika geleistet haben. Ich, der ich den ganzen Umfang dieser Arbeiten kenne, sage hier, ohne den Vorwurf nationaler Ruhmredigkeit zu verdienen: wir bedürfen nichtsdestoweniger frischer Schaa ren thätiger Missionäre,

welche hinausgehen und neue Grammatiken, neue Wörterbücher verfassen; wir wünschen wo möglich, auch eine frische Schaar vielseitiger Gelehrten, wie Lepsius, Bleek und Friedrich Müller heranreifen zu sehen, zur Prüfung, Anordnung, und Benutzung, des gesammelten Materials.

Fifth International Oriental Congress, Berlin, 1881.

III.—LANGUAGES OF OCEANIA.

In der Afrikanischen Abtheilung der im September 1881 zu Berlin abgehaltenen Internationalen Orientalisten-Versammlung hatte ich die Ehre einen Vortrag über "Unsere gegenwärtige Kenntniss der Sprachen Afrikas" zu halten; und im Laufe des folgenden Jahres gab ich meine beiden Bände über die neueren Sprachen jenes Erdtheiles heraus. Seitdem ist meine Aufmerksamkeit auf Oceanien gelenkt worden, und ich beabsichtige jetzt einen Aufsatz über "Unsere gegenwärtige Kenntniss dieser Sprachen" zu lesen, dem nächstes Jahr ein Band mit ausführlichen Details, Sprach-Karten und Bibliographischen Anhängen folgen soll.

Es ist mein Zweck, die Kenntniss dieses Gegenstandes dadurch zu fördern, dass ich in systematischer Weise dem Publikum den Umfang unseres Wissens und damit auch unserer Unwissenheit vorlege.

Was Afrika anbelangt, so sind in den letzten Jahren ungeheuere Fortschritte gemacht worden. Ich rechne auf ähnliche Fortschritte in Oceanien. In Berlin erwähnte ich, wie viel die Wissenschaft Deutschen Gelehrten zu verdanken hat, sowohl was die Sprachen Ost-Indiens, als auch was die Afrikas anbetrifft. Ohne ihre Hülfe, wo wären wir? Denn Deutschland hat nicht nur die hervorragenden Geister geliefert, welche oft von unwissenschaftlichen Händen gesammelte Materialien zu ordnen hatten, sondern Deutsche Gelehrte sind auch hiehin und dahin gereist, und haben zahlreiche Sammlungen auf dem Sprachgebiete angestellt. In Bezug auf die Sprachen Oceaniens liegen die Sachen anders. In der That, dieselben hervorragenden Geister haben zwar die angesammelten Materialien arrangirt, wie mein verehrter Freund Dr. Friedrich Müller, und der berühmte Gelehrte H. Conon von der Gabelentz und sein Sohn, mein geschätzter Freund Professor Georg von der Gabelentz, welcher mit Meisterhand den von seinem verstorbenen Vater fallengelassenen Faden wieder aufgenommen hat; auch darf ich bei diesem Namen die Arbeit von Adolf Bernhard Meyer nicht unerwähnt lassen. Doch bin ich auf diesem Gebiete wenig anderen Anzeichen Deutscher Arbeit begegnet, was um so schlimmer für die Arbeit selbst ist, denn die Bearbeitung der Grammatik und des Wörterbuchs scheint eben gerade so die Eigenthümlichkeit der

Deutschen zu sein, wie die Herstellung von Pflügen, und der Schiffsbau die des Englischen Volkes ist.

Die Arbeit ist von Englischen, Französischen und Nord-amerikanischen Gelehrten gethan worden, mit gelegentlichen Streiflichtern von Holländern wie Van Hasselt, H. G. Geisler, und meinem guten Freunde Professor Kern aus Leiden.

Ein einziges Spanisches Buch, in den Philippinen herausgegeben, und sich auf eine Sprache in den Marianen- oder Ladrone-Inseln beziehend, ist mir zugekommen, und ein Russischer Gelehrter hat vielversprechende Werke herausgegeben, aber keine andere Nationalität hat, so weit meine Kenntniss reicht, zu dieser Arbeit beigetragen.

Was versteht man unter Oceanien? Es ist jenes Conglomerat oder vielmehr jene grosse Milchstrasse von grossen und kleinen Inseln, welche sich im Stillen Ocean über die anerkannten geographischen Grenzen von Asien und Amerika hinaus hinzieht. Die alten Geographen glaubten es gäbe einen südlichen Kontinent, welcher sich um den Südpol erstrecke. Die runde Welt hat sich jedoch jetzt all ihrer Geheimnisse begeben, und wir erkennen jetzt das Bestehen eines fünften Welttheils an, welcher die grossen Inseln Neu-Guinea, Australien und Neu-Seeland einschliesst, sowie eine unzählige Zahl kleinerer Inseln, die man in Gruppen zusammengefasst hat, und welche sich wie Guirlanden von der Oster-Insel im äussersten Osten bis Tasmanien im Westen erstrecken. Für meine Zwecke bleibt Malaysien in Asien, und Madagascar in Afrika; sie liegen ausserhalb meiner Untersuchung. Mögen sie immerhin ethnologische oder philologische Verwandtschaften mit Theilen von Oceanien haben oder nicht; allein bei aller Achtung vor dem grossen und epochemachenden Werke von Humboldt's nehme ich doch auf diese Verwandtschaft keine Rücksicht, indem ich sie weder bestätige noch verneine, noch sie anders zu gestalten versuche.

Ich theile Oceanien in vier grosse Gebiete ein:

- I. Polynesien.
- II. Melanesien.
- III. Mikronesien.
- IV. Australien.

Vom äussersten Osten anfangend, behandel ich sie in der angegebenen Reihenfolge. Dieselbe ist bequemer und erschöpfender, denn wenn wir uns den Grenzen Asiens nähern, befinden wir uns in einem noch nicht sichergestellten Gebiete, sowohl im Süden von Neu-Guinea her, als im Osten, nach den Philippinen hin. Es ist fraglich, ob wir nicht in ein Gebiet eindringen, welches geographisch ein Theil von Asien ist.

Wir finden in Polynesien, vom Osten anfangend, die Oster-Insel, die Paumotu-Inseln und die berühmte Gruppe der Gesellschafts-Inseln, von denen ein Theil bisweilen die Georg-Inseln

genannt wird, deren vornehmste Tahiti ein französisches Besitzthum ist, sowie die Austral-Inseln. Die ganze Bibel ist in diese Sprache übersetzt, und dieselbe ist auch durch Grammatiken und Wörterbücher zugänglich gemacht worden.

Im Nord-Osten ist die Gruppe der Marquesas-Inseln. Hier spricht man eine Sprache derselben Familie, und wir besitzen hiervon Grammatiken sowie auch Texte. Dem Norden zu, 20 Grad gerade nördlich vom Aequator, kommen wir an die berühmte Gruppe der Sandwich-Inseln, den Schauplatz der Ermordung von Captain Cook, dem grossen Seefahrer. Hier besitzen wir volle Kenntniss einer besondern Schwester-Sprache, die als das Hawaii bekannt, und in welche die ganze Bibel übersetzt ist. Im Norden finden wir auch die Gruppen der Union- und der Ellice-Inseln, wo das Fakaao gesprochen wird. Südwärts, in demselben Breitengrade wie die Gesellschafts-Inseln, kommen wir nacheinander zu den Hervey-Inseln, von welchen Barotonga die vornehmste, den Schiffer- oder Samoa-Inseln, und den Freundschafts-Inseln, unter denen Tonga die grösste ist. Diese drei Gruppen besitzen besondere wenn auch verwandte Sprachen; alle drei sind wissenschaftlich bearbeitet, die ganze Bibel ist in alle drei übersetzt worden. Oestlich von Tonga, südlich von Samoa ist eine kleine Insel, welche Captain Cook *Savage-Inseln* genannt hat, weil es ihm wegen der Wildheit der Eingeborenen unmöglich war zu landen; ihr wirklicher Name ist Niue. Nach vielen fruchtlosen physischen Versuchen wurde endlich moralischer Einfluss auf diese Insulaner ausgeübt. Sie haben sich schliesslich gleich den Einwohnern der übrigen Inseln unterworfen, und ein grosser Theil der Bibel ist in ihre Sprache übersetzt worden.

Europäer haben sich auf vielen dieser Inseln angesiedelt, und Konsuln verschiedener Mächte residiren daselbst; aber das Werk der Civilisation ist auf den Sandwichs-Inseln ganz von Amerikanischen Missionaren, ganz von Französischen auf den Marquesas- und den beiden kleinen Inseln Wallis und Horne, und auf den übrigen von Englischen geleitet worden. Der Umschwung während der letzten fünfzig Jahre ist erstaunlich gewesen.

Weit nach Süd-Westen sind zwei grosse Inseln, welche Neu-Seeland bilden. Vom sprachwissenschaftlichen Standpunkte gehören auch sie zu Polynesien, weil die Maori-Sprache mit den oben erwähnten Sprachen verwandt ist. Sie ist ausführlich bearbeitet, und die ganze Bibel in dieselbe übersetzt worden.

Aus verschiedenen Gründen, seien es Uebervölkerung oder innere Streitigkeiten oder Stürme, welche die Kanoes vor sich hertrieben, hat eine fortwährende Auswanderung nach Westen Statt gefunden, und Polynesishe Kolonien, durch ihre Sprache deutlich als solche gekennzeichnet, finden sich auf vielen Inseln Melanesiens. Zuweilen trifft man eine Mischsprache an. Allein unsere Kenntniss des Melanesischen Sprachgebietes ist noch nicht hinreichend genug,

uns in den Stand zu setzen, dass wir auf einer Sprachkarte die genaue Lokalität solcher Polynesischen Eindringlinge verzeichnen könnten. Ich will nur hier auf das Phänomenon aufmerksam machen. Fútuna, Aníwa, Uvéa und Tikópia sind die bemerkenswerthesten der zahlreichen Beispiele. Es ist eine festgestellte Thatsache, für welche es hinreichende Beweise gibt, dass es für alle Sprachformen auf dieser weiten Strecke vom 190 Grad westlicher Länge von Greenwich bis zum 130 Grad östlicher Länge, und vom 20 Grade nördlicher Breite bis zum 50 Grade südlicher Breite, eine einzige Muttersprache gegeben hat, und darüber hinaus liegt noch die Frage nach der Verwandtschaft dieser Muttersprache mit den Sprachen Malaisiens in Asien und Melanesiens, Mikronesiens und Australiens in Oceanien.

Jemand, der eine lange persönliche Bekanntschaft mit dieser Sprachfamilie als einem geschriebenen und mündlichen Verkehrsmittel besitzt, hat die folgenden charakteristischen Merkmale derselben verzeichnet:

- I. Das Adjectiv folgt dem Substantiv.
- II. Die Zahl wird durch einen Wechsel im Artikel angedeutet.
- III. Das besitzende Fürwort kommt vor dem Substantiv.
- IV. Der Nominativ folgt dem Zeitwort.
- V. Das Tempus wird durch eine vorausgehende Partikel angedeutet. Es gibt aber kein grammatisches Geschlecht.
- VI. Das Passivum wird durch ein Suffix ausgedrückt.
- VII. Verstärkung und Fortdauer der Handlung werden durch ein Präfix und durch Reduplikation angedeutet.
- VIII. Das Causativum wird durch ein Präfix zustandegebracht.
- IX. Gegenseitigkeit der Handlung wird durch Präfix und Suffix ausgedrückt und oft zugleich durch Reduplikation des Wortes. Jedes Wort schliesst mit einem Vokal.

Die Sprache wird mit grosser grammatischen Genauigkeit gesprochen. Der Wortvorrath reicht hin zum Ausdruck jedes Gedankens. Denjenigen; die eine Schwestersprache sprechen, ist es nicht möglich mit einander zu verkehren. Es gibt gewöhnlich auch eine Ceremoniensprache für die Häuptlinge. Bestandtheile von dem Namen eines Häuptlings sind während seines Lebens und oft nach seinem Tode aus der Sprache verpönt. Die Rasse, welche diese Inseln bewohnt, ist durch glänzendes, schlichtes und langes Haar, und durch helle Kupferfarbe, sowie durch malaysische Gesichtszüge, ausgezeichnet.

Westlich von Polynesien befindet sich das Melanesische Gebiet. Die Fidschi-Gruppe, eine Englische Kolonie, liegt, an der äussersten Ost-Grenze, und eine Inselkette erstreckt sich in einem Halbkreis bis nach der grossen Insel Neu-Guinea, welche ganz

mit eingeschlossen ist, bis wir uns in den Inseln von Malaisien oder den Asiatischen Archipel verwickeln. Auch hier ist das Sprachgebiet ungeheuer ausgedehnt, von dem Wendekreise des Steinbocks bis zu dem Aequator in der Breite, und vom 170sten Grade östlicher Länge von Greenwich, bis zu dem 130sten Grade sich erstreckend, gewisse Theile von Australien nicht mitgerechnet, die innerhalb dieser Grenzen liegen.

Glücklicherweise sind die Inselgruppen gut abgegrenzt, und deshalb können wir geographisch mit vollkommener Gewissheit und sprachlich mit relativer Gewissheit vorgehen in Folge der Arbeiten mehrerer Missionsgesellschaften, und auf Grund des wichtigen Werkes "Die Sprachen von Melanesien," welches in diesem Jahre von der Oxforder Universitäts-Presse veröffentlicht worden ist.

Ich fange mit der Fidschi-Gruppe an. Die grösseren Inseln haben eine Oberfläche so gross wie Wales. Die Bewohner gehören zu der dunklen Rasse; da sie aber an die helle Rasse angrenzen, hat ihr Blut eine Mischung erfahren. Die Sprache ist gründlich studirt, und die ganze Bibel übersetzt worden.

Nördlich davon befindet sich die Insel Rotuma, unter der Oberherrschaft von Fidschi, mit besonderer Sprache; dieselbe ist bearbeitet und ein Theil der Bibel übersetzt worden. Sie ist eine besondere Sprache.

Westlich kommen wir an die Loyalty-Inseln, welche aus drei grossen Inseln bestehen, die nach und nach unter die Oberherrschaft der französischen Kolonie Neu-Kaledonien gekommen sind. Die Inseln heissen Maré, Lifu und Uvea. Die Sprachen dieser Inseln sind so verschieden, dass es nothwendig geworden ist die Bibel in jede derselben zu übersetzen. In das Lifu ist die ganze Bibel übersetzt worden, und ein grosser Theil derselben in die beiden anderen. Wenn man einen und denselben Vers in den drei verschiedenen Uebersetzungen vergleicht, so überzeugt man sich sogleich, dass die Sprachen ganz von einander verschieden sind, und gerade weil Agenten derselben Missionen alle Inseln bewohnen, kann man nicht an der Nothwendigkeit dieser Uebersetzungen zweifeln.

Weiter nach Westen gruppiren sich die Inseln Neu-Kaledonien, und die kleine Fichten-Insel. Besondere Sprachen sind vorhanden, aber wir haben hier nicht die Bibel-Uebersetzung als bequemen Führer, da es nicht die Gewohnheit der französischen Katholiken ist dieses Buch zum Unterricht des Volkes zu benutzen. Es ist eine grosse Bequemlichkeit für Sprachwissenschaftliche Zwecke, dasselbe Buch in alle Sprachen übersetzt zu finden, es versieht uns zu gleicher Zeit mit einem Text, und einem Mittel Sprachvergleichen anzustellen. Wir finden, dass es in Neu-Kaledonien drei verschiedene Sprachen gibt, das Yehen im Norden, das Duauru an der Süd-West-Küste, und eine dritte Sprache un-

sicheren Namens, aber bestimmten Ortes, und durch eine Wörtersammlung und hinreichende geographische Bezeichnung belegt, so dass ich sie hier vorzeichnen kann. Eine Wörtersammlung ist für die Fichten-Insel geliefert worden. Ohne Zweifel werden wir bald über die Sprachen dieser beiden Inseln genaue Kenntniss bekommen, denn die französischen Gelehrten haben ihre Aufmerksamkeit jetzt nach dieser Richtung gelenkt. Auf meiner Reise nördlich befinde ich mich jetzt unter den Neuen Hebriden, die sich über 10 Grad südlicher Breite erstrecken. Indem ich die beiden Inseln Fútuna und Aníwa übergehe, die ich von sprachlichem Gesichtspunkte zu Polynesien gerechnet habe, fahre ich weiter von Aneiteum nach Tanna, von Fromanga, dem Schauplatz von mehr als einer Mordthat, nach Faté, oder der Sandwich-Insel, wo die Franzosen sich in der letzten Zeit niedergelassen haben: von Nguna oder der Montague-Insel nach der Drei-Hügel-Insel, die als Mai bekannt ist; von den Schäfer-Inseln nach Api; von Paama nach Ambrym; von Mallicólo nach der Pfingst-Insel; von Espiritu Santo nach Oba oder der Leper-Insel, und weiter nach der Maewo- oder Aurora-Insel, der nördlichsten der Gruppe.

Auf einigen dieser Inseln gibt es mehr als eine Sprache, von denen jede der andern unverständlich ist; auf einigen finden sich Polynesische Kolonien. Die Eingeborenen sind ungastliche, verrätherische Wilde und Kannibalen, aber dennoch sind alle Inseln besucht und ihre Sprachen erlernt worden. Grammatiken, Wörtersammlungen und Texte werden nach und nach bekannt gemacht.

Ich fahre jetzt weiter und komme zu den Banks-Inseln, und weiter von der Merlav-Insel nach Santa Maria, welche zwei Sprachen besitzt, und dann von der grossen Banks-Insel oder Vanua Lava, mit fünf Dialecten, nach der Zuckerhut-Insel, deren Sprache, das Mota, einst die *Lingua franca* des ganzen Gebietes zu sein bestimmt scheint; und endlich von der Saddle- oder Motlav-Insel nach Rowa und der Bligh-Insel, die auch unter dem Namen Ureparapara und Norbarbar bekannt ist. Von diesem Punkte aus komme ich durch die kleinen Inseln, die als die Torres-Insel bekannt sind, hindurch, nach der Santa-Cruz-Gruppe, wo ich die Santa-Cruz- oder Deni-Insel finde, und weiter nördlich nach der Gruppe der Schwalben-Inseln, von welchen Nifilole die grösste ist. Auf Vanikoro, in der Santa-Cruz-Gruppe, kam am Ende des vorigen Jahrhunderts der unglückliche La Perouse mit seinen beiden Schiffen um, und ihr Loos blieb länger als ein Vierteljahrhundert unbekannt. Auf Nikopu, in der Schwalben-Gruppe, fiel im Jahre 1871 der opferwillige und gelehrte Bishop Patteson, und man fand in einem vom Wasser hin und her getriebenen Boote seine Leiche mit fünf Wunden, dem Zeichen der Rache der Wilden, welche durch die Menschenräuber der benachbarten Kolonien in Wuth gebracht worden waren.

Nicht ohne vieles Blutvergiessen und den Verlust vieler theueren

Menschenleben ist unsere geographische und sprachwissenschaftliche Kenntniss dieses Gebietes erkauft worden. Ein wenig nach Westen ab komme ich durch die Salomons-Inseln vorbei an Ulawa, und St. Christoval mit drei Sprachen, Guadalcanar, Florida (auch unter dem Namen Anudka bekannt), Ysabel mit zwei Sprachen, von denen die eine Bugotu oder Mahaga genannt wird, und die andere Gao nach dem Archipel von Neu Georgien. Dieses war das Gebiet, das im Jahre 1568 von Mendana, dem Neffen des Spanischen Vicekönigs von Peru, entdeckt wurde, der, von seiner Gemahlin Donna Isabella begleitet, im Jahre 1595 einen zweiten Besuch dasselbst abstattete, im Laufe dessen er starb. Er dachte er hätte die Tierra Australis, die so lange von den Alten erträumt worden war, entdeckt, und er gab den Inseln die hochklingenden Namen, welche die einzigen Erinnerungen Spanischer Besetzung geblieben sind. Die Sprachen aller dieser Stämme sind jetzt erlernt worden, und Knaben werden jährlich nach den Central-Bildungsanstalten der Zuckerhut-Insel und Norfolk-Insel gebracht, um herangebildet, und dann als Keime der Civilisation und Gesandte des Friedens zu den Ihrigen zurückgesandt zu werden. Dies ist die friedliche Methode der Eroberung. Es ist zu hoffen, dass keine Europäische Ländergier diese gesegnete Arbeit stören werde.

Meine Reise fortsetzend, komme ich an den Bismarck-Archipel, und die neuen Deutschen Besitzthumen, und durch St. Georgs-Canal zwischen den Inseln von Neu-Brittanien und Neu-Irland hindurch steuernd befinde ich mich bei der Herzog von Yorks-Insel. Hier besteht seit vielen Jahren eine bedeutende Missionsstation, auch sind Grammatiken und Wörterbücher geschrieben, und ein Evangelium übersetzt und gedruckt worden, ein Gegenstand von grossem Interesse für Sprachforscher; auch bin ich von Deutschen Gelehrten um Exemplare angegangen worden. Diese Sprache ist noch mit den Sprachen der Neuen Hebriden und der Salomon-Inseln verwandt, und Gleichwol so zu sagen im Angesicht von Papua und Neu-Guinea.

Ich schliesse Neu-Guinea in Melanesien ein; zu der grossen Insel, in welche sich England, Deutschland und Holland getheilt haben, gehören die kleinen Inseln in der Torres-Strasse, die Murray-Insel, und andere, und weiterhin die Aru-Inseln und die Ke-Inseln, die Inseln Salawati, Mysol, Guebi und Waigiou. Hier komme ich an das strittige Gebiet an der Grenze von Malaisien und Namen werden hier nur *pro forma* aufgeführt, damit nichts vergessen werde. Ich fühle, dass ich mich jetzt in ein Gebiet der Ungewissheit und der Streitfragen wago. Es ist unmöglich Neu-Guinea in derselben Ausführlichkeit wie das übrige Melanesien zu behandeln, welches, aus kleinen Inseln bestehend, Jahr aus Jahr ein den Missionsschiffen und Missionsagenten, die selbst entweder Polynesische oder Melanesische Christen waren, zugänglich gewesen ist. Neu-Guinea ist eine ungeheurere Insel, die grösste auf der

ganzen Welt, und steht gerade jetzt auf demselben Punkt, den Afrika vor fünfundzwanzig Jahren, ehe die Erforschungsperiode anfang.

Meiner Methode getreu kann ich keine Sprache auf meiner Liste verzeichnen, bis ich durch eine selbstständige geographische Untersuchung die genaue Lokalität erforscht habe, worin sie gesprochen wird; wird diese Vorsicht nicht befolgt, so kann eine und dieselbe Sprache zweimal unter einem andern Namen mit einer so zu sagen in den Wolken hängenden Lokalität aufgeführt werden. Dieses ist nicht gute sprachwissenschaftliche Geographie. Ich habe von Berlin erfahren, dass bis jetzt von den Deutschen Forschern auf der Nordseite der Insel, mit Ausnahme des von einem Russischen Reisenden zusammengestellten Vokabulars der Astrolabe Bay, nichts Sprachliches gesammelt worden ist. Die Holländer haben uns wenig mehr als eine Sprache, Mafor genannt, gegeben, welche genau studirt und durch eine Grammatik und die Uebersetzung von einem Theil der Bibel repräsentirt ist.

Die Sprachen der angrenzenden Inseln sind uns nur durch Wörtersammlungen bekannt. Die Sprachen der Inseln Murray und Saibai sind uns durch die Uebersetzung eines Evangeliums zugänglich, und die Sprache der Darnley-Insel durch eine Wörtersammlung. In dem Englischen Theil der Insel finde ich mehr Auskunft. Fünfhundert Meilen der Küste entlang, sagt uns einer, der da wohnt, werden nicht weniger als fünfundzwanzig besondere Sprachen oder Dialekte gesprochen, was auf eine grosse Mischung der Stämme schliessen lässt. Das Motu und die Sprache des Süd-Caps stehen voran; in beiden sind Uebersetzungen eines Evangeliums gemacht und gedruckt worden, welche die Gelehrten in den Stand setzen sich ein Urtheil über den Charakter der Sprachen zu bilden. Ein urtheilsfähiger Gelehrter in Melanesien sagt uns, dass die Motu-Sprache entschieden Melanesisch ist, und dass die Wörtersammlung des Mafor, welches von einem Stamme in so grosser Entfernung wie der nord-westliche Zipfel dieser grossen Insel gesprochen wird und ausserhalb aller und jeder Berührung mit Melanesien steht, einen grossen Theil in Melanesien gebräuchlicher Wörter enthält. Wir müssen im Auge behalten, dass, was dieselbe Sprache Mafor anbetrifft, ein berühmter Deutscher Gelehrter erklärt hat, dass sie gänzlich verschieden sei, während zu gleicher Zeit ein eben so berühmter Holländischer Gelehrter auf der Orientalisten-Versammlung zu Leiden das Gegentheil behauptete, und zum Beweis seiner Behauptung Einzelheiten anführte. In Neu-Guinea gibt es unzweifelhaft zwei Rassen, eine schwarze und eine braune. Einige wollten behaupten, dass es einst eine dritte Rasse gegeben habe, von der noch einige Ueberbleibsel sich fänden. Diese Rassen haben sich vermischt und zahllose Varietäten gebildet. Beide Rassen begegnen sich ungefähr in der Länge vom Cap Possession auf der Südküste, aber es ist uns absolut nichts von dem Inneren der

Insel bekannt. Dieser Ansicht nach werden die Sprachen der westlichen Theile der Insel von schwarzen Rassen gesprochen, wie dieselben auch heissen mögen. Das Mafor mit seinen sorgfältig hergestellten Texten ist ihr Repräsentant. Die Sprachen der braunen Rassen sind uns durch die herausgegebenen Texte des Motu, Süd-Caps, der Inseln Murray und Saibai zugänglich.

Hiermit enden wir die Schilderung der Melanesischen Sprachen. Die grösste Autorität auf diesem Sprachgebiete, welche dasselbe von der Sprache von Maré im Süden an, bis zu dem Mafor im Norden erforscht hat, sagt uns, dass sie nach seiner Meinung gleichartig sind, und zu der gemeinsamen Familie von Oceanien einschliesslich Malaisiens gehören. Man gibt zu, dass sie vieles geborgt haben; allein diese geborgten Wörter gehören einer verwandten, und nicht einer fremden Sprachfamilie an. Die reine ursprüngliche Essenz dieser Sprachen ist nicht vergiftet durch wirklich fremde Beimischung, die man nicht sogleich auf ihre Quelle zurückführen, und wie einen Flecken auf einem Kleide auswischen könnte.

Die Melanesier werden von einem der sie kannte, folgendermassen beschrieben: Eine Hercules-Gestalt, schwarze Hautfarbe, und wollig-kräuselndes Haar charakterisiren die Eingeborenen. Sie sind ungastlich gegen Fremde, wild und grausam, aber ihr Typus ist durchaus nicht abgeartet. Es wird von allen Seiten zugegeben, dass infolge von Menschenstehlen, Europäischen Krankheiten, und Europäischen geistigen Getränken, und den Folgen der Civilisation die Eingeborenen der Inseln südlich von Neu-Guinea einer schnellen Vernichtung entgegengehen.

Diese Sprachen machen einen viel häufigeren Gebrauch von den Consonanten als die Malayisch-Polynesischen. Sie besitzen einige Consonantenlaute, welche sich in den letzteren nicht finden, und einige derselben können nur schwer in Römischer Umschrift wiedergegeben werden. Viele Sylben enden mit Consonanten. Es scheint kein Unterschied stattzufinden zwischen dem bestimmten und dem unbestimmten Artikel, ausser vielleicht im Fidschi. Die Substantive werden merkwürdigerweise in zwei Klassen eingetheilt, von welchen die eine ein pronominales Affix mit einem Artikel annimmt, während die andere dasselbe nie thut. Der Grund dieses Unterschiedes schient auf einer näheren oder entfernteren Verbindung zwischen dem Besitzer und dem besessenen Gegenstande zu beruhen. Was mit einer Person in naher Verbindung steht, zum Beispiel seine Gliedmassen, nehmen das pronominale Affix an. Bei einem Dinge, das nur zum Gebrauch besessen wird, würde dies nicht der Fall sein. Das Geschlecht wird nur für das männliche und weibliche bezeichnet. Viele Wörter werden ohne Unterschied als Substantive, Adjective, oder Zeitwörter, ohne Wechsel gebraucht, manchmal jedoch wird ein Substantiv durch seine Endung als solches angedeutet. In den meisten Sprachen wird der Plural der

Hauptwörter vom Singular nicht unterschieden, doch bedient man sich zu diesem Zwecke eines Zahlwortes oder Präfixes. Die Casus werden durch vorgesetzte Partikeln ausgedrückt. Die Adjective folgen ihren Substantiven. Es gibt wenige Adjective im Motu, ein Substantiv wird meistens durch ein Verbum qualificirt. Die Fürwörter sind zahlreich, und das persönliche Fürwort enthält Singular, Dual, Trinal und Plural, und gleichfalls eine einschliessende und eine ausschliessende Form. Beinahe jedes Wort kann in ein Verb dadurch verwandelt werden, dass man die Verbal-Partikeln damit gebraucht. Allen Sprachen ist das Vorsetzen von Partikeln, um Zeit und Modus, bisweilen auch Zahl und Person zu bezeichnen gemeinsam. In nichts tritt ihr veränderlicher Charakter so sehr hervor als in der Abwechslung dieser Partikeln in den verschiedenen Dialekten, sowie in der allgemeinen Anwendung derselben. Sie besitzen ein Causativum, ein Intensivum, oder Frequentativum, und eine reciprokale Form. Von den Melanesischen kann man nicht auf den ersten Blick, wie von den Polynesischen Sprachen behaupten, dass sie von einer gemeinsamen Muttersprache abstammen; sie sind im Gegentheil sehr verschieden von einander. Es ist schwer von der Zahl der Sondersprachen Rechenschaft zu geben; jedoch gibt es in Bezug auf gewisse Einzelheiten eine allgemeine Uebereinstimmung.

Mikronesien erstreckt sich über eine grosse Fläche vom 130 bis zum 180 Grad östlicher Länge, und vom 20 Grad nördlicher Breite bis zu dem Aequator, aber es umfasst nur sehr kleine und unbedeutende Inselgruppen. Bemerkenswerthe Fortschritte sind in der Erlernung von fünf der Sprachen dieser Gruppe von Amerikanischen Missionären gemacht worden, die die Sandwich-Inseln als Basis ihrer Arbeiten erwählt hatten. Um mich besser zu verständlichen, fange ich meine Uebersicht von dem Punkte an, wo die Gebiete von Melanesien und Malaisien zusammentreffen, und gehe dann nach Osten weiter.

Die unbedeutende Insel Tobī, oder Lord-North-Insel, ist die erste, und weiter hinaus komme ich an die Pellew-Inseln. Oestlich erreiche ich die Ladronen oder Marianen; wir besitzen für die dort gesprochenen Sprachen Wörtersammlungen von Reisenden oder schiffbrüchigen Seeleuten. Auf der bedeutenderen Gruppe der Carolinen wissen wir von sechs Sprachen, von denen vier durch Wörtersammlungen vertreten sind, nämlich das Yap, Mackenzie (auch Uluthi genannt), Ualan, und Satawal, und zwei durch Uebersetzungen der Bibel und Grammatiche Werke, nämlich das Ponapé und Kusai; wir wissen aber nichts von ihrem Verhältniss zu einander. Weiter hin kommen wir zu den Mortlock-Inseln, deren Sprache ebenfalls durch eine Bibelübersetzung vertreten ist, und noch weiter östlich erreiche ich die Marshall-Inseln, die auch unter dem Namen Ralak und Ralik bekannt sind. Hier finde ich eine Sprache, das Mille, von welcher es eine Wörtersammlung gibt, und

eine zweite Sprache, das Ebon, in welche die Bibel übersetzt worden ist. Weiter südlich erreiche ich die Gilbert- oder Kingsmill-Inseln am Aequator. Eine ihrer Sprachen ist durch eine Bibelübersetzung vertreten, sie ist wahrscheinlich identisch mit der Sprache der Wörtersammlung des Tarawan, wovon Reisende berichten. Hiermit schliesst unsere Kenntniss dieses Gebietes ab.

Man glaubt, dass die Eingeborenen desselben zu einer sehr gemischten Rasse gehören. Die Einwohner der Gilbert-Gruppe belaufen sich auf 50,000, und die der Carolinen auf 30,000. Sie gehören zu derselben Rasse wie die Polynesiern, und sind sanft und wirthlich gegen Fremde. Bis jetzt sind sie den Uebeln, welche das Auftreten Europäischer Civilisation mit sich bringt, dem Menschenstehlen für die Arbeitsmärkte, und berauschenden Getränken, entgangen.

Die Laute in diesen Sprachen sind den Malayisch-Polynesischen ähnlich. Die Laute *tsch*, *dech*, *sch* unterscheiden sich von den entsprechenden Malayisch-Polynesischen mehr der Potenz als der Natur nach. Die consonantischen Sylben sind keineswegs selten. Dann und wann werden auch Doppelconsonanten gebraucht, allein man lässt gern einen leichten Vokalton dazwischen durchhören. Die meisten Wörter haben den Accent auf der vorletzten Sylbe. In einigen Sprachen scheint es keinen Artikel zu geben. Im Ponapé wird ein solcher, wenn er vorhanden ist, nachgesetzt. In der Sprache der Gilbert-Inseln wird die Malayisch-Polynesische Form *to* an Stelle des unbestimmten und bestimmten Artikels gebraucht. Das Geschlecht wird nur für das männliche und weibliche bezeichnet. Die Zahl wird im Substantivum entweder aus dem Sinne errathen, oder durch pronominalen Wörter oder Zahlwörter bestimmt. Den Casus erkennt man an der Stelle des Substantives im Satze, oder an Präpositionen. In der Ebon-Sprache nehmen Substantive einer gewissen Klasse ein pronominales Affix, wie in den Melanesischen Sprachen an, und deshalb machen diese den Eindruck als seien sie inflectirte Sprachen. Die Substantive, welche dieses Affix annehmen, bezeichnen nähere Verwandtschaft, wie zwischen Vater und Sohn, oder von den Gliedmassen zum Körper. Ich habe noch nicht herausgefunden, ob diese Merkwürdigkeit in irgend einer anderen Mikronesischen Sprache vorhanden ist. Viele Wörter können ohne Unterschied als Substantive, Adjective, oder Zeitwörter, ohne Wechsel gebraucht werden. In einigen Sprachen haben die persönlichen Fürwörter einen Singular, Dual und Plural. In anderen dagegen haben sie keine besondere Form für den Dual, indem das Zahlwort *zwei* dafür gebraucht wird. In der Ebon-Sprache sind besondere inclusive und exclusive Formen der persönlichen Fürwörter gebräuchlich, die, so weit ich herausfinden kann, in den übrigen Mikronesischen Sprachen nicht vorkommen. Die Zeitwörter haben gewöhnlich keine Inflexionen, die Beziehungen der Form, des Modus, der Zeit, der Zahl oder

Person auszudrücken, indem solche Unterschiede durch Partikeln bezeichnet werden. Im Ebon sind die Tempora klar unterschieden; aber auch hier wird die einfache Form des Zeitworts öfters dafür gebraucht. Diese Sprachen besitzen alle causative, intensive, und reciprokale, Formen des Zeitwortes. Sie besitzen auch verbale Ziel-Partikeln. Im Ponape werden viele Ceremoniewörter nur Häuptlingen gegenüber gebraucht, wie im Samoa. Andere werden nur von Priestern während der Ausübung ihres Amtes angewandt. Auch hat man hier die Sitte, Wörter aus der Sprache zu verbannen, die in den Namen der höheren Häuptlinge vorkommen.

Das Gebiet von Australien besitzt Eigenthümlichkeiten, die von den bis jetzt beschriebenen völlig abweichen. Von seinen zweiten Unterabtheilungen sind die Eingeborenen von Tasmanien gänzlich verschwunden. Die letzte Vertreterin der Rasse starb im Jahre 1876, und mit ihr starb alles praktische Interesse an den Sprachen der Insel; denn kein Text ist uns übrig geblieben, um uns zu zeigen was sie waren. Mein Vortrag hat genau nur den praktischen Zweck, den Einwohnern dieser Inseln von Nutzen zu sein.

In der ersten Unterabtheilung, Australien selbst, sind dieselben Ursachen vorhanden und werden wahrscheinlich dieselben Resultate herbeiführen. Europäische Civilisation will nun einmal ihren Willen durchsetzen, entweder die Rasse auszurotten oder die Sprache zu vernichten. In Neu-Guinea war unsere Kenntniss der Sprachen unvollständig, weil das Innere des Landes nicht erforscht war; aber in Australien ist das ganze Land erforscht, und von Europäischen Kolonisten besiedelt, und die Eingeborenen sind auf die Seite gedrängt worden. Das Streben der Missionare dieses Landes ist stets gewesen, und ist es noch, das Englische zum Unterrichtsmittel zu machen, und natürlich kann dies nur ein Resultat haben. Eine lange Liste von nicht weniger als zweiundachtzig verschiedener Rassen und Sprachen oder von beiden, wird in den Büchern welche von Australien handeln aufgeführt; gewöhnlich werden sie in Gebiete eingetheilt, aber die Eingeborenen werden so als nichts gerechnet, dass der Gedanke eine Sprachkarte herzustellen wahrscheinlich gar nicht zum Ausdruck kommt. Einige Grammatiken und Wörtersammlungen sind in einer oberflächlichen Weise geschrieben worden, und in gewöhnlichen Büchern über Philologie genügt eine Analyse derselben zur Darstellung der Australischen Sprachen; allein obwohl man gewöhnlich behauptet, dass alle Australischen Sprachen *einem* Muster folgen, und denselben Ursprung haben, so ist dies doch noch lange nicht bewiesen. Gerade als wenn man die Sprachen Afrikas als *einer* Familie gehörig behandeln wollte, wie man es wahrscheinlich im vorigen Jahrhunderte gethan hat. Die Theorie von einer Verbindung dieser typischen Ursprache Australiens: eine Theorie die man sich gebildet hatte, ehe jede einzelne dieser Sprachen sorgfältig untersucht worden war: mit den typischen Eigenthümlichkeiten der stark ausgebildeten und

genau untersuchten Dravidischen Sprachfamilie von Südindien, mag man immerhin als verfrüht übergehen. Nur eine Bibelübersetzung, in das Narrinyerri an der Süd-Küste, ist erschienen, und sie wird wahrscheinlich die einzige bleiben. Alle bekannten Sprachen sind agglutinativer Natur, und ihr phonetisches System ist einfach. Sie bedienen sich der Suffixe, besitzen kein relatives Fürwort und kein grammatisches Geschlecht. Der Accent ruht gewöhnlich auf der vorletzten Sylbe. Sie haben einen Dual und regelmässige Conjugationen, und machen ausgiebigen Gebrauch von onomatopöischen Ausdrücken. Die Vollkommenheit ihrer Sprache als solcher steht in starkem Gegensatz zur Rohheit der Rasse, aber das ist keine ungewöhnliche Erscheinung. Es wird uns durch eine massgebende Autorität bemerkt, dass die Sprachen im höchsten Grade flexibar sind (um dieses Wort in einem allgemeinen und nicht in technischem Sinne zu gebrauchen), dass sie auch sehr complicirt, und viele der Sätze so gebaut sind, dass eine Uebersetzung unmöglich wird. Es ist sehr zu bedauern, dass das Studium dieser Sprachen so vernachlässigt worden ist. Es ist kein Zweifel, dass die Australischen Eingeborenen, gerade auch wie die Buschmänner von Süd-Afrika, die unterste Stufe in der Menschheit einnehmen.

Es ist die Eigenthümlichkeit der Rassen in einem niederen Zustand der Civilisation, auf jeder Insel, in jedem kleinen Distrikte oder Thal, eine verschiedene Form der Sprache zu haben. Die Bedürfnisse hoher Civilisation dagegen zwingen Millionen zur Annahme einer einzigen grossen Hauptsprache. Vor wenigen Jahren ist es in Melanesien bemerkt worden, dass eine Insel von nicht mehr wie 22 Einwohnern ihre eigene Sprache hatte. Die Sprache von wahrscheinlich ganz Polynesien und Melanesien und gewiss von Australien, dürfte im nächsten Jahrhunderte ausschliesslich nur English sein. Es gibt nur wenig Lebensfähigkeit in jenen armen Sprachen oder in den Rassen, die jetzt diese Sprachen gebrauchen. Sowohl Sprache als Rasse werden noch einige Jahre einen erbärmlichen Kampf um das Dasein zu kämpfen haben, und zwar nach einem unerbittlichen Gesetze überwältigender Verhältnisse. Der Philanthrop und Ethnolog mögen es immerhin bedauern, allein die sich ewig umschwingenden Räder des Gesetzes menschlichen Fortschrittes sind unerbittlich.

Es ist nicht meine Absicht dieses Mal die Namen der Personen zu nennen, die solche vortreffliche Arbeit gethan und das Material geliefert haben, wodurch gegenwärtiger Vortrag möglich geworden ist. In meiner ausführlicheren Arbeit wird der Name jedes Verfassers gegeben werden. Von welchem Theile der Welt auch einst in der Vorzeit die grosse Welle der Bevölkerung von Inselstrand zu Inselstrand sich bewegte, kann man doch ohne Schwierigkeit dieselbe erklären. Man hat gefunden, dass schwache Kanoes Reisen von hinreichender Ausdehnung gemacht haben, um zu den ent-

legensten Inseln im Stillen Ocean zu gelangen. Kanoes, mit Personen beider Geschlechter angefüllt, sind auf der See weit von ihrem Ausgangspunkte und vom Winde umher getrieben aufgeflocht worden. Ein Schiff kann die Strecke von Neu-Guinea bis zur äussersten Ostgrenze Polynesiens fahren ohne länger als vier bis fünf Tage das Land aus den Augen zu verlieren. Im Verlaufe der Zeit kamen auf denselben Meerespfaden die Erforscher des Geheimnisses dieser abgeschiedenen Rassen und unbekannten Sprachen.

Diejenigen, die mir auf meiner langen Reise von Insel zu Insel, von der Oster-Insel an den Thoren der aufgehenden Sonne, und beinahe in Fühlung mit Amerika bis zu den Pellew-Inseln an der Grenze von Asien gefolgt sind, müssen bemerkt haben, wie die christlichen Missionen gleich einer Perlenschnur die ganze Kette entlang zerstreut sind, und wie unsere Kenntniss der Sprachen durch ihre Vermittelung berichtigt worden ist. Die Civilisation dieser fernen Gegenden sollte nicht durch die *Chassepots* der Franzosen, die Krupp'schen Geschütze der Deutschen, und die Kriegsschiffe der Engländer zu Stande gebracht werden. Der Handel, die Politik, oder die Colonisation, würden diesen hilflosen Rassen für die kurze Dauer des ihnen noch übrigen Daseins nichts nützen; vielmehr würden sie ihr Verderben herbeiführen dadurch, dass sie Rum, Schiesspulver, und ekelhafte Krankheiten, anstatt des Cannibalismus, der Menschenopfer, und der Zauberei, gebracht hätten. Aber die guten Absichten Europas und Nord-Amerikas waren der Sache gewachsen und eine Stimme stärker als die des Goldfusses, des Erdhungers, und des Annexationsfiebers, hat sich hören lassen. Anstatt Gold zu suchen haben die Philanthropen etwas besseres als das feinste Gold gegeben, anstatt der Herrschaft über die Länder dieser Stämme ist eine Heilsherrschaft über ihre Seelen gegründet worden; anstatt diese entlegenen Inseln einem Reiche dieser Welt zu gewinnen, hat man den Bewohnern der äussersten Punkte der Erde den Eintritt zum Himmelreich erschlossen. Eine Lichtstrasse ist auf dem Wasser zurückgeblieben, den Lauf des Missionschiffes, ein Licht menschlichen Wissens, und ein Licht der göttlichen Gnade, zu bezeichnen. Der grosse Geograph, der grosse Philolog, der grosse Ethnolog, die kühnen Erforscher unbekannter Meere, die furchtlosen Eindringlinge in unbekannte Gebiete, der gutherzige Sammler von Thieren, Pflanzen, Steinen und Seemuscheln, haben alle ohne es zu ahnen ihr Theil beigetragen zu dem einen grossen Zwecke menschlichen Daseins, der Kenntniss von Gottes Absichten mit seinen Geschöpfen, und der Pflichten dieser Geschöpfe gegen ihren grossen ihnen nicht mehr unbekannten Schöpfer.

Seventh International Oriental Congress, Vienna, 1887.

IV.—LANGUAGES OF THE TURKI BRANCH OF THE URAL-ALTAIC FAMILY.

Es hat mir schon lange am Herzen gelegen, einen bestimmten Begriff über die lebenden Sprachen, die unter dem Namen Tatar, oder Turki, bekannt sind, abgesehen von ethnologischen Beziehungen, zu gewinnen. Man nimmt gewöhnlich an, dass das Wort "Turki, Türkisch oder Türk" sich ausschliesslich auf die mohamedanischen Untertanen des Ottomanischen Reiches beziehe, und man hat keinen Begriff davon, über welch grosse Strecke von Asien der Name sich verbreitet, von Kasán am Volga-Fluss bis an die Grenzen des Anglo-Indischen Reiches in Yarkand, von den Turkomanischen Horden an der Persischen Grenze bis zu den Yakúten in dem fernen Norden des Asiatischen Festlandes. Erst in der letzten Zeit ist man darüber klar geworden, dass es gewisse genau bestimmte Abarten dieser schönen symmetrischen Sprachform giebt, und es ist merkwürdig, dass die ganze Turki-sprechende Bevölkerung der Erde sich langsam und sicher russischer Oberherrschaft zuneigt. Einige ferne Stämme liegen zwar noch ausserhalb dieses Einflusses, allein auch sie schwanken ihrem Schicksale entgegen. Die Tarantchi von Khúlja, und die Yarkandi von Kashgária, oder der chinesischen Tartarei, sind noch innerhalb des chinesischen Reiches. Die Turki Stämme, welche die Gegenden zwischen dem Oxus und den Höhenzügen des Hindu Kúsh bewohnen, sind noch in Afghanistan. Die Provinz Azérbijan bildet noch einen Teil des Persischen Reiches, und die Osmánli Turki Bewohner von Klein-Asien und die herrschenden Klassen von Constantinopel stehen noch unter dem Scepter des Sultans; dieser Zustand ist jedoch entschieden nur ein zeitweiliger. Die Einheit der Sprache wird auch sonst als ein Grund politischer Zusammengehörigkeit geltend gemacht, und man muss ohne Zweifel in der Politik mit ihr rechnen. Ich ergreife die Gelegenheit bei dem Internationalen Orientalischen Congress zu Stockholm den Gegenstand der Central-Asiatischen Abteilung vorzulegen. Die Gegenwart so vieler berühmten russischen Gelehrten wird meinen Zweck besonders fördern; denn, wenn sie sich von unserer mangelhaften Kenntniss in Bezug auf gewisse Zweige dieses Gegenstandes überzeugt haben, werden sie uns gewiss eines Besseren belehren.

Es ist nicht nötig, dass wir uns mit den besonderen Merkmalen des grammatischen Baues von diesem Zweige der Ural-Altaischen Familie beschäftigen; sie sind wohlbekannt und werden als agglutinativ bezeichnet. Auch ist es nicht nötig mehr als nur flüchtig darauf hinzuweisen, dass die Mehrzahl der Stämme dieses Zweiges irgend einmal die Mohammedanische Religion angenommen hat, wenn auch einige sich zum Shamanismus, andere zum Christentum bekennen, und dass in Folge dessen der Wortschatz einiger Sprachen in einer kaum anderswo erreichten Ausdehnung durch die Einführung von Semitisch-Arabischen und Ariesch-Persischen

Worten beeinflusst worden ist. Ich beschränke mich hier mehr auf das Gebiet der Sprach-Geographie, als auf das der einfachen Sprachwissenschaft.

I. Indem ich vom Westen anfangs und mich ostwärts wende, komme ich zuerst zu dem *Osmánli-Turki*, dem Inbegriff alles dessen, was man gewöhnlich unter Türkisch versteht. Diese schöne Schriftsprache ist wohlbekannt, ihr besonderes Gebiet als Volkssprache ist in Klein-Asien; sie wird aber auch von den regierenden und einflussreichen Klassen in anderen Theilen des Türkischen Reiches in Asien und Afrika, und in Constantinopel, und seinen Umgebungen in Europa gesprochen.

II. Nach Osten kommen wir zu den *Nogai-Turki*, deren Zahl sich auf 150,000 belaufen soll. Ihre westlichste Niederlassung ist in der Provinz Bessarabien, wo sie ungefähr zwanzig Dörfer inne haben. Auch in der Krim sind sie zahlreich und als gute Landwirte bekannt. Ich habe sie selbst in ihren Dörfern zwischen Sebastopol und dem Flusse Alma besucht. Sie sprechen einen besonderen Dialekt. Man findet sie auch in Dörfern in den Provinzen nördlich vom Caucasus, an den Flüssen Kubán und Kúma. Nomaden dieses Stammes kommen nördlich vom Volga-Flusse in Astrakhan vor, welches in der That ihre alte Heimat ist. Sie hüten dort ihre Herden auf den Kirghízischen Steppen. Die Bezischen Hirten auf den Weiden nördlich vom Berge Elburz werden unter den Nogai inbegriffen. Man wolle bemerken, dass ihre Ansiedelungen ausschliesslich in Europa und innerhalb der Grenzen des Russischen Reiches sich befinden. Ihre Sprache ist noch nicht hinreichend untersucht worden, man hat jedoch in derselben eine Uebersetzung des Pentateuch und des neuen Testaments, die man britischen Missionären in der Stadt Karass (im Jahre 1807) zu verdanken hat. Eine Sammlung Sprichwörter der Krimischen Türken ist in Kasán erschienen, und die Genesis in dem Sonderdialekt der Krim in London.

III. Wenden wir uns im Flussthal der Volga hinauf, so kommen wir nach der Provinz Kasán im Europäischen Russland, woselbst eine Bevölkerung von 200,000 vermischt mit Slavonischen Russen und mit Gliedern des Finnischen Zweiges des Ural-Altäischen Sprachfamilie einen besonderen Turki Dialekt redet, der durch die Uebersetzung zweier Evangelien, durch eine Grammatik von Balint (Buda-Pest 1875), durch ein Wörterbuch von Ostramoff (Kasán 1876), und durch andere Bücher, genügend zugänglich gemacht worden ist.

IV. In den Europäischen Provinzen Kasán und Nijni Novgorod und in der Asiatischen Provinz Orenburg wohnen die Tschuwaschen, ungefähr 450,000, an beiden Ufern der Volga sich ausbreitend. Schott hat in seiner Mittheilung (1876) über diese Sprache nachgewiesen, dass sie zu dem Turki-Zweige gehört. Diejenigen aber, von denen sie gesprochen wird, wohnen zusam-

men mit Mordwinen und Tscheremissen, die beide zu dem Finnischen Zweige der Ural-Altaischen Familie gehören. Von der russischen Bibelgesellschaft ist im Jahre 1818 eine Uebersetzung der vier Evangelien aus dem Slavonischen in diese Sprache in Cyrillischer Schrift veröffentlicht worden. Ein Wörterbuch von Zolonitzki erschien zu Kasán im Jahre 1875. Es wäre interessant zu erfahren, in wie weit diese Sprache durch Lehnwörter und grammatische Formen von ihren Finnischen Nachbarinnen beeinflusst worden ist, und in welchem Grade sie sich von Arabischen und Persischen Einflüssen ausnahmsweise frei gehalten hat.

V. In der Cis-Caucasischen Provinz des Russischen Reiches in Europa, bewohnt der Kumuken-Stamm die Nordwestküste des Caspischen Meeres in der Nähe von Petrovsk und den nordöstlichen Distrikt von Daghestan, der von den Flüssen Aksai und Sunja bewässert wird. Sie bebauen das Land und zählen etwa 70,000 Köpfe. Das Evangelium des Matthäus ist in dieser Sprache erschienen; es giebt eine Wörtersammlung von Bodenstedt im fünften Bande der Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft. Sie wird auch erwähnt in "Makharoff's Turki Sprachen des Caucasus."

VI. In der Trans-Caucasischen Provinz des Russischen Reiches in Asien und in der Provinz Azerbijan des Persischen Reiches findet sich die Sprache bekannt als Trans-Caucasisches, oder Azerbijáni-Turki. Die Bevölkerung beläuft sich auf drei Millionen. Die ganze Bibel ist in diese wichtige Sprache übersetzt worden, der möglicher Weise eine grosse literarische Zukunft bevorsteht, da sie gegen das Georgische, Armenische, und Persische, lauter Litteratur-Sprachen, das Feld behauptet hat, während sie selbst noch unkultiviert war. Sie wird erwähnt in Kasem Beg's allgemeiner Grammatik der Turko-Tatarischen Sprachen, die zuerst Russisch erschien und später von Zenker in's Deutsche übersetzt wurde (Leipzig, 1849). Bergé liess zu Leipzig 1868 "Dichtungen Trans-Caucasischer Sänger" erscheinen.

VII. Wenden wir uns nach Osten über das Caspische Meer, so betreten wir die Provinz Trans-Caspian und Turkestan im Russischen Reiche in Asien, ein Gebiet sprachlicher Unsicherheit; drei seiner Grenzen sind genau angegeben, denn südlich wird es vom Sprachgebiet der Kurden und Perser im Persischen Reiche, östlich von den Persisch und Paschtu sprechenden Bewohnern von Afghanistan und westlich vom Caspischen Meere begrenzt. Ueber die Nordgrenze sind wir nicht näher unterrichtet. Es muss sich erst noch ausweisen, ob dieselbe Sprache mit dialektischen Abweichungen von den Turkomanischen Nomaden, südlich vom Oxus und den Turki-sprechenden ansässigen Bewohnern von Transoxiana in den Russischen Landen und den Einwohnern der Afghanischen Provinz nördlich vom Hindu-Kush Gebirge gesprochen wird. Die Uebersetzung eines Evangeliums liegt vor, aber wir sind nicht sicher

über die Sprache oder den Dialekt, worin sie verfasst ist. In Bezug auf diese Abteilung der Turki-Sprachen sehen wir noch neuen, genau und örtlich bestimmten Angaben entgegen.

VIII. Auch nördlich von diesem Gebiete liegt ein gleichfalls unbestimmtes Sprachfeld, welchem ich in diesem geographischen Versuche den Namen des "Central-Asiatischen oder Khivaschen Gebietes" beilege; dies ist wenigstens eine verständliche Bezeichnung, wenn auch nicht ganz genau, während die Ausdrücke *Uigur*, *Jagatai*, und *Uzbek*, keine bestimmte sprachliche Bedeutung zu haben scheinen. Ueber dieses Gebiet besitzen wir die gelehrten Werke des Doctor Radloff, nämlich "*Aus Sibirien*" (Leipzig, 1884) und seine vergleichende Grammatik. Eine Uebersetzung der vier Evangelien hat Professor Ostramoff geliefert, und sachverständigen Gelehrten zu sorgfältiger Revision vorgelegt. Hier wenigstens befinden wir uns auf zuverlässigem Boden. Es wird angegeben, wir wissen nicht mit welcher Berechtigung, dass diese selbe Sprache in der grossen Wüste zwischen dem Amu Daria, und dem Caspischen Meere, einschliesslich des Nomadenstammes der *Yomuten*, gesprochen wird.

IX. Noch weiter nördlich kommen wir zu den *Kirghizen*, deren Sprachen in den Steppen der unteren Volga nach Asien hinein bis zu den Thälern des *Thien Shan* Gebirges an den Grenzen Chinas geredet wird. Wir haben hier zwei grosse Abteilungen, nämlich die *Kara* oder *Burut* auf den Hochlanden des *Altai*, *Pamir*, und des *Thien Shan* Gebirges, und die *Kazák-Kirghizen*, Bewohner der Ebenen, welche in drei Horden sich verteilen. Ein Teil der Heiligen Schrift ist von einem Englischen Missionar in *Orenburg* in die letztere Sprache übersetzt worden. Auch verdanken wir vieles den Schriften *Ilminsky's*, doch ist noch mehr Licht wünschenswert.

X. Im fernen Osten, in der Provinz des Chinesischen Reiches, die als die Chinesische Tartarei bekannt ist, haben wir das Sprachgebiet von *Yarkand*, das uns durch die Grammatik von *Shaw*, einem früheren Beamten der Indischen Regierung, erschlossen ist. Wir haben hier eine reine, altertümliche Form des Türki mit ganz ursprünglichen Wortbildungen und einem gewissen Grade wissenschaftlicher Bildung; allein auch hier ist grössere Sicherheit zu wünschen. In welchem Verhältnisse steht diese Sprache zu der der *Kara-Kirghizen*?

XI. Weit im Norden am nordöstlichen Ende von Sibirien wohnen die *Yakuten*, über die wir, Dank *Böhtlingk's* berühmtem Werke, hinreichend unterrichtet sind. Diese Sprache hat ihre alte Form bewahrt und sich frei erhalten vom Einflusse des Semitisch-Arabischen, des Arisch-Persischen und der Altaisch-Finnischen Verwandten, welche alle die Reinheit der übrigen Sprachen der Turki-Familie so sehr beeinflusst haben. Die *Yakuten* sind zum Teil Heiden, zum anderen Teil Neu-Christen der Russischen

Kirche. Kein Teil der Heiligen Schrift ist ihnen nahe gebracht worden, sie besitzen weder eine Litteratur, noch ein eigenes Alphabet.

XII. Es ist uns nur ein einziges mögliches Sprach-Gebiet übrig, das der Baschkiren nördlich von Astrakhan und östlich von der Volga. Was auch immer die Eigentümlichkeiten dieser Sprache sein mögen, nichts ist uns über dieselbe bekannt.

Es mag vielleicht noch andere Dialekte geben, doch kenn ich keine andere wirkliche Sprache ausfindig machen. In der That möchte man eher die Anzahl der von mir angegebenen Sprachen noch beschränken. Sehr viele Namen finden sich in den Angaben verschiedener Schriftsteller, doch ist es nicht sicher, ob damit Stämme, oder Sprachen, oder Dialekte gemeint sind; ich lasse sie daher aus. Von meinem Standpunkte aus wäre es nur Zeitverschwendung, wenn ich auf eine mögliche Verwandtschaft mit dem jetzigen Japanischen und Coreanischen, oder mit dem Akkadischen einer dunkeln und fernen Vorzeit eingehen wollte. Mein Interesse liegt nur bei den lebenden Sprachen, die selbstverständlich auf dieselbe Muttersprache zurückzuführen sind.

Indem ich diese Zeilen zu Papier gebracht habe, bin ich mir grosser Ungenauigkeit im Ausdruck und unzulänglicher Kenntniss bewusst. Ich sitze den grossen Russischen Gelehrten zu Füssen, die allein uns richtig leiten können. Was uns englische Bücher bieten, stammt nicht aus erster Hand, und ist nicht genügend. Mein Zweck ist ein völlig practischer, nämlich eine einfache Uebersetzung der Heiligen Schrift, ohne Anmerkungen, welche den Frauen, Schulkindern, und ungebildeten Männern, jedes Turki-sprechenden Stammes zugänglich sein soll. Es ist nicht notwendig, dass sie zu lesen oder zu schreiben verstehen, oder gebildet sein sollen. Das Evangelium ist sehr einfach und kann verstanden werden, selbst wenn es völlig ungebildeten Leuten mündlich ausgelegt wird. Ich habe daher keine Theorie aufrecht zu erhalten, keine interessante historische Schwierigkeit zu lösen. Mögen die Ausdrücke Ouigur, Jaghatai, und Uzbek, immerhin in der Vergangenheit bedeuten was sie wollen, mein Zweck ist einfach, gleichzeitige Thatsachen zu konstatieren. Mein Problem ist das Folgende: Vorausgesetzt wir haben eine bestimmte Bevölkerung mit einer bestimmten Sprache, die von der des nächsten Nachbarn abweicht; was für eine Sprache ist es? Wir brauchen einen Text in ihrer lebendigen Form, und eine Darstellung ihrer Grammatik, ihres Wortschatzes, ihrer Lautlehre und ihrer Schrift, wenn sie eine besitzt. Damit bezwecke ich keineswegs irgend ein *patois* oder einen örtlichen Dialekt unnötiger Weise hervorzuheben. In den englischen und russischen Landessprachen giebt es viele solche Verschiedenheiten, doch wird in jeder der beiden eine Bibel-Uebersetzung von Allen verstanden, welche auf die Ehre Anspruch machen, Englisch oder Russisch zu sprechen.

So können wir auch in Bezug auf die Turki-Sprachfamilie durch die bedeutenden Arbeiten Russischer Gelehrten ein praktisches Resultat erreichen; es ist dies ihre Pflicht eben so sehr, wie es die Pflicht Brittischer Gelehrten gewesen ist, die Sprachen des Indischen Reiches zu beschreiben, und sie haben ihre Pflicht treu erfüllt.

Es bestehen Bibel-Uebersetzungen in allen grossen Sprachen des Indischen Reiches, und auch einige der zweiten Gattung. Ich wünsche, dasselbe Resultat in Russland zu erreichen. England wird das Geld liefern, und für die angemessene Verteilung desselben Sorge tragen, wenn Russland die Gelehrsamkeit liefern will, welche viel schätzbarer ist als Geld oder die Gabe der Verteilung. So wird dem zweifelnden Gelehrten, wie dem ungebildeten Gläubigen, zugleich geholfen werden.

Es ist nicht wünschenswert, in einer Sprache den schwachen Lebensfunken zu erhalten, über welche bereits durch ein unerbittliches Gesetz, über dessen Natur wir nicht im Klaren sind, das Todesurteil ausgesprochen worden ist. Die Ursache und die Heilung der Krankheit, der sie erliegt, ist uns unbekannt. Wenn eine Nation beim Beginn der Civilisation eine Landessprache anzunehmen wünscht, die nicht ihre eigene ist, so mag sie es immerhin thun, so lang die bewegende Kraft eine freiwillige ist, und nicht aus kurzzeitigem politischen Despotismus, oder engherzigem religiösen Fanatismus, hervorgeht. Aber, wenn eine Nation die Sprache ihrer Vorfahren bewahren wünscht, wie z. B. die Walliser in England, die Bretonen in Frankreich, die Polen in Russland, und die Magyaren in Oesterreich, so soll man keinen Versuch machen, sie daran zu hindern. Im Indischen Reiche hat man keine einzige seiner hundert Sprachen ausgerottet. Die Brittische Oberherrschaft erhält sich in der Sprache des Volkes, die demselben eben so teuer ist, wie seine religiösen Ueberzeugungen, und uralten Gebräuche. Dies ist eine Sache hoher menschenfreundlicher Politik, weit erhaben über die Macht von Kaisern und Parlamenten; sie ist abhängig von den uneingeschränkten geheimen Richtungen besonderer Abteilungen des Menschengeschlechts. Hier heisst es nicht: *Ego sum Rex Poloniae, et super Grammaticam*, sondern *Hæc est Grammatica, et super Imperatores, et Senatûs, et Ecclesias*.

Eighth International Oriental Congress, Stockholm, 1889.

V.—GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE TURKI BRANCH OF THE URAL-ALTAIC FAMILY OF LANGUAGES.

I have long been desirous of arriving at some definite idea of the living Languages, (as distinguished from any Ethnological considerations,) known generally as Tatar, or Turki. I propose to drop the former name, and use the latter exclusively. The vulgar idea has been, that the word "Turki, Turkish, or Turk," applies exclusively to the Mahometan subjects of the Ottoman Empire, and it is not understood over what a vast area in Asia the name extends, from Kasán on the River Volga to the confines of British India in Yarkand, from the Turkoman hordes on the Persian frontier to the Yakút far away in the Northern Regions of the Asiatic Continent. It is only lately, that it has become clear, that there are certain distinctly defined varieties of this symmetrical and beautiful form of speech, and it is worthy of remark, that the whole of the Turki-speaking population of the world is slowly, but surely, gravitating towards Russian domination. A few corners still lie outside the absorbing influence, but they seem tottering on the brink of the chasm. The Tarantchi of Khúlja, and the Yarkandi of Kashgária, or Chinese Tartary, are still within the Empire of China. The Turki tribes, who inhabit the regions betwixt the River Oxus, and the Range of the Hindu Kúsh, are still in Afghanistan. The Province of Azerbiján still forms part of the Kingdom of Persia, and the Osmánli Turki inhabitants of Asia Minor and the ruling classes of Constantinople are still under the sceptre of the Sultán: but this state of affairs is clearly only temporary. Unity of language is put forward elsewhere, as a basis of political union, and is no doubt a factor in politics. I take the opportunity of the International Oriental Congress of Stockholm to lay the matter before the Central Asian Section. The presence of so many distinguished Russian Scholars will greatly advance my object, as, when they are aware of the deficiency of our knowledge in certain branches of the subject, they will be able and willing to enlighten us.

It is unnecessary to allude to the characteristic features of the grammatical structure of this branch of the Ural-Altaic Family: they are well known, and are classified as Agglutinative. Nor is it necessary to make more than a passing remark on the fact, that the majority of the tribes of this Branch have at one time or another accepted the Mahometan Faith, though some are Shamanist, or Christian, and that as a consequence the word-store of some languages has been affected by the influx of the Semitic Arabic, and Arian Persian, words to an extent scarcely paralleled elsewhere. My object on the present occasion is restricted to Linguistic Geography, rather than to Linguistic Science pure and simple.

I. In my course from the West to the East, I come first upon the *Osmánli Turki*, the representative in the eyes of the general Public of all that is implied by "Turkish." This beautiful literary Language is thoroughly well known: its proper Field, as a Vernacular, is in Asia Minor; but it is spoken by the ruling and influential classes in other parts of the Turkish Empire in Asia and Africa, and in the great City of Constantinople, and its environs in Europe.

II. Proceeding Eastward I come to the *Nogai Turki*: their number is estimated at 190,000: their most Westerly Settlement is in the Province of Bessabaria, where they have about twenty villages. They are numerous in the Crimea, where they are good agriculturists. I have myself visited them in their villages betwixt Sebastopol and the River Alma: and they have a distinct Dialect. They are found in the Provinces North of the Caucasus, on the Rivers Kubán and Kúma, dwelling in villages. Nomads of this tribe are found North of the River Volga at Astrakhan, which is in fact their ancient home: some of them tend their flocks on the Kirghíz steppes. The Bezian shepherds in the pastures North of the Mountain of Elburz are included in the Nogai. It will be remarked, that their settlements are exclusively in Europe, and within the limits of the Russian Empire. Their language has been imperfectly studied, but it is represented by a translation of the Pentateuch, and the New Testament; specially prepared by British Missionaries at the town of Karass in 1807. A book of Proverbs of the Crimean Turks has been published at Kasán, and the book of Genesis in London in the peculiar Dialect of the Crimea.

III. Proceeding up the basin of the River Volga, I come to the Province of Kasán in European Russia, where a population of 200,000, intermixed with Arian Russians, and members of the Finnic branch of the Ural-Altaic Family, speak a well-recognized Turki Language of their own, which is sufficiently illustrated by translations of two Gospels, a Grammar published by Balint at Buda-Pest in 1875, a Dictionary published by Ostrámov at Kasán in 1876, and other books.

IV. In the European Provinces of Kasán, and Nijni Nóvgorod, and in the Asiatic Province of Orenberg, reside the Chuvásh, numbering about 450,000, spread along both sides of the River Volga. This Language has been distinctly proved by Schott in his Essay, 1876, to belong to the Turki Branch, but those, who use it, are intermixed with the Mordvin, and Cheremiss, members of the Finnic branch of the Ural-Altaic Family. A translation of the Four Gospels has been made into this Language from the Slavonic, and published in the Cyril Character by the Russian Bible Society in 1818. A Dictionary has been published at Kasán in 1875 by Zolonitzki: it would be interesting to be informed, how far this Language was affected by the loan-words, and grammatical

forms, of its Finnic neighbours, and how far it is exceptionally free from Arabic and Persian influences.

V. In the Cis-Caucasian Province of the Russian Empire in Europe is the Kumuk tribe inhabiting the North-West shore of the Caspian Sea near Petrovsk, and the North-East District of Daghestan, watered by the Rivers Aksai, and Sunja. They number about 70,000, agriculturists. The Gospel of Matthew has been published in this Language: there is a Vocabulary by Bodenstedt in the *Zeitschrift* of the D.M.G. vol. v., and it is alluded to in Makharoff's *Turki Languages spoken in the Caucasus*.

VI. In the Trans-Caucasian Province of the Russian Empire in Asia, and in the Province of Azerbiján of the Kingdom of Persia, is the Language known as Trans-Caucasian, or Azerbijáni, Turki. The population amounts to three Millions. The entire Bible has been translated into this important Language, which may possibly have a great literary future, as it has held its own against the Georgian, Armenian, and Persian literary Languages, while it was still uncultivated. Allusion to it is made in Kasim Beg's *Allgemeine Grammatik Turko-Tatar Sprachen*, published in Russian, and translated by Zenker into German, Leipzig, 1849. Bergé published at Leipzig, 1868, *Dichtungen Transkaukasischer Sanger*.

VII. Proceeding Eastward across the Caspian Sea, I enter the Province of Trans-Caspia, and Turkestan, in the Russian Empire in Asia, a region of some linguistic uncertainty: three of its boundaries are well defined, as to the South it presses upon the Language-Field of the Kurd and Persian in the Kingdom of Persia; to the East on the Region of the Persian and Pastu-speaking inhabitants of Afghanistan; to the West on the Caspian Sea; to the North our knowledge fails in accuracy. Whether the same Language with dialectic varieties is spoken by the Turkoman Nomads South of the Oxus, and the Turki-speaking settled inhabitants of Trans-Oxania in the Russian Dominions, and the inhabitants of the Kingdom of Afghanistan North of the Hindu Kúsh Range, remains to be seen. One Gospel has been translated, but there is no certainty as to the Language, or Dialect of the Language, in which it has been composed. It is in this quarter of the Turki Language-Field that we require fresh, accurate, and locally-collected information.

VIII. Proceeding Northward I enter another debatable Field, to which in this Geographical Essay I assign the name of "Central Asia, or Khiva," which is intelligible, even if not accurate, while the terms *Ouigúr*, *Jágatai*, and *Uzbek*, appear to have no certain linguistic meaning. Here we have the advantage of the learned works of Dr. Radloff, "*Aus Siberien*," Leipzig, 1884, and his *Comparative Grammar*. A Translation of four Gospels has been prepared by Professor Ostrámov, and submitted to careful revision by competent Scholars. Here at least we are on safe ground. It is stated, with what accuracy it is impossible to say, that this same

Language is spoken in the Great Desert betwixt the Amu Daria and the Caspian Sea, including the Nomad Yomut tribe.

IX. Proceeding still further Northward I come to the Kirghíz, which Language is spoken on the steppes of the Lower Volga River, right across Asia to the valleys of the Thien Shan Mountains on the confines of China. There are two great Divisions, the Kara or Burut, who are highlanders in the Altai, Pamir, and Thien Shan Mountains: and the Kazák Kirghíz, dwellers on the plain, who are subdivided into three hordes. A portion of the Scriptures was translated into this latter Language by a British Missionary at Orenburg. We have the advantage of the writing of Ilminsky: still more light is desirable.

X. Far to the East in the Province of Chinese Tartary in the Chinese Empire is the Yarkand Language-Field, revealed to us by the Grammar of Shaw, a late employé of the Government of India. We have here a pure and archaic form of Turki, with the most primitive forms of words, and a certain amount of literary culture; but here again we require more certainty. What relation does this Language bear to that of the Kara-Kirghíz?

XI. Far to the North, in the North-East corner of Siberia, are the Yakút, and, thanks to Bühtlingk's celebrated monograph, we have an amount of certainty: this tribe has preserved its ancient form, and is free from the influence of the Semitic Arabic, the Arian Persian, and the Altaic Finnic congeners, which have so much affected the purity of the other languages of the Turki Family: they are partly Pagan, and partly neo-Christian of the Russian Church: no portion of the Scripture has reached them in print, they have no literature or written character of their own.

XII. There remains one other possible Language-Field, that of the Bashkír, North of Astrakhan, East of the River Volga: whatever may be the potentialities of this Language, nothing has been done.

There may be other Dialects, but I cannot find any other substantive Language: indeed, some would reduce the number, which I have enumerated. A great many names appear in the statements of different writers, but it is not clear, whether they are the names of Tribes or Languages, or Dialects of Languages, so I leave them. It would be mere waste of time, from my point of view, to allude to possible affinities with the Languages of Japan and Korea, of modern times, or with the Akkad of a dim and remote Past. My interest is with living Languages only, obviously descended from the same Mother-Language.

I place these lines on paper, conscious of great inaccuracy of expression, and insufficiency of knowledge. I sit at the feet of the great Russian Scholars, who alone can direct us right. No British information is at first hand, and all is unsatisfactory. My object is a very practical one, viz. to make a translation of the Word of God, without note or comment, accessible to the women, school-

children, and uneducated males, of every tribe, which speaks Turki: it is not necessary, that they should read, or write, or be educated: the Gospel is very simple, and can be understood, if orally explained to the most uneducated. I have therefore no theory to uphold, no interesting historical difficulty to unravel: let the terms Ouigúr, Jágatai, and Uzbek, mean what they will in times past, I desire to arrive at contemporaneous facts. My problem is as follows: Given a certain population, speaking a certain language, differing from that of its neighbour: what is it? Let us have a text in its living form, and a statement of its grammatical form, its word-store, phonetics and written character, if it has one. This does not mean, that I wish to bring into unnecessary prominence any patois or local dialect. In the English and Russian Imperial Languages many such variations exist, but one translation of the Bible is understood by all, who claim the honour of speaking English or Russian.

So as regards the Turki Family of Languages, through the learned labours of Russian Scholars we may arrive at a practical result, and it is their duty, as much as it has been the duty of the British Scholars to illustrate the languages of British India, and they have not been wanting. A translation of the Scriptures exists in all the great Languages of British India, and of some of the second class. I wish to arrive at the same result in Russia. Great Britain will supply the money, and the genius of order for distribution, if Russia will supply the Scholarship, which is far more precious than money or order. It will be useful to the sceptical Scholar, as well as to the uneducated Believer.

It is not desirable to galvanize into a weak life a Language, on which the sentence of death has been passed by some inexorable law, of the nature of which we are ignorant: the cause and the cure of the disease, to which they are succumbing, is unknown to us. If with a dawning civilization a nation desires to accept an Imperial language, other than its own, let it do so, so long as the motive power is spontaneous, and not the result of political shortsighted despotism, or narrow-minded religious craft. But, if a nation desires to retain the language of their ancestors, as the Welsh have done in Great Britain, the Breton in France, the Pole in Russia, and the Magyar in Austria, let no attempt be made to prevent them. In British India not one of the hundred languages has been stamped out. British Rule is maintained in the Vernacular of the people, which is as dear to them as their Religious convictions, and Ancestral Customs. The matter is one of high human policy, far beyond the power of Emperors and Parliaments, and Churches, and depends upon the uncontrolled secret tendencies of particular sections of the Human Race. It is not "*Ego sum Rex Poloniæ, et super Grammaticam*," but "*Hæc est Grammatica, et super Imperatores, et Senatûs, et Ecclesias*."

Eighth International Oriental Congress, Stockholm, 1889.

VI.—THE EIGHTH INTERNATIONAL ORIENTAL CONGRESS.

HELD AT STOCKHOLM AND CHRISTIANIA, SEPTEMBER, 1889.

The idea of International Oriental Congresses was conceived in Paris, and in that city in the year 1873 the first was held: the example was followed by London in 1874, by St. Petersburg in 1876, Florence 1878, Berlin 1881, Leyden in 1883, Vienna in 1886, and Stockholm in 1889. Having taken part in all these meetings, except the first, I have published accounts of them in the pages of this periodical, and now proceed to chronicle the events of the last at Stockholm.

The object has been most laudable, and great success has attended the movement: the object was, that the scholars and students of Oriental Languages, Literature, and Archæology, might periodically meet, and take stock of the progress of each branch of Science, and that the members of each nation and university, or museum, might no longer work in seclusion from their fellow-labourers except by the medium of their learned works, periodicals and cyclopædias; another object was, that friendships, or at least acquaintances, might be formed and animosities removed.

At the Congresses of Paris and London, there was a great severity and simplicity in the proceedings. Flaneurs and outsiders were not permitted to introduce themselves into the roll of membership; there were no entertainments, or distractions, or dinners; the scholars met for their business, and then dispersed to their lodgings. The authorities took no notice of the Congress, and in the great cities of Paris and London it attracted no more notice than a reunion of doctors or geographers, and made much less stir than the British Association.

At St. Petersburg the new departure commenced, and moderate entertainments were offered; it was noticed that an element of non-scholars, such as passing travellers, and a considerable female colouring, had introduced themselves. The presence of the Emperor of Brazil as a member gave a flavour of royalty. In the succeeding Congress at Florence the female element was excluded, but the number of flaneurs was greatly increased. Entertainments and excursions multiplied. At St. Petersburg all the members had been feasted in the absence of the Emperor in the palaces of Peterhof and Tsarki Selo. At Florence the delegates were entertained in the Pitti Palace in the name of the King by his brother the Duke of Aosta. In the next two Congresses at Berlin and Leyden there was a return to Spartan severity; hospitality was indeed offered, but not of a character to impede business; in both countries royalty turned away its face from the Congress much to the advantage of real work.

In the next Congress at Vienna the festivities and entertainments and excursions multiplied; the Congress was placed under the

protection of a benevolent Archduke, whose kindness and courtesy were above all praise, but there was a manifest downgrade tendency as regards despatch of business. In the eighth Congress last September at Stockholm and Christiania, owing to the condescending kindness and genial hospitality of the Sovereign, and people of Sweden and Norway, business disappeared, and from the first day of assembly to the last of parting, there was a succession of dinners, operas, excursions, entertainments, and illuminations; long after midnight the delighted congressionists would get them to their beds. Nothing but a frame of cast-iron could stand the strain. Nothing but the appetite of a German student, ready to lay up provision for the winter, could dispose of the splendid repasts. A positive irruption took place of flaneurs, tourists, and casuals; there were some most prejudicial changes of method, for, instead of quiet work of scholars in the sections, several days were devoted to collective meetings of all the sections to hear set speeches in the different languages of Europe and Asia, under the presidency of His Majesty in person; there was only a dummy President, and an all-powerful General Secretary. Several *bond fide* Orientals, in the dress of their country, were presented to be stared at like some choice phenomena of Barnum's all-world show, and indeed the good people of Scandinavia seemed to think that it was a collection of *Orientalists not of Orientals*: the streets were crowded to see the members pass by; whole villages turned out to see the train which conveyed the collective congress from Stockholm to Christiania, and there was a feeling of wonder and disappointment, that there were no elephants, camels, tigers, tents, and other paraphernalia of Oriental gatherings; the contemporaneous arrival of a travelling menagerie would have been most desirable. Good work was indeed transacted somehow or other, but, when the excitement and delight of the shows, and the good eating, had passed away, there was a feeling of disappointment with the result of the Congress in thoughtful minds. No sufficient arrangement was made for the place or time of future Congresses, and it is obvious, that the responsibility imposed upon any country to receive future Congresses is greatly enhanced; for whence are the funds to come in such cities as London, Paris or Berlin, to meet such expenditure? while, on the other hand, the absence of entertainments will give rise to most invidious comparisons of the present with the past.

In the narrative of this Congress, I shall notice (i) the locale and personelle, (ii) the festivities briefly, (iii) the business transacted in as full a detail as the imperfect daily bulletins permit me, (iv) lastly, the sinister outlook for the future, for we have come to the parting of the ways. We must return to the old ways of the Congress, or this will indeed prove to be the last.

The following countries were represented: Austria, Baden,

Baróda, (India), Bavaria, Bosnia, Brazil, Denmark, Egypt, France, Great Britain, British India, Italy, Japan, Netherlands, Persia, Portugal, Roumania, Russia, Saxony, Saxe Coburg Gotha, Siam, Turkey. The following Universities sent delegates: In Germany, Halle, Greifswald, Giessen, Berlin, Munich. In Austria, Vienna and Prague. In Denmark, Copenhagen. In Sweden, Upsála and Lund. In the United States, Baltimore and Providence. In Russia, Helsingfors, St. Petersburg and Kazán. In Great Britain, Oxford, Cambridge, and Edinburgh: in British India, Bombay. Possibly other Universities were indirectly represented by distinguished members of their body. The following learned Societies were represented: In Germany, the German Oriental Society, and the Scientific Society of Munich. In Austria, the Vienna Oriental Museum, and the Buda-Pest Hungarian Society. In Belgium the Archæological Society. In Russia the Finno-Ugrian Society, and the Imperial Archæological Society. In France, the Asiatic and Anthropological Societies, and the Academy of Hippo at Bone in Algeria. In Great Britain, the Royal Asiatic, and Geographical, Societies, the Biblical Archæology, the Palestine Exploration Fund. In British India, the Asiatic Society of Bengal. In Italy, the Academy "dei Lincei," the Vatican Library, the Scientific Society of Turin. In the Netherlands, the Oriental Society.

The presents of books to the Congress, and afterwards to the Royal Libraries of Sweden and Norway were magnificent. Conspicuous were those sent by the Vatican Library: the British and Foreign Bible Society sent translations of portions of the Bible in one hundred languages, selected from a much larger number, as specimens of the languages in the five portions of the world. Such a present could have been made by no other Society in the world, and in no century preceding the present one. The India Office presented a magnificent collection of their works: authors, publishers, and Societies, helped to cover tables with individual works; or series of publications, in fact, no previous Congress had received such splendid presents. It represented a grand harvest of intellectual activity.

The excessive number of members was to be deplored, as it turned the congress into a bear-garden. In 1881, at the Berlin Congress, there were 290 members; at Leyden in 1883, there were 454; in 1886 at Vienna there were 424; at the present Congress in 1889 there were 713, of whom 198 were Swedes or Norwegians, and 515 strangers, among whom there were some Orientals, rather than Orientalists, as Egypt sent seven, Algeria two, Japan three, British India four, Persia four, Turkey twenty-eight. Many of those, who came from countries in Europe, might, with advantage to the Congress, have stayed at home; at the same time the absence of many familiar faces at the former Congresses was deplored. Death had been busy during the last three years, and many more

illustrious scholars were kept at home by age, or want of strength for the exertion, or domestic affliction, and they were wise; for a man must be strong as well as learned to go through such an ordeal as the last Congress: it is a subject of congratulation, that no deaths did occur during the sittings. It is not, indeed, desirable, that ladies should, by a hard and fast rule, be excluded. Some came on their own merits, and others as companions to their husbands and fathers, who would not come without them. Nor should students of Oriental subjects be excluded, or scholarly men, because they have published no books and occupy no professional position; for an intelligent and sympathizing audience is greatly to be appreciated. But it is beyond reason, that the Congress should be choked, like the Flavian amphitheatre at Rome, by men and women, a rude and ignorant mob, seeking only "*panem et circenses*."

The communications entered on the list were numerous, various, and interesting. A perusal of the pamphlet, which recorded them, is a fair exemplar and measure of the enormous field over which Oriental research now extends. Some members wrote of what had happened in a dim and remote past; others dealt with phenomena actually exhibited at the present time; some communications dealt with grammatical minutiae. Five or six members were heard in the sections disputing about the true value of a syllable, or even a letter, and their views were wholly irreconcilable; in other sections grand principles were discussed, affecting the interests of vast populations, or of the whole human race. Sometimes the past history of a people, ignored by Romans and Greeks, was disinterred and revealed to the astonishment of the nineteenth century: if there had been more time, and an exclusion of frivolous amusements and foolish display, the serious results of this Congress, as evidenced by the bill of fare, would have equalled that of any of its predecessors; as it is, by their own intrinsic value, they deserve high praise.

The City of Stockholm was worthy of the greatest of assemblies, and His Majesty King Oscar II., as a scholar and a patron of scholars, was worthy of the place which he occupied, and of the city in which he resided. The hotels were excellent, the Committee of management had made admirable arrangements, and the weather was magnificent. In the material scheme there was not a single contretemps: if a scientific congress ought to be conducted in the manner adopted by the Committee, the tribute of entire success is due to those, who carried out the programme.

The expenditure must have been enormous, some portions of which were defrayed by the King, the municipalities, and private individuals; but it is an open secret, that the Managing Secretary, Count Landberg, was by far the greatest contributor. The Congress lasted ten days, from Sunday, September 1, on which an informal meeting took place in the Grand Hotel, until Wednesday, September 11, when it finally broke up at Gotenburgh, and during that

period on every day there were receptions, dinners, luncheons, breakfasts, and suppers, visits to celebrated spots like Gamla Upsála, or to see waterfalls and castles, exhibitions of natation and electricity, operas and steamer-trips. The kindness and hospitality of the people of Sweden and Norway was extraordinary; to those, who recollected the different kind of reception afforded to previous Congresses at London and Berlin, the contrast seemed overwhelming. His Majesty received the whole multitude in his royal Castle of Drottningholm on Lake Malar. He conversed without reserve with any one, who wished to have the honour of being presented to him. The illuminations on the shores of the lake were most striking, extending over a space of many miles. Had it been a congress of European Sovereigns, or the élite of Europe in arts, arms, and station, more could not have been done than was done for the very mixed multitude, which had paid their twenty francs for membership for the sake of the entertainments. The trip to Upsála deserves special mention. At Upsála the students of the University received the whole Congress with unbounded hospitality; the great Gothic translation of the Bible by Ulfilas was exhibited. At old, or Gamla, Upsála, the hill of Odin was occupied, mead was drunk from horns, and King Oscar presented a magnificent horn, as a kind of heirloom to be handed on from Congress to Congress.

Another feature should be noticed; for weeks previous, all the newspapers had announced, that a certain German Professor, resident at Oxford, was specially invited to the Congress as the guest of King Oscar; upon arrival at Stockholm, it transpired, that there were no less than twelve royal guests, not necessarily scholars, as one was the wife of the Oxford Professor. One day on opening a door of the Dining Hall in the Grand Hotel, the twelve guests were disclosed at their meals in an adjoining room, and it appeared, that just as Obadiah fed fifty Prophets in a cave, these twelve guests were fed in a room of the Hotel apart from the vulgar herd of Scholars, and their hotel bill was settled by the King's Major Domo. Count Landberg followed suite, and fed twelve more Prophets in another cave at his own expense; but it is fair to state, that his Prophets were poor Scholars, who would have been unable to get to the Congress but for his liberal assistance.

A still more remarkable instance of royal bounty and appreciation of merit took place on the last day of the Congress at Stockholm, for a shower of stars fell on certain members, the German Professor above alluded to, the General Secretary, a Sinologue from Paris, a printer at Leipzig, a publisher at Leyden, another publisher at London, and the worthy Librarian of the India Office, London. Two Grand Crosses of the order of the Northern Star, five Commanderships of the same order, one Commandership of St. Olaf, and eight knighthoods of the Northern Star, St. Olaf, and Gustav Vasa, were thus disposed of. The well-known passion

of foreigners for grand crosses and breloques at their buttonhole was thus gratified. Handsome gold medals were also conferred on some of the genuine Orientals. Medals were also conferred in reward for works of merit, on Professor Nöldeke, one of the greatest scholars of Europe, who was absent; on Professor De Goeje, the celebrated scholar of Leyden, from the Khedive of Egypt; and on Professor Goldziher of Buda-Pest, by King Oscar; and a special gold medal and the Order of Vasa was bestowed on Mohamud Chakri-eb-Alusi of Baghdad for a learned work on a Semitic subject. Mention is made of these events to show, how heavily weighted will be the managers of any future Congress, with no decorations and medals to bestow, and no festive resources at any great city or university-town at their disposal.

I now proceed to the business of the Congress:

The languages permitted to be used were French, English, German, Italian and Latin, for the purpose of communicating ideas, and Turkish, Arabic, Persian, Sanskrit, Chinese, Japanese, etc., for the purpose of stunning and boring the hearers. Some of the poetical recitations were discordant, discreditable, and ridiculous, calculated to give a false notion of the intelligence of Oriental people, such as the natives of India. During my long sojourn in India I never heard in old days at Amritsar, or Banáras, anything so unworthy of sensible men like the educated scholars of British India, as the lugubrious, discordant, foolish chant of Pundit Dhruva, the delegate of the Gaikwár of Baróda. As to the learned Arab from the College of El Azhar at Cairo, his utterance was something betwixt the braying of a Cairene jackass and the whistle of a railway, and yet the Arabic language is grand, and sonorous, and impressive, when properly read like any other language. The mischief of such exhibitions is, that it gives a false impression of the calibre, and capacity of the new school of Oriental scholars.

The business was divided into five sections:

- I. Modern Semitic.
- II. Ancient Semitic, including Cuneiform.
- III. Arian.
- IV. Central Asia and Extreme Orient.
- V. Malaysia and Polynesia.

The members of the Congress, at least those of them, who knew anything of the object of the assembly, grouped themselves at pleasure in one or more of these sections, and proceeded to elect their sectional Presidents, Vice-Presidents, and Secretaries, and this operation, which sometimes gives trouble, was accomplished satisfactorily. By a bold stroke of genius, the Arian section elected a triad of three to discharge the office of President, and thus started off a divergence of opinion as to the merits of three scholars of very different calibre.

The Congress was opened on Monday September 2nd, in the Riddar-Huset, or Hall of Knights, by the King in person, accompanied by the Crown Prince. All the representatives of foreign powers and their ladies were present; in fact, it was a grand State-ceremony. This was one of the flaws of the arrangement. By special request, members appeared in their Academical costumes, and Military and Civil uniforms were conspicuous. Delegates of Governments were presented to His Majesty, who read an address in the French language: it was choice and pretty, full of poetry, but had not much bearing on the Congress.

"Ce ne sont pas seulement les quarante siècles, qui vous contemplent: c'est plutôt vous, qui du haut des monuments de la Science contemplez les siècles."

"Pretez l'oreille aux murmures mystiques de nos immenses forêts aux douces harmonies des vagues, qui coupent nos rivages: contemplez la vierge beauté de nos vallées, la majesté de nos Alpes, les sombres profondeurs de nos fjords."

He was followed by M. d'Ehrenheim, who, in the few words which he uttered, informed us, that he had no pretence whatever to any knowledge of Oriental sciences. He seemed only faintly to realize the composition of the Congress, for he described the members as "*habituées, que vous êtes, aux splendeurs Orientales, à celle de passé comme à celle de présent.*"

Those, who had simply paid their twenty francs for the sake of the entertainments, must have been stung by this unintentional satire.

The General Secretary, Count Landberg, followed with an oration in French, placing the very *raison d'être* of a Congress on the wrong basis. According to him, this private assembly of learned men, meeting for their own pleasure, and travelling for the most part at their own expense, quite prepared to pay their own hotel bills, were transformed into humble seekers of the hospitality of the King of Norway and Sweden, countries in no way at any period of their existence connected with Asia. I quote the following:

"C'est votre Majesté, qui avec une magnificence de Khalife m'a mis à même de réaliser mon plus cher desir, qui était de présenter mes confrères d'Europe et d'Orient au Souverain de ma patrie!"

Considering, that the speaker has graduated at no Swedish or German University, and is Professor of no University, and is totally unknown in the great guild of Oriental learning, it was little less than presumption his speaking in this way. His experience in the East was confined solely to Syria and Egypt. Arabic was his sole Asiatic language, and yet in page after page of his address he talked about Orientals and Orientalists, as if they were synonymous with Mahometans and Islam. It is difficult to say what he meant,

if he had any meaning at all, when he said, "that Oriental Sovereigns had allies in the Congress:" had he any knowledge whatever of any Asiatic Sovereign at all? He guarantees the execution of a scheme of uniting the Orient and Occident with a flourish,

"Je connais *un peu* l'Orient."

We may well emphasize the words *un peu*, for of Asia in its grandeur of tribes, races, and religions he knew nothing, but Syria.

Baron von Kremer, the President of the Vienna Congress, whose death we have since to deplore, followed with a brief speech of thanks to the King in German: there was the usual servile flattery in this also: unworthy it must be in courtly circles, when not published afterwards: but doubly unworthy in the Congress of Scholars, something of a different, perhaps higher, level than a Court, and recorded as part of the Proceedings.

It is to be regretted, that the accomplished representative of Italian scholars, a true Scholar, one who had travelled in India, should have lent himself to the same inane notion of complimenting the King of Sweden and Norway, quoting analogies from the Norman conquest of Sicily in remote antiquity. The sweet Italian language was thus misapplied by an Italian, and gave an occasion to the Swedish Secretary General, who in some mysterious way is an Italian Count, as well as a German brewer, and a Levantine Dragoman, to turn round after the conclusion of the speech of the Italian, and desecrate the Italian language by additional bombast, placing it on the record of the Proceedings.

It is pleasant to think, that there was no courtly flattery in the English language from the beginning to the end of the Congress; but by no members of the Congress were the condescending kindness, and remarkable attainments of the King, more highly valued than by the British representatives.

In all previous Congresses, where the President was one of ourselves, every delegate of a foreign country was offered the opportunity of speaking, and if he had books to offer, to make remarks on the same. On this occasion the opening meeting was a kind of Court-reception, and delegates not recommended to the favour of the General Secretary, were pushed off into the back row of seats: I quote the order:

"Ne pourront prendre la parole que ceux qui y aurent été admis la vieille par le Secrétaire Général." This intolerable usurpation of power by a mere functionary of the Committee of organization will go far to prevent any future Congresses. Nothing of the kind had occurred at any of the great Capitals of Europe on previous occasions, and nothing of the kind practised at the petty Capital of Stockholm can be tolerated in future.

Six days were to be spent at Stockholm: the forenoon of the first (Monday) had been spent in the opening, which was reasonable; some of the Sections commenced business in the afternoon.

Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday were thus occupied. The rooms were commodious, and several Sections sat at the same time, and good earnest work was done, but the séance was often cut prematurely short by the allurements of banquets, excursions, etc. Friday and Saturday were entirely thrown away. Of course, either the forenoon or afternoon of Saturday was properly devoted to the closing meeting, but it was a stupid and provoking innovation to take two whole days for recitations in unknown languages, or essays read by speakers, without the opportunity for discussion, which is the very life of a Congress or Conference. I propose to pass under review, necessarily brief, the solid work of the first few days at Stockholm, without keeping to Section or particular day. At Christiania, the Congress had become a sight-seeing mob, a kind of "Demos," relaxed by continuous good feeding and junketing, and little or no work was done: however, whatever was done, is recorded in a feeling of gratitude and respect to the long-suffering scholars, who in their distant homes had worked up papers to be read and discussed by sympathetic friends, and found themselves elbowed out by the excitement of a café chantant, or a peripatetic hippodrome.

I proceed to notice papers which are real contributions to knowledge:

On the Nabataean Inscriptions in the Sinaitic Peninsula.

By Prof. J. EUTING.

Whereas the number of Nabataean inscriptions copied by previous travellers scarcely comes up to 300, Prof. Euting succeeded last spring in adding 700 to the collection. He achieved this success simply because he travelled as an Arab, and climbed barefooted along the rocks in places overlooked by other collectors. Also of many inscriptions previously known, he brought home better copies and squeezes, yielding the novel and important result, that some of the inscriptions were found to be dated. Thus, one showing the year 126, "being the year of the three emperors," agrees, according to the æra of Bosra, which commences in the year 111 A.D., with 237 of our æra. The other bears the date 85 (=A.D. 196). As compared with Glaser's S. Arabian inscriptions,¹ these Nabataean inscriptions are not important on account of their age any more than by their contents, for they mostly convey only greetings and names. But they furnish valuable material for tracing the history of the origin of Arabic writing.

¹ Professor Euting's communication was preceded by one from Dr. Ed. Glaser on the results of his journey in S. Arabia. He stated that whereas previously only two or three hundred inscriptions from those parts had been known, he had brought home copies of 900, some of which are of the highest historical value, and probably go back 2500 years.

Kappadokian Cuneiform Tablets.

By the Rev. A. H. SAYCE, M.A.

In 1881 Mr. Pinches drew attention to two Cuneiform tablets, said to come from Kappadokia, one of which was in the British Museum, the other in the Louvre. They were written in a peculiar form of Cuneiform script, and did not seem to be in the Assyrian language; Mr. Pinches concluded therefore, that they represented the ancient language of Kappadokia. The following year Prof. Ramsay was starting on a tour of exploration in Eastern Asia Minor, and I asked him to inquire for Cuneiform tablets. His inquiries proved fruitless, however; but just before he left Kaisariyeh he noticed some tablets in a shop which he bought for a small sum of money. On his return to England, he handed them over to me. I found that they were similar to the two tablets published by Mr. Pinches, and published transliterations of them in the "Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology," November, 1883. The tablets are now in the British Museum.

Since then I have myself purchased some Kappadokian texts, others have been obtained by Dr. Peters for the University of Pennsylvania, while more than twenty are in the collection of M. Golénisheff at St. Pétersburgh. The latter are mostly in a very perfect condition, and as some of them are written in the more ordinary type of Cuneiform, a comparison of the latter with what may be termed the Kappadokian script has enabled M. Golénisheff and myself to identify the Kappadokian characters, to which a false value or no value at all had previously been assigned. As soon as the true values of the characters were ascertained, I found that the language of the tablets was an Assyrian dialect, which presented several phonetic peculiarities, and contained words which are probably of foreign origin. The phonetic peculiarities agreed with those of certain of the Tel-el-Amarna texts from Northern Syria, as, for instance, the substitution of *gimel* for *kaph*. Moreover, the forms of the characters resemble those of the Syrian tablets from Tel-el-Amarna, and since the Kappadokian tablets contain phrases, which are common in the Tel-el-Amarna texts, but are unknown in Assyrian of later date, we may conclude, that the library from which they are derived was founded in the same age as that of the Tel-el-Amarna collection. It was probably situated in the country called "Khanu the greater," by the Assyrians, mention of which is made in a letter of Assuryballidh of Assyria to the Egyptian king.

A large proportion of the proper names occurring in the Kappadokian texts are compounded with the name of Assur, and so imply, that the library belonged to an Assyrian colony. Some of the foreign names found in them are said to be those of *gari* or "strangers." The title of *limmu* is also met with. All the

tablets I have examined relate to commercial transactions, principally to the lending of money. One of them is a quittance for the receipt of a large amount of lead.

On two Recent Publications on Semitic Epigraphy.

By Professor D. H. MÜLLER.

Professor D. H. Müller placed on the table of the Semitic Section his two recent publications, viz. 1, a Glossary to the *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, and 2, *Epigraphic Monuments from Arabia*, from Euting's copies and squeezes, and gave a brief account of each.

No. 1 is a criticism of part iv. fasc. 1 of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, recently edited by MM. J. and H. Derenbourg, and containing 69 Sabæan and Himyaritic inscriptions. The author, while giving due praise to the *Institute de France* (*Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*) for the great service it has rendered to Semitic epigraphy and Semitic studies generally, sees himself compelled to pass a severe criticism on this part of the *Corpus*. Although of the 69 inscriptions here brought together, there are only 18 not yet previously published, the reviewer charges the editors with a large number of wrong readings, and interpretations, and with a want of that epigraphical tact and philological criticism, which are the main bases of every successful decipherment. He concludes with these words: "The *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum* will for a long time continue to be the work, by which Semitic studies will be gauged and directed. Such an important publication has therefore to be judged by a different standard to that, which would apply to an individual attempt at decipherment. In such a work reliability and solid methodical criticism, together with a complete command of all the known material, and the literature, are indispensable postulates."

No. 2 contains 150 newly-published inscriptions from el-Ora (N. Arabia), which were collected by Prof. Euting of Strassburg, and committed to the editor for publication. One-half of them were found to be attributable to a Minæan colony, who had their commercial factories in the neighbourhood throughout at least 200 years. The remaining 75 inscriptions are written in a character, and in a North Arabian dialect, which had already produced a literary language about ten or twelve centuries before Mahomet. In the grammatical sketch, which the author gives of this dialect, he defines exactly its position within the range of the Semitic languages. Palæographically the writing proves to be a transition alphabet between the Phœnician and the Sabæan. The inscriptions derive from Thamúd, who is mentioned in the Cuneiform writings and the Korán. The graphic representations laid before the Section specially interested the members. The author gives the name of

Lihyáni to this new language and writing, and shows that already on a Babylonian cylinder (of the year 1000 A.C.) in the British Museum this character is found engraved.

Prof. J. Oppert drew attention to the importance of these inscriptions, with some laudatory remarks, and Prof. Haupt suggested, that henceforth new texts communicated to the Congress should be written on a black board.

Prof. Müller spoke as follows: "The 25th January, 1867, the day on which E. Renan, together with de Saulcy, Longpérier, and Waddington, placed before the 'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres' the proposition that they should undertake the publication of a *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, will ever remain memorable in the history of Semitic epigraphy and philology. The *Institut de France* has not only given a new and powerful impulse for the sifting and investigation of the existing epigraphical material, but has constantly directed its attention towards the exploration of new fields of research and the collection of numerous inscriptions. In reviewing at the present time, after the lapse of 22 years, what has been done in Semitic epigraphy, and how rich, and in part how trustworthy, the materials are, we may justly say, that not the least part of the merit is due to the publication of the *Corpus Inscriptionum* undertaken by the Institute."

On the Origin and the Date of Composition of the Navigatio Sancti Brandani.

By Professor J. M. DE GOEJE.

It has been more than once remarked, that there exists a striking resemblance between the well-known tale of Sindbád's adventure on the back of the whale-island, and that of the *Navigatio*. Dr. Schröder endeavoured to prove in the introduction to his edition of the *Navigatio*, that the Orient owes this tale to the Occident, but his argument cannot be accepted. On the contrary, all tends to show, that the author of the *Navigatio* borrowed this tale from Sindbád. A careful examination of all the passages of the *Navigatio*, in which the whale occurs, leads to the conclusion that two different tales have been combined: one, that of the Sindbád adventure, the other that of the whale, wholly subjected to St. Brandan, which transfers on its back the Saint and his monks to the Birds' Paradise. This latter, the old Brandan legend, has been preserved from a now lost Life of St. Brandan by Rodolphus Glaber in the *Historia sui Temporis*, written in 1047. To this old legend must also be traced the statement that the peregrination lasted seven years. Besides the episode of the whale-island, the author of the *Navigatio* borrowed several other tales from Sindbád, even the description of the Paradise itself. It is probable that,

whilst being in the East, he assisted at a recital of the tale of Sindbad, and, misled by the resemblance in sound between the names of Sindbád and St. Brandan (as the English sailors made St. John from Sindan), he took the hero of that tale to be his saint. He could the less doubt of their identity, as the tale had in common with the old Brandan legend, an adventure on the back of a whale, and as the seven voyages of Sindbád seemed to correspond with the seven years of the peregrination of the saint. That the author must have been in the East is clear from his description of the miraculous lighting of the lamps of the altar, which took place every year on the eve before Easter in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem.

The author of the *Navigatio* borrowed also, but indirectly, from the tale of the adventurers of Lisbon, who, in the tenth century, made a voyage of discovery in the Atlantic. Edrisí, who wrote in 1154, gave some extracts from this tale.

The particulars about the birthplace and the monastery of St. Brandan, given in the beginning of the *Navigatio*, seem to belong to the old legend. From the circumstance, that one or two Irish names have been falsely translated, we may conclude that the author was not a born Irishman.

The second part (which could not be read) contains the proofs that the *Navigatio* has been composed in the eleventh century, and shows, that neither the known passage of the *Martyrologium* of Tallaght, nor Bili's life of St. Machutus (St. Malou) are in opposition with that conclusion. Both furnish us with valuable information about the growth of the Brandan legend. It gives further an ample discussion of the relation existing between the *Navigatio* and the *Imram Maelduin*, and ends by showing that the *Navigatio* had never in Ireland the popularity which it enjoyed on the continent of Western Europe.

On Ibn Sina's Treatise entitled "The Bird."

By Professor A. F. VAN MEHREN.

"The Bird" is one of the mystic treatises of the celebrated Arabic philosopher Ibn Sina or Avicenna, probably written after his Hay b. Yaqzán during his sojourn at the court of Alá-ed-Daulah at Ispahan. Its style, especially at the commencement, is full of enigmatical expressions, and presents many difficulties; these are lessened, however, by the commentary and Persian translations, the work of a certain Omar b. Sabhan, a copy of which is in the British Museum (Cat. Cod. MSS. Or. II. 450, No. 26).

The following is an account of this allegorical composition, which resembles in many points one of the didactic poems of Aurelius Prudentius, a Christian poet of the fourth century (*cf.* Aur. Prudentii Clementia carmina, ed. Dressel, Lips. 1860, p. 162).

After a preface addressed to his friends, in which he speaks of the qualities of real friendship, he proceeds: A party of hunters go out to catch birds. After laying their nets, they caught a good number, and among them was the author of this story. Shut up in their cages, they at first were suffering from their captivity; but they gradually became accustomed to it, till a small number of them succeeded in escaping, while the rest, still in captivity, seeing them rise in the air, asked them to show them the means of obtaining their freedom and to aid their escape. These, after some hesitation, offered to assist their unfortunate companions, and showed them the way to escape safely from their captivity. When they had in their flight arrived in sight of eight high mountains, they made great efforts to pass over their summits, and after crossing the last they gained access to the palace of the Great King. Admitted to his presence, they began to describe to him their wretched condition as caused by the ends of the chains still attached to their feet. Then he promised to furnish them with a messenger who should convey to their oppressors the order to detach those chains. The messenger of deliverance is the angel of Death.

On the oldest form of the Upanishad.

By Professor H. OLDENBERG.

There is no doubt that *upa-ni-shad* literally means the (reverential) sitting down by somebody or something. But the correct interpretation, that by this term, the sitting down of the pupil by the master is intended, who proposes to hand down to him the mysterious doctrine of the Upanishads, appears to be untenable, for the reason that the Upanishad texts constantly and customarily speak of a "reverential sitting down" in a very different connection, that is to say, of that reverential sitting down, in which the pious and wise consecrate their thoughts upon the highest objects of all pondering, *viz.*, the Atman or Brahman. Although in all cases, in which a verb is required in speaking of a sitting down in that sense, *upa-ās* is used rather than a compound of the root *sad*, usage at once reverts from *upa-ās* to *upa-ni-shad* as soon as a substantive is required to convey that meaning. The oldest Upanishads (also called *ādēsha*, *nāmadheya*) consisted in brief instructions as to in what form, or under what definite name the pious had to conceive of the Brahman. Round this nucleus those further prose and metrical elements, which followed the diction used in the Brāhmana texts, gathered themselves, that we find combined in such texts as the Brahād Aranyaka or in the Chāndogya Upanishad.

On the Origin and Import of the oldest Sāman.

By Professor A. HILLEBRANDT.

Professor Hillebrandt states that the two oldest melodies used in the Hindu ritual, Brahād and Rathantara, were connected with

the solstice festivals, and that originally the former belonged to the summer solstice, and the latter to the winter solstice. This fact explains the strange comparisons drawn in reference to them; Brahadrathantara, *e.g.* are the two breasts of the year, or Rathantara is what is short, Brahadrath what is long, inasmuch as Rathantara was originally sung on the shortest, Brahadrath on the longest day of the year. Thus some curious customs, hitherto left unnoticed, gain greater significance. It is said, *e.g.* in one of the ritual manuals, that Prajapati created the thunder after the Brahadrath. Actually, at the Mahávratiya festival on the day of the summer solstice, drums are used, and with the beating of drums the thunder is imitated. The rite connected with the Rathantara is still more remarkable. Prajapati, it is said, created Rathantara, and in its wake the sound of the chariot is created. In correspondence with this, the Rathantara is to be introduced on a certain day by the noise of chariots. The author recognizes in this an old Arian rite of the winter-solstice festivals, and compares with it the custom prevalent (according to Grimm) in some parts of Schleswig of rolling a wheel through the village at the Christmas season. He further endeavours to show, that Sámans had their original cult in popular practice, and thence became elements of Brahmanic sacrifice. This would explain the reason why, in several law-codes, the chanting of the Sámans is mentioned in a sneering manner. The melodies were originally based on worldly texts, which were perhaps something like the ditties and saws customary with us at the summer-solstice festivals. When those tunes were received into the Brahmanic cult, religious texts were chosen for them to replace the lay ones, and texts from the Riksamhitá were selected for the purpose.

Archaeological Researches in India.

By DR. J. BURGESS, C.I.E.

The absence of any historical literature in India renders the scientific survey and delineation of its monuments indispensable to the proper study of the national history, as well as of the development of its art and architecture, which bear the clearest records of the growth of religions, of manners and customs, of the taste, civilization, and prosperity of its peoples. The collection of sufficient and accurate data for such a study, and the careful preservation of the monuments themselves, are surely manifest duties of an enlightened Government.

Archæology, as a department of scientific research, based on a groundwork of precise knowledge, with fixed principles, and excluding everything of a merely speculative nature, is a science of recent growth, concerned with the logical deduction of the history of man and his arts from the monuments and other works he has left. This strictly scientific method the author would have

applied to the Indian surveys. Like all other branches of research, however, its methods have grown from materials collected by pioneers, who had not the opportunity of applying or developing these methods, and the paper was largely concerned with the history of these workers, the rise of the Asiatic Societies of Bengal, Madras, and Great Britain, the services of Jones, the Daniells, Dr. Francis Buchanan Hamilton, Col. Colin Mackenzie, Colebrooke, Sir W. Elliot, J. Prinsep, Kittoe, Lassen, H. H. Wilson, and others. The great exponent of scientific Archæology, as applied to Indian monuments, however, was the late James Fergusson, D.C.L., F.R.S., whose journeys, between 1834 and 1839, were undertaken with the one object in view, of ascertaining the age and objects of the rock-cut monuments of India and those of later date. "Nowhere," he remarked, "are the styles of architecture so various as in India, and nowhere are the changes so rapid, or follow laws of so fixed a nature," and a chronological arrangement thus becomes palpable to the trained student. Fergusson's principles reduce the multifarious details to order, and the details confirm the principles; and it is to him the students of Indian antiquities owe the means of checking traditions by easy reference to the substantial records to which, in his works and in others owing much to his influence, access is now possible. His works in this department were noticed, and the impulse given to research by the translations of Fahian and Hiuen Tsiang, and then the author passed on to the origin, history, and work of the recent surveys in Northern and in Western and Southern India, and the publication of the results so far as they have yet been issued; the materials on hand, however, are very considerable and most important. A volume by Dr. Führer, edited by Dr. Burgess, has just appeared at Calcutta, but he stated that about four volumes from each of the surveys might be produced as rapidly as he could carry them through the press, if only Government would sanction the very moderate outlay required: this it is hoped will be done.

The author glanced at the work done in Epigraphy and the advances made since he started the *Indian Antiquary*, through its agency, the work of Mr. Fleet, and his latest attempt to continue the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* by the periodical publication of the *Epigraphia Indica* (a copy of which was presented at the Congress), and which has been so favourably hailed by Continental scholars.

In 1885 Dr. Burgess succeeded General Sir A. Cunningham, Director-General of the Archæological Surveys in Northern India, and set himself the task of the accurate and complete delineation of the monuments; more careful and scientific methods of excavation; and the most perfect possible reproductions of inscriptions, to be deciphered and edited by the best qualified scholars. Some

of the assistants nominated before he took charge were inefficient, and the want of funds have disappointed otherwise well-founded expectations. Dr. Burgess retires and the three surveys in Upper India can be reduced to one, or rather the five circles for all India can be reduced to three, under properly-qualified surveyors, with one or two specialists for epigraphy, each with a small staff of native assistants, those in epigraphy being trained to scientific work in that branch.

Native princes may also come to give valuable help in this survey, and the wise and munificent patronage of the Maharaja of Baróda and Jaypur was specially noticed.

Asoka's Thirteenth and Fourteenth Edicts in the Manshira Version.

By Professor Dr. G. BÜHLER.

Shortly after my arrival at Stockholm on the occasion of the late International Oriental Congress, Dr. J. Burgess handed to me a paper-impression of a large inscription in North-Indian characters, which he had received a few days before from Mr. Rodgers, the Archaeological Surveyor of the Panjáb. After a cursory inspection I was able to announce to him, that it contained Asóka's thirteenth rock edict and possibly the fourteenth. My communication in no way surprised him, and he informed me, that the impression was the result of a search instituted by his orders for the missing portions of the Manshira version. With his permission I made the discovery known at the second meeting of the Arian Section of the Congress (see Bulletin No. 8), and gave there readings of some of the most important passages of the thirteenth edict. As every addition to our knowledge of the Asóka inscriptions possesses a considerable interest, I now reproduce the remarks made at the meeting, and add some others on points which have come out during a more leisurely examination of the document.

The impression measures 4 ft. 6 in. in height. Its breadth is in the upper part, down to line 8, about 8 ft. 7 in., and in the lower 6 ft. 2 in. It contains thirteen lines, slanting upwards from the right to the left, all of them more or less mutilated at the end. In the upper ones about sixty letters or even more are missing, in the lower ones about forty. The first eleven lines and a half contain portions of the thirteenth edict, the latter part of the twelfth line and thirteenth, fragments of the fourteenth. The first legible words of line 1 are *pacha adhuna ladeshu Kalimgeshu*, which correspond with the beginning of line 2 of the Sháhábzágarhí version. It is thus evident, that the inscription is mutilated also at the top, and that its real first line is missing. In the preserved portions there are a good many illegible or disfigured letters, and the appearance of the impression shows, that the stone has not been polished, but is full of natural fissures and flaws.

This state of things no doubt diminishes the value of the document. Nevertheless, it is by no means useless. It confirms a number of readings found hitherto only in single versions, and furnishes, in some passages, interesting *variæ lectiones*.

But from Dr. Burgess's statement regarding the circumstances, under which it was discovered and the impression was taken, I conclude, that the find may eventually prove to be still more important, and that we may hope to obtain complete copies of the two edicts. The account which Dr. Burgess has given me is as follows :

At a late visit to Mansehra, during which he took the impressions of edicts I.-VIII. and IX.-XII. used for my article in vol. xliii. of the "*Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*" (p. 273 ff.), he noticed that the two inscribed rocks are surrounded by a very large number of big loose boulders, full of natural rents and fissures. It then struck him that the two missing edicts might possibly be incised on one of these. For, owing to the roughness of the stones, the existence of letters might be easily overlooked. As the time of his stay was too limited for a careful examination of each single boulder, he asked the Archæological Surveyor of the Panjáb to undertake the task. Thereupon Mr. Rodgers sent, in the beginning of the last rains, a native clerk to Mansehra, with orders to institute a strict search. The latter found, after a great deal of trouble, a third inscribed stone, which had been removed from its original position and had rolled down to a *nulla* or torrent, overhanging its bank. This yielded the impression under notice. As the stone is not in its original position, and as the discoverer is not an archæological expert, it is not at all unlikely, that there are more letters on it than the impression contains. It may be that a portion of the inscription is hidden under the stone, or has been overlooked in consequence of the bad condition of the surface. It seems to me also very probable, that an impression, taken in sections during a more favourable season by a competent archæologist, will be much more readable than the present one. Under these circumstances I believe it advisable to wait with an attempt at editing the text, until the stone has been examined once more and a fresh impression has been taken. But I should be ungrateful towards Dr. Burgess and Mr. Rodgers, if I concluded this communication without adding, that they have laid all students of Indian history under a great obligation by what they have already done.

On the Phonology and the Vocabulary of the Balúchi Language.

By Professor W. GEIGER.

Lassen already recognized Balúchi as an Iranian language. Subsequently F. Müller and Hübschmann gave a general sketch of its

phonology. The material, however, available to them was so limited and meagre, that much remains yet to be done. Within the last ten years more abundant materials for the study of Balúchi have become accessible, by which we have been enabled to draw a distinction between the dialects within the Balúchi language (*Geiger*, *Sitzungsberichte der K. Bayer. Akad. d. Wissenschaften*, Philol.-histor. Classe, 1889, 5. 68 ff.), and to deal with greater precision with its phonology and its position with regard to the other Iranian dialects.

As regards the phonology, it is an important fact, that the *s* of the Avestá language is never represented by *d*, as is the case in Old-Persian, Pahlavi and Modern-Persian, but always by *s*. Hübschmann still maintained that there was a twofold representation, viz. by *d* and *s*. It was proved, however, that all the words in which *d* occurs are loan-words from Modern-Persian. Thus *dil*, heart, is the Mod.-Pers. *je*, while the genuine Balúchi form is *sirdé*. One might, therefore, assume that Balúchi belongs to the group, which has hitherto been called the Eastern Iranian. When one considers, however, that the Ossét, Kurd, and the dialects of Kashan (according to Shukowsky) likewise have the *s*, it becomes evident that the separation into an eastern and a western Iranian group, by reason of this phonetic phenomenon, is altogether wrong: *d* is by no means peculiar to all the western dialects, and in fact its area is exceedingly limited.

On the Ancient Arian Languages of Asia Minor.

By Professor P. KAROLIDIS.

After giving a general sketch of the Asia Minor branch of the Arian family of languages, the lecturer drew attention to the meagreness of the existing linguistic material and the scantiness of ancient monuments. He then shows that Jablonski, Heeren, and Adelung were in error in considering the river Halys as the boundary between the Semitic and Arian languages, and the Kappadokian as a Syrian or Assyrian tongue. Also later researches (Lassen, de Lagarde, Gosche, and others) have suffered from the meagreness of material and a certain want of comprehensiveness. The author's own investigations are based on the following principles: after reviewing, sifting and comparing all the statements in the ancient writers regarding the descent and affinities of the peoples of Asia Minor, he applies the rules of modern linguistics to the definite results thus gained, and then draws his final conclusions. There are two questions to be considered: first, what conclusion can with tolerable certainty be drawn from an inter-comparison of the old traditions concerning the origin of the people and languages of Asia Minor? and secondly, what materials does modern research offer to us, by which to test that question? how

far can those materials be used for scientific investigations? and what final conclusions can be drawn from a combination of these various points?

On Mr. Flinders Petrie's Discoveries in the Fayûm.

By Miss A. EDWARDS.

In the general and final meeting of all the Sections under the Presidency of the King at Stockholm, Dr. R. Cust was permitted to state verbally the purport of a communication made to the Egyptian Section by the celebrated Egyptologist, Miss Amelia Edwards, who, though a member of the Congress, was unable to attend personally, as she had to embark for New York to deliver a course of lectures on Egyptian Exploration in all the chief cities of the United States during the next few months.

The paper related to the discovery, in the neighbourhood of Fayûm, in Central Egypt, by Mr. Flinders Petrie, of collections of broken pottery with alphabetic inscriptions. The date of this pottery is attributed approximately, on certain independent evidence, to the time of Menepthah, King of Egypt at the time of the Exodus, and Osertsein II. of a much older date. When the alphabetic signs are examined, they are found to be identical in character with the signs of that famous Græco-Phœnician alphabet, which is the mother of all the alphabets of the world, but in less highly developed and therefore more antique forms. Now the oldest previously existing specimens of the Græco-Phœnician alphabet are the Moabite Stone, about 900 B.C., and the scratchings of their names upon the legs of the great statues at Abu Simbul in Upper Egypt, by the soldiers of Psammetichus, about 600 B.C. It will be at once perceived how important is a discovery, that carries back the use of these alphabetic signs to the time of the Exodus, 1490 B.C., and far beyond. We may well hold our breath for the time, and wait till this bold theory is accepted by the competent authorities of Palæography. It has always been a question as to the alphabet, in which the two tables of stone were written by Moses, as there was no independent evidence of the existence of the Græco-Phœnician alphabet at an earlier date than 900 B.C. This evidence has now been supplied.

On the Geographical Distribution of the different Languages of the Turki Branch of the Ural-Altai Family of Languages.

By Dr. R. CUST.

The speaker stated that his paper was printed both in the English and German languages, and widely circulated among scholars, in order that some certainty might be attained for the practical purposes of the translation of the Holy Scriptures. He went over in detail the different languages already known, (1) the

Osmanli of the Turkish Empire, (2) the Azerbaijani or Trans-Caucasian of the Province of Trans-Caucasia in Russia and Azerbaijani in Persia, (3) the Kazani spoken in the Basin of the Volga, (4) the Chuvash spoken in the European Provinces of Kazan and Nijni Novgorod, and the Asiatic Province of Orenburg by half a million, (5) the Kumuk spoken on the North-west shore of the Caspian Sea, (6) the Trans-Caspian, (7) the Central Asian or Khiva, (8) the Kirghiz, (9) the Yarkandi, (10) the Nogai, (11) the Yakut. Until the same exhaustive process was undertaken in Central Asia by Russian scholars, that has been completed in British India and the Indo-Chinese Peninsula by British scholars, no finality could be obtained. Dr. Cust called on the Russian scholars to proceed on the task which they had so well commenced. He mentioned the names of the Academician Radloff, Professor Salemann, Librarian of the Russian Academy, Professor Ilminsky of Kazan, and Professor Ostramoff. He alluded to the meritorious labours of the Rev. Abraham Amirkhanians of the British and Foreign Bible Society, stationed at Orenburg.

Dr. Cust finally insisted on no attempt being made by the State, or by a dominant Religion, to rob a tribe of their ancestral language: the change of a people's vernacular must be the result of the involuntary tendencies of dawning civilization.

On the Watersheep in Chinese Accounts from W. Asia.

By Professor A. G. SCHLEGEL.

Professor G. Schlegel, of the Leyden University, read a paper on the *Shui-yang* or Watersheep in Chinese accounts from Western Asia and the *Agnus Scythicus* or vegetable lamb of the European mediæval travellers; both having been a great puzzle to Chinese and European botanists and zoologists. Two years ago Mr. Henry Lee wrote a very interesting book in order to prove that by the vegetable lamb nothing else was meant but the cotton plant. Mr. Schlegel, however, showed that although the watersheep of the Chinese accounts presented the greatest analogy with the vegetable lamb, the former still exhibited many features incompatible with the growth of the cotton plant. He therefore suggested, that the legend of sheep growing out of the ground like plants, took its origin in miscellaneous notices of the way of training camels in Persia, combined with the way of growing the cotton plant, and butchering the living sheep in order to get the wool of the unborn lamb, of which the so-called Astrakan wool is prepared.

In Persia the young camels are kept during a long period after their birth in a kneeling position, with the legs tied down under the belly, in order to accustom them afterwards to kneel before being loaded. They are guarded against the wolves and other rapacious animals by a circular or square enclosure or wall,

presenting to the looker-on at a distance the aspect of a field in which sheep grow out of the ground.

As is well known, the finest stuffs in Persia are woven from the hair of the camel; and it is these stuffs, which were imported at a very early period into China, under the name of Hai-si-pu, "cloth of the Western countries," or "cloth of the down of the Water-sheep."

The Tomb Inscriptions on the Upper Yenisei.

By Professor O. DONNER.

The first, who directed the attention of savants to certain peculiar inscriptions on ancient tombs on the banks of the river Yenisei was the Swedish officer Strahlenberg, who was taken prisoner at Poltava in 1709, and transported to Siberia. There he made himself acquainted with the country and its population, and after his return from captivity elaborated a valuable description of the northern and eastern portions of Europe and Asia, which was published in 1730, and contained *inter alia* the pictures of two tombstones with inscriptions in a language and alphabet altogether unknown. Later on several others of the same kind were published by Pallas and Klaproth and some Russian savants, without, however, a sufficient clue to that interesting script having been discovered. In 1877 the chemist Martinow founded a natural history museum at Minusinsk, and from that date several more tombstones covered with that kind of writing were collected, so that at present the number of them is eight.

On the banks of the Yenisei numerous bronze objects have been found in tombs; they differ in form from those found in other parts, and prove the existence of an Altaic bronze age. In many respects a connection is traceable between these and the bronze objects found in the neighbourhood of Perm, by means of which the Finnic tribes are brought into contact with the Altaic bronze age. The Finnish Archæological Society at Helsingfors thereupon resolved to send, during the last three summers, expeditions to Siberia under the State-Archæologist, Professor Aspelin, to take trustworthy copies of the inscriptions, those previously published not being sufficiently accurate. In two summers the expedition took 32 copies, and these have now been published for the Congress.

Even in the last century people were struck with the European appearance of the inscriptions, as well as with the resemblance of some of the letters to the runes, and they gave them this very name. In the opinion of the learned Tychsen (1786) this script had to be connected with the old Greek form four or five hundred years before Christ, when it was still written from right to left. A. Rémusat attributed it to the people called U-sun by the Chinese, Klaproth and Castren to the Kirgiz, while Yadrintsev, Klements,

and Radloff consider the inscriptions to be older than the Hakases, and as consequently belonging to pre-Christian times. Last summer a Chinese coin of the Emperor Vou-taoung (841-6 A.D.) of the Tang Dynasty was found, on the smooth side of which two words in Siberian characters were engraved. Similar coins, but without those characters, have been discovered in great numbers, most of them belonging to the same century, several of the seventh, and one of the year 118 B.C. This proves that the Yenisei alphabet must still have been in use about the middle of the ninth century. The bronze age, however, represented by it reaches far back into the preceding time for many centuries.

The writing presents some eighty different shapes or characters. In its exterior arrangement the script agrees with that in vogue among the non-Semitic tribes in Asia Minor and Greece about four or five centuries before Christ. An examination of the characters leads up to the same result, there being corresponding forms to most of them in the alphabets of Asia Minor derived from the Greek system of writing. It is more especially the Lycian and Karian alphabets, which present most analogies. Among the characters, which differ from these, we note several which agree with similar ones in the Egyptian syllabary. There occurs also a form, which to all outward appearance has its exact counterpart only in the Asóka alphabet. Taking all these circumstances together, we can well understand how this script has come to be compared to the northern runes or the Iberian writing. Among the words, an interpretation of which I believe I have found, is *abagha*, which occurs several times in five inscriptions. But this word happens to occur, not only in 'Mongol,' but also in Yakút, with the meaning of 'uncle,' 'father's brother.' It will, therefore, be necessary for us to await further attempts at decipherments as to language and script. The revision of the inscriptions on the basis of the new impressions taken by the members of the expedition last summer will no doubt greatly contribute to facilitate this work.

On the Language and Customs of the People of Hunza.

By Dr. LEITNER.

The Hunzal language, Dr. Leitner pointed out, is one of a class, in which nouns can only be conceived of in connection with a possessive pronoun. There is, *e.g.*, no abstract word for "head," "wife," "house," but there are separate words for "my head," "his wife," "our house," etc. He drew attention to the important results to be derived from a philological analysis of this language, for which ample materials will shortly be available. The Hunza are Mahometan only by name; witches and fairies play a prominent part in their social and administrative arrangements. Most Hunza are Mulai, and their head is Prince Aga

Khan of Bombay. They are connected with the Druse of the Lebanon. Their sacred book is the Kalám-i-pír, of the contents of which the lecturer gave some interesting specimens.

On the Linguistic Position of the Languages of Australia.

By DR. H. SCHNORR VON CARLSFELD.

The languages of the Australian continent have hitherto been either considered as isolated, or they have been classed with certain African, with the Dravidian, and recently also with the Kolarian languages. It is not our present purpose to discuss these various hypotheses, as they do not rest on a firm basis, and are not affected by the following exposition. The plausible assumption of a connexion between the Australian languages, and those of New Guinea and the Mélanesian dialects, has hitherto been considered as erroneous on account of the contrast subsisting between both groups as to the formation of words, the former generally using suffixes for that purpose, while the latter use prefixes. That contrast, however, need by no means have been an original one, but may in both groups have been evolved in the course of their historical development. The greater, therefore, is the significance that must be attributed to the numerous coincidences in the vocabulary which can be proved in both groups.

In another of the meetings Dr. Ginsburg described the features and characteristics of the New "Massoretico-Critical Text of the Hebrew Old Testament," and Dr. Bullinger presented each member of the Section with a specimen copy of the first sixteen pages. Nearly two hundred of these were thus distributed. One was specially prepared for presentation to the King, which he graciously accepted. Great interest was manifested by all the members present, and some of the greatest savants took part in most friendly criticism.

A short statement was made by M. Cordier, of a paper on "Central Asia," by M. Nocentini, which will shortly appear in the columns of the *Revista Europa*, or the *Journal of the Italian Asiatic Society*. The paper gives an account of the travels of M. Nissi, who was Japanese Minister in Russia, in Central Asia. M. Nissi left St. Petersburg in 1880, and went *via* Orenburg, Tashkend, Samarcand, Khokand, Kuldja, and so on, through Siberia, reaching Tokio in 1881. The journey may, perhaps, be compared with that of Tu Li-Shen, a Chinese diplomat, who, in 1712, went from Peking to the Caspian Sea. M. Cordier then read a paper on the "History of the Swedish Company in the East in the Eighteenth Century," from a brochure, which he has recently published on the subject. The story was a very interesting one, though very unfortunate for the Swedish adventurers

who took part in it, as they were considerably despoiled by both the English and the French Companies in India. It showed, likewise, that England has something to thank Sweden for in obtaining a hold on India. M. Boell then gave a short discourse on the Chinese word "Shang-ti," which has been the cause of so much discussion as to whether it means God as we know the term. He was of opinion that the real word to represent the God of Christian nations was "Tien-ti," an opinion which was shared by Professor Schlegel and M. Cordier. It will be remembered that the Pope, by a bull, accepted Shang-ti from the Roman Catholics as the equivalent of God; amongst Protestant missionaries the term to be used still forms the arena of much controversy. M. Boell read a paper on the "Transliteration of Chinese Words," which differs somewhat from the system now generally in vogue. Professors Cordier and Schlegel took exception to the speaker's views, and were in favour of Sir Thomas Wade's orthography.

Dr. Harlowick, of Warsaw, read a paper on "System and Method in Mythological Inquiries for the Grouping of Facts." Mythology is but a primitive philosophy, and if this fact be admitted, certain consequences will follow, and facts should be arranged in mythology as in philosophy. He considered that this had not been attended to in existing treatises. Dr. Hunfalvy, of Buda-Pest, read an interesting paper on the Gypsies of Hungary and Transylvania. They arrived in Hungary in the year 1417, and their language retains traces of the country whence they came; they are still partly nomad, and have resisted all attempts of the Government to control them; phrenologically they show indications of an Egyptian origin, but their language points to India.

M. de Tsagarelli described his visit to the convents of Mount Sinai and Mount Athos, and the manuscripts, which he managed to secure, dating as far back as the eighth century of the Christian era, on papyrus, parchment and paper. He particularly alluded to MSS. in the Georgian language. He brought home copies of forty inscriptions, and copies of wall-paintings. Prof. Van der Lith, of Leyden, made a communication on the subject of a book lately published by him, known as the *Kitab ajaib al Hind*, "The Book of the Marvels of India." It contains accounts of Arab and Persian navigators of about 1000 A.D., which have an interest to the students of ancient geography. They are full of what are known as "Travellers' Stories."

Professor Halévy of Paris gave an account of the state of Palestine previous to the Hebrew immigration. A few years ago this was a sealed book, but the late discoveries of Egyptian and Assyrian tablets have let an unexpected light into the circum-

stances of the unhappy province of Syria, which was situated betwixt these kingdoms. It is more than probable, that the Philistines were Egyptians settled on the Mediterranean coast, and deriving their strength from Egypt.

Professor Amelineau of Paris made an important communication on the subject of the transcription of hieroglyphics into Roman characters. He spoke also upon the Inscriptions of Wadi Hamámat, and the Poetical Remains of the Copts. The authors were Christian, but made use of old Egyptian models.

The Rev. Abraham Amirkhanianz gave an interesting account of the characteristics of the Central Asia, or Uzbek, form of the great Turki language. His residence at Orenburg, under a sentence of exile from the Russian Government, had enabled him to study this language with a view of translating the Holy Scriptures into it. He is an agent of the British and Foreign Bible Society, an Armenian by origin, but a Protestant educated at the Basel College.

The above account does not pretend to be exhaustive: such as it is, it has been gleaned from English, French, and German accounts of the Congress in anticipation of the official report, which will appear in due time. Some communications, which are not noticed, were on purely scholastic subjects, others brief notices of books. It may be gathered, that the business laid before the Congress was worthy of the Assembly, but unfortunately there was not sufficient room for discussion and exchange of thought, which is of the essence of a good Conference of competent critics. The great desire was to let the unfortunate authors have a chance of delivering their message before the hour came for a start to some place of amusement. In fact, some indignant members refused to read their papers, being told curtly by the General Secretary, that he could only spare them ten minutes to develop a subject which required a much longer time. This is but another instance of the strong unsympathetic whip, held over the members from the first to the last hour, and which some independent scholars will not run the risk of incurring again. Some celebrated men, as already notified, were absent from private reasons: it is possible, that they may have forwarded communications, which will appear in the official report.

As mentioned above, a day and a half was consumed in unprofitable utterances in different languages, unintelligible to the majority of those, who had the misfortune of being present, and if we judge from the Poems in Sanskrit, by Pandit Dhruva of Gujerát, of which we have the official translation, not worth reading, far less hearing, in the objectionable twang adopted by the speaker, something betwixt the intoning of a Minor Canon in a Cathedral and a costermonger crying turnips in the streets. I

know well how a Sikh Guru chants the Granth in his Bhonga at Amritsar, or a Bairāgi Mahant in his temple at Banāras, and such things are all well in their proper place: we have only to imagine a Minor Canon of St. Paul's venturing to make an address, or read poetry, in a Public Hall, with the intonation, which a bad Ecclesiastical habit has imposed upon him and the Congregation as regards prayers in a Cathedral. I subjoin a specimen of the stuff chanted.

"Bharati, white and naturally remarkable for sweetness, seeing darkness in India, desirous of Light, wandered in all directions, riding a shining swan, repaired by chance to what are called the Uttara Kurus. Here Freedom, Fortune, all arts and sciences, came gradually to her.

"May His Majesty Oscar, favoured by Learning and Fortune, a Poet, Prince, and Philosopher, glory for a hundred years in the World!

"The flower, that has been presented to me by the Lady with her eyes like the Lotus, and her face like the Moon, I shall ever bear in my heart: there is imaged smiling in this flower her simplicity and sweetness, and her tenderness full of sentiment."

The name of the Swedish lady, who gave the flower to the Pandit, is not mentioned. No ladies of the Court were present at the Congress: it is impossible to say from what stratum of female Society the poet received the gift: she must have been very simple. It is provoking to think, that after half a century of attention paid to the education of the people of India, who are susceptible of the very highest, after the care taken to introduce into the Modern Colleges the best styles of oratory, poetry, history, and philosophy, a delegate from India should have been sent to Europe to make a fool of himself in the presence of the chief Oriental Scholars of Europe. In former Congresses natives of India, men like Dr. Bhandarkar of the Poona College, have held their own in open debate with the greatest Scholars of Europe, to the delight of old Anglo-Indians, who rejoiced in the legitimate intellectual triumphs of the people, whom they love so well, but who could only hang their heads now, when one of the great Nation condescended to become a laughing-stock in his mode of utterance, as much as the ignorant Arabs from Algiers, who had preceded them in an arena, where specimens of the great Oriental races were, as it were, turned out to try who could be most eccentric and ridiculous.

His Majesty the King closed the Congress (as far as he was concerned, for he did not go to Christiania) with a neat oration in the Latin language. Whatever his Majesty did or said was kindly, well conceived, perhaps rather poetic, and dignified: I give the very words:

"Hôc octavo Congressu orientalium scientiarum et linguarum

"nunc Holmiæ (Stockholm) claudendo, justum et æquum censeo
 "vobis omnibus, illustrissimi hospites, ex animo gratias optimas
 "agere non meo solum nomine, sed etiam civium meorum omnium,
 "qui hic adsunt, ob dies memorabiles inter omnes hic peractos,
 "quorum tantæ partes ipsi fuistis: necnon omnia, quæ bona,
 "fausta, ac felicia sint, vobis in fortunam optare votis meis
 "sinceris, fervidisque. Valete! Dixi!!"

And so the Congress at Stockholm ended: the minds of the members of the Congress were much divided on some subjects, but on this one point they were united to a man, *viz.*, a feeling of respect and admiration and gratitude to His Majesty. I had the honour on the following Monday, of a private interview with both their Majesties for the purpose of presenting to the Queen a copy of the Holy Scriptures forwarded by the British and Foreign Bible Society, in return for the great kindness and interest always manifested by their Majesties in the distribution of the Bible in the different languages of their kingdom.

The final dinner of the assembled Congress, exceeding four hundred, took place in the evening at the Grand Hotel. The General Secretary, Count Landberg, paid the entire expense: each guest had a menu, prepared at great cost, in nineteen languages, consisting of poems composed by different scholars in praise of different viands: in Egyptian, Akkadian, Assyrian, Sanskrit, Syriac, Arabic, Chinese, Ethiopian, Malay, Hebrew, Manchu, Javanese, Turkish, Copt, Himyarite, Bihâri, Japanese, Jagatai-Turki, German. This was a fair type of the whole Congress, costly, showy, unscientific, where everything was done to attract uncritical admiration and wonder, rather than promote science and research. Owing to the immense number, there was rather a scramble, and later at night, the whole body went off in two special trains to Christiania, where there were three additional days of banquetting, and life at Stockholm became endurable to those, who wisely went no further.

I now come to the last subdivision of my narrative, the sinister outlook for the future. In his opening address, Count Landberg uttered words, which escaped notice at the time:

"J'aurai l'honneur de vous exposer plus en détail à Christiania
 "le genre de la nouvelle direction, qu'il faudrait *selon moi* donner
 "à nos Congres." In fact, he had the conceit to propose to fashion all future Congresses after his ideal: on the last day of the Congress at Stockholm, his plan was brought forward, bitterly opposed, and the matter deferred till the last day at Christiania. At that place he was again out-voted, and, as no application from any other country had been received, a Committee was appointed, consisting of four surviving Presidents of past Congresses, whose duty it was to co-opt an additional four to represent the eight countries of France, Great Britain, Russia, Italy, Germany,

Holland, Austria, and Sweden. As there was only a dummy President of the Sweden Congress, the Chief Secretary was elected to represent that Congress. Unfortunately Baron von Kremer, the much-respected President of the Vienna Congress, died, thus reducing the number from four to three, and no steps up to November, 1890, have been taken to co-opt the additional members. Deep dissatisfaction was aroused in France and Great Britain: rumours were circulated that Count Landberg wished to have the next Congress at Constantinople or Cairo, at which last place he was the Swedish Consul-General. It was reported, that an Institute was to be formed, of which King Oscar was to be perpetual patron, and Count Landberg perpetual Secretary, and that their duty would be to decide who was, and *who was not* a scholar, worthy of admission to membership of the Congress. The Royal Asiatic Society addressed the Committee of the Swedish Congress, begging that a representative of Great Britain might be added to the Committee above alluded to, with whom would rest the date and place of the next Congress.

To hold a Congress in a period less than three years would be very undesirable: a term of four or five years would be more suitable. To hold the Congress beyond the limits of Christian Europe, or at Washington, or Constantinople, or Cairo, would effectually exclude the army of poor, but earnest students, whose presence is so important. In Europe, Lisbon, Madrid, Geneva, Munich, and Leipzig, would be most suitable, if the old, simple and severe methods were returned to. Failing this, there is no choice but to return to the old rota of the eight capitals, which have already received the Congress. To Paris no German scholar would willingly resort. In London there will be great difficulties. There is no doubt a necessity to exclude outsiders, but, when it becomes known to that class, that there is nothing to eat, and no special trains and garden parties, they will not present themselves: at any rate a Committee of selection in each country should be trusted with the duty of issuing the tickets, and some general definition of what constituted a fitness for membership might be formulated for their guidance: students, scholarly persons, and interested in Oriental subjects, though not themselves scholars, should not be excluded. Perhaps, on the Continent, the professional element is too strong, and the general public insufficiently represented.

London, 1890.

VII.—SPEECH AT OPENING OF LEYDEN CONGRESS, 1883.

I have the honour to offer for the acceptance of the Sixth Congress of Orientalists, sixteen volumes, being specimens of sixteen African languages, which may be useful as texts illustrative of the

peculiarities of those languages. I have selected these out of a much larger number.

One of these, the Bogos or Bilin, belongs to the Hamitic Group: nine belong to the Negro Group: five belong to the great Bantu Family south of the Equator: one to the Hottentot-Bushman Group. They thus represent every kind of Language spoken in Africa at the present day, with the exception of the well-known Semitic Family, which, however, is represented in ordinary use.

All these books are translations of portions of the Scriptures made for the Glory of God, and the spread of His Kingdom on Earth, by the co-operation of many European Scholars, but at the sole expense of the British and Foreign Bible Society.

VIII.—SPEECH AT CLOSING BANQUET OF THE LEYDEN CONGRESS, 1883.

It had occurred to many of the visitors, that some return was due to the people of Holland for their kindness, and it was arranged that a subscription should be made for the sufferers in Java and Sumatra from the late Earthquake. Accordingly the President, after the Secretary of War had concluded his thanks for the second toast, gave the opportunity of speaking to Dr. R. Cust, Honorary Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society, and Delegate from that, and the Royal Geographical Society. He briefly, but clearly expressed the wishes of the assembled strangers.

“Grateful for the hospitality received, we wish to make some return. How could that be done? There were two subjects strictly international, independent of religion, nationality, or politics: (1) Science, which had brought us together, (2) benevolence and pity for sufferers, which should accompany us on parting. A cry of anguish had come from the Islands of Java and Sumatra. Let us help them and evidence our gratitude to the people of Holland by helping to alleviate the sufferings of the subjects of Holland in the Indian Archæpelago.” The proposal was cordially approved, and acted upon at once. A troop of little girls with baskets filed down the tables, and in a few moments upwards of one thousand gulden were collected.

IX.—SPEECH AT OPENING OF VIENNA CONGRESS, 1887.

The Congress was opened in state in the Grand Hall of the University by his Imperial and Royal Highness the Archduke Reiner. Many speeches were made, and presents of books offered. Among other speakers, Dr. R. Cust, Hon. Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society, on being called upon, spoke in the English language as follows:

“Your Royal and Imperial Highness, In the name of the

“ delegates from England and British India, I rise to express the
 “ pleasure, which we feel in finding ourselves in this beautiful and
 “ imperial city, and in the hall of this celebrated University ;
 “ and, in token of our homage, I beg to present to the Congress
 “ printed translations of one well-known book (the Bible) in one
 “ hundred and four languages, spoken by more than two hundred
 “ millions of men in Asia, Africa, America, and Oceania, prepared
 “ at the expense of the English people, but with the aid of scholars
 “ from Germany, Russia, Austria, and Holland.”

X.—SPEECH AT CLOSING BANQUET OF VIENNA CONGRESS, 1887.

“ Mr. President, and Members of the Congress, Ladies, and
 “ Gentlemen, I rise to propose the health of the Burgomaster,
 “ and the Prosperity of the City of Vienna. In England we are
 “ proud of our Municipal Institutions, because they were the
 “ foundations of our Constitutional Liberties, and as an English-
 “ man I feel honoured in being called upon to propose the health
 “ of the Burgomaster, and to thank him and his Colleagues in the
 “ Municipality for their hospitality, and kindness to us all during
 “ our residence in this City.

“ I beg also to propose the toast of the prosperity of the
 “ renowned City of Vienna, famous in History from the time of
 “ the Crusades, famous for its Universities and Hospitals, famous
 “ for its learned men, and beautiful women. We do not in the
 “ West of Europe forget, that three hundred years ago Vienna was
 “ the bulwark and prop of Christendom and Civilization against
 “ the Mahometans, and we doubt not that in this, and the genera-
 “ tions that are to come, it will again be the bulwark against
 “ a more powerful and dangerous foe, and the hearts of English-
 “ men will be with their ancient friends.

“ I propose the health and prosperity of the Burgomaster and
 “ City of Vienna.”

XI. PRESENTATION INSCRIPTIONS.

COPY OF SPECIMEN OF BIBLE TRANSLATIONS.

DEAR SIR,

I beg to offer for your acceptance, to be placed in your Library, a copy of the Book of "Specimens of Translations of the Holy Scriptures" into the various languages of the World, which have come into existence at the expense of, or with the assistance of, the British and Foreign Bible Society of London, and the other Societies noted in the margin.

- I. American Bible Society.
- II. National Bible Society of Scotland.
- III. Baptist Bible Society, London.
- IV. Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, London.
- V. Netherlands Bible Society.

It may safely be stated, that no other book has been ever translated into so many languages, or circulated in such prodigious numbers in every Region of the World, and yet only a portion of the great work is done, for it is the fixed intention of these Societies, that the Word of God should be made available to every Nation under Heaven in their own peculiar language or dialect.

Scholars of every Nation will appreciate the indirect advantage, which has accrued to the study of Language from these labours, as many Languages, otherwise totally unknown, have been brought to their notice, and texts can be purchased below cost price at the Agencies, which have been opened in every one of the great cities of Europe. I remain, your obedient Servant.

INSCRIPTION IN A COPY OF THE VEDA PRESENTED TO
ETON COLLEGE LIBRARY, 1857.

TO ETON COLLEGE LIBRARY,

AS A TOKEN OF MY AFFECTION AND GRATITUDE, IS PRESENTED BY

ROBERT NEEDHAM CUST,

OF THE INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE,

A COPY OF THE MOST ANCIENT BOOK OF ONE OF THE
MOST ANCIENT RELIGIONS IN THE WORLD,

Which are contemporary with the Books of Moses, and in the country, where they were composed, are still venerated, and appealed to, as inspired, by more than one hundred Millions.

XII.

REVIEW OF GRUNDRISS DER SPRACHWISSENSCHAFT VON DR. FRIEDERICH MÜLLER.

THE completion of this remarkable and epoch-making work deserves a notice, though totally inadequate to the greatness of the subject, and the comprehensive manner, in which it has been treated. Six years ago the first volume appeared, and the Author promises some additional volumes by way of Appendix. But the subject of the Science of Language expands year by year, and this noble work forty years hence will be as far below the high-water level, as the famous Mithridates of Adelung and Vater, which astonished the world in 1817, and is now entirely out of date.

To this work there is no Index, and there are no Language-Maps. It cannot for one moment be considered to embrace our linguistic knowledge of the world, as the author restricts himself to those languages, of which he has competent Grammars. It is obvious, that at the present moment a very large proportion of Languages is represented by Vocabularies alone, and a certain proportion, though known to exist, is unrepresented by any linguistic document. The book is therefore a survey of our knowledge of the Science, as far as Grammars have been compiled, and is therefore an inadequate representation of the World's store of the Forms of Speech in actual use by Mankind.

Then there is an inherent difficulty in the method adopted, which is meant to combine Ethnological and Philological results. It is obvious, that Race is innate, and cannot be changed either by Nation or individual; and that Language can be changed without leaving the Native Country, of which we have a notable instance in the Arabic-speaking Fellahs of Egypt, who are clearly of the ancient race, and the English-speaking Negroes of West Africa.

It can truly be said, that no such Thesaurus of language can be found in any other work, ancient or modern, and no Library is complete without it. The main body of the work consists of careful analyses of the Phonology and Grammatical Forms of every language, of which the Sounds and Forms have been brought to book. Texts are in most cases supplied with interlinear translations, and careful grammatical notes. To few, if to any one, has it been given to possess the acumen required for such a task, and the industry to carry the author up to the point of knowledge, which would supply the characteristic features of the language, and then drop the subject, and pass on to an entirely different specimen of Sound-Lore, Word-Lore, and Sentence-Lore. If the

question arose as to the Grammatical Construction of any language in South Africa, North America, the Extreme Orient, or the South Sea Islands, which have been illustrated by Grammars, the student has only to turn to the page assigned to that language, and he will find the phenomena set forth after a careful diagnosis, and a reference to the authority, thus enabling the accuracy to be tested.

The order, in which the author grapples with his subject, is the ascending one. He commences with Mankind, as it is found in the lowest round of human culture; but the language of such races is sometimes found to be superior, as a language, to the culture of the race.

In the first volume he treats of the Woolly-haired races, and passes under review the Bushmen, the Hottentots of South Africa, and the Papuans of New Guinea. Thence we rise to the great variety of African Negro languages spoken in the tropical Region North of the Equator, and the wonderful Bantu Family, which occupies the whole of South Africa South of the Equator, allowing for the Bushman and Hottentot enclaves.

In the second volume we find an account of the Straight-Haired Races: the Australians, and the Hyperboreans, the Jenisee-Ostyak, the Ainu of Japan, the inhabitants of the Aleutian Islands, and the Eskimó. To them succeed the long row of American indigenous languages from the North to the extreme South of that Continent.

In the second part of the same volume are passed under review the languages of Polynesia, Melanesia, and Malaysia, the great Altaic Family of High Asia, the languages of Japan and Korea, the Tibeto-Barmán Family, the Tai Family, the Khasi in the Himaláya, the language of Annam, and the languages of China. The vast area traversed in this section indicates how brief, summary, and inexhaustive, must be the survey even of the scores of languages, of which Grammars have been compiled.

In the third volume we get a glance, but a glance only, at the great Nuba-Fulah Family of North Africa, and Dravidian of South India, the Basque of the Pyrenees, the languages of the inhabitants of the Caucasus, the Hamitic Languages of North Africa, and the Semitic of Asia, and we are landed at last in the familiar Region of the great Arian Language Family, and touch ground.

The book is avowedly a continuation of the author's highly esteemed "*Allgemeine Ethnographie*." We cannot doubt, that to the Appendix promised in the autumn there will be added a long row of additional volumes to be incorporated in a second edition of the whole work in their proper places in the narrative.

There is room for an abundance of criticism in detail, and there will be no severer critic of the work than the author himself, but he has to be congratulated on accomplishing his task.

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1887.

XIII.

MEMORIAL TO THE UNIVERSITY COMMISSION OF THE COUNCIL OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

THE undersigned would respectfully bring to the notice of the University Commission the necessity, and expediency, of making some provision for the teaching of the more recondite Dead Languages, the study of which during the last quarter of a century has obtained so remarkable an extension, and yet is still imperfectly developed in Great Britain, because no facilities of instruction are given.

The splendour, which surrounded the languages of Palestine, Greece and Rome, threw into unmerited shade the great languages, which preceded them chronologically, and to which we are indebted for an Alphabet, and some portions of our intellectual and religious culture. Reference is here made to the two great groups of languages, the monuments of the first of which are inscribed in the so-called Cuneiform characters: the second is the Old-Egyptian, preserved to us in Hieroglyphic, Hieratic, and Demotic characters, with its descendant, the Coptic.

In the Cuneiform group we find several distinct languages belonging to different Families: the latest, the Old-Persian, belongs to the Arian Family: the Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian belong to the Semitic Family: while the Proto-Babylonian, called also the Akkadian, the Susian, the Median, and the Old-Armenian, as known from the inscriptions at Van, belong to a Family, neither Arian, nor Semitic, possibly Hamitic. The Egyptian Family is too well known to require further notice. From this brief outline an idea may be formed of the grandeur of the field, which has to be explored.

Much has been revealed to Science by the voluntary labour of the last quarter of a century: much more remains to be unfolded. Research is now being prosecuted in every European country under the patronage of the State and the Universities. Is Great Britain alone to be unrepresented, or are the labours of her Scholars to be hampered by the want of leisure, and the energy of her younger students to be strangled by the absence of adequate instruction? The list of British Cuneiform and Egyptian Scholars at present comprises about half a dozen names of gentlemen, distracted by the duties of offices uncongenial to these most intricate and recondite studies, which require the undivided attention of a fine and trained intellect, and a long and leisurable life.

In Paris, the *Ecole des Hautes Etudes*, an institution, which has no parallel in Great Britain, provides for both Teacher and Student. At Berlin, Leiden, Turin, Christiania, and St. Petersburg, facilities are supplied, and a crop of young scholars will grow up to supply the place of such veterans as Lepsius, who have been enabled by the judicious patronage of their Sovereigns to devote a whole life to their special studies.

In London, during the last three years, voluntary classes have been started. Competent teachers have thus far given their gratuitous services, and private subscriptions have supplied the needful expenditure. Moreover, class-books have been published. This is a considerable step in advance. The attendance of students has been satisfactory and regular, and considerable progress has been made. It is a fortunate circumstance, that at this crisis there are British scholars fit to fill these chairs; there are students willing to learn, and there are the means of elementary teaching in class-books.

Your Commission is therefore solicited to make some provisions for Chairs of Instructors in these languages, and to supplement them by some moderate allowance for one or more students. It is possible that a Foundation thus made would become a nucleus for private benefaction, and that Scholarships would be founded in honour of present and future illustrious Scholars.

Royal Asiatic Society, London, 1876.

XIV.

PROGRESS OF AFRICAN PHILOLOGY.

IN the year 1847 the British Association met at Oxford: some remarkable papers were read on that occasion, but none more worthy of note and epoch-making than a contribution "On the Present State and Recent Progress of Ethnographical Philology in Africa, by Dr. R. G. Latham," who is, we are glad to say, still in the enjoyment of health. Thirty-eight years have passed by, and a vast change has come over Africa. Every book, quoted by Dr. Latham, has now lost its value. His Essay, and the contemporary "Litteratur der Grammatiken" of Dr. Jülg, of Berlin, stand at the head of a boundless modern Catalogue, which is added to each year.

I propose to substitute the words *Geographical Philology* for *Ethnographical Philology*, and cast a net over the whole of Africa, and state briefly, Region by Region, the extent of our knowledge now. Much remains still to be done, but many brains and hands are at work in different parts of the Continent, and many additions and corrections will have to be made, if thirty-eight years hence the subject is treated at some future Meeting of the British Association.

Honour to whom Honour is due. It is not to Scientific Societies, or to the agency of Scientific deputations: it is not to the great Traveller, or mighty Hunter, or adventurous man of Commerce, that we are indebted for the wonderful increase of our knowledge; but to the Christian Missionaries of many nationalities and denominations, who in the course of the prosecution of their own special duties have added these new treasures to Science, achieving great things, and showing the way to greater. And foremost among them, a head taller than all the rest, is a native of Scotland, David Livingstone.

Philology in the mode, in which I propose to treat it, is a part of Geography. The first branch of that Science is no doubt "Physical," and its second "Political," but a third and a fourth are distinctly marked out, "Ethnographical" and "Linguistic." When we have been informed of the natural characteristics of a Continent, and the Social Institutions, which the population inhabiting that Continent have adopted, we are led on to inquire to what Race of Mankind they belong, and what Language they speak. The two characteristics are totally distinct. The West Africans of

Sierra Leone and Liberia speak excellent English, as their only language, and enjoy an English culture; yet no two Races can ethnologically be more diverse than the Negro and Anglo-Saxon.

I commence my survey at the North-eastern corner, where Africa touches Asia. The Semitic Races passed from Asia into Africa in historical times, and the people of Egypt are instances of an entire change of Language. The old Egyptian, and its descendant Koptic, which was a Hamitic Language, gave way to the Arabic. That language accompanied the wave of Mahometan conquest into Tripolitána, Tunisia, Algeria, and Morocco, and became the language of Empire, Religion, Commerce, and Culture, but by no means trod out the Hamitic languages, which exist to this day. Another branch of the Semitic Races crossed the Red Sea from Arabia, and the old Ethiopic or Gíz, and the modern Amháric and Tigré, superimposed themselves upon the Hamitic languages, which still exist. A third influx of Semitic Races took place across the Red Sea in the persons of the Nomad Arabs, who dwell in the Egyptian Sudán. A fourth influx is from the south-east corner of Arabia to Zanzibár, on the East Coast of Africa. The Arabs, and half-bloods, carry the Arabic language everywhere in Equatorial Africa, and it is spoken as far as the banks of the Upper Niger. Correspondence was necessarily carried on in it as the only written medium, until English and Portuguese appeared. Travellers have reported that round Lake Tsad are *bond fide* Arab settlers, speaking Arabic, and late reports tell us of the settlement of Arabic-speaking slave-dealers at Nyangwé on the Kongo. The Arabic has materially affected some of the Languages of Africa, such as the Kabáíl, the Swahíli, and the Fulah, and has given birth to imperishable names, such as the first two above quoted, and the Káfir. The Ethiopic, Amháric, and Tigré, are fully illustrated by Grammatical works.

The Hamites passed into Africa from Asia, probably Mesopotamia, and spread from the Red Sea to the Canary Islands, from the Mediterranean to the Niger and Senegál Rivers. The Egyptians must have been last in the procession from the Euphrates to the Nile, and have pushed forward to the West all their predecessors. The affinity of the Hamitic to the Semitic Languages is brought out by a consideration of the essential particulars, in which they, resembling each other, differ from all the other languages of Africa. Although the Hamitic languages of Egypt, Tripolitána, and the Canary Islands, have perished, distinct forms of the same family are spoken in Tunisia, Algeria, Morocco and the Great Sahára, as far South as the banks of the River Senegál. This group of languages existed at the time of the foundation of the Phœnician Colony of Carthage, but it has outlived the Phœnician language of that Colony, and the Latin language of the Roman domination. A second influx of Hamitic languages must have taken place across

the Red Sea into Abyssinia, there also preceding the Semitic. Several varieties of Hamitic languages are found in existence spoken by tribes in a very low state of culture. All these languages, both in Algeria and Abyssinia, have been studied, and separate Grammatical works published. A comparative study of the whole Group, which for convenience is divided into three Sub-Groups, the Egyptian, the Libyan, and the Ethiopic, is much to be desired.

Some authorities, having disposed of the two alien Languages, of the Semites and Hamites, would proceed at once to the description of the great Group of pure Negro Languages, which no doubt are to a great extent conterminous with the Semitic and Hamitic. Other authorities would interpose a third Group, broken up into separate enclaves, which is called the Nuba-Fulah, from the two leading languages. Our information is obviously imperfect, both from a Geographical and Philological point of view, and whatever classification is now made is only provisional. In dealing with a subject on so gigantic a scale, any proposal for subdivision may for convenience be accepted. The Nuba occupy the Nile Valley from the first Cataract to Dóngola; other tribes in the imperfectly known country of the Bahr el Ghazal, such as the Nyam-Nyam Cannibals, and the Monbutto, on the mysterious watershed of the Nile, the Kongo, and the Shari Rivers, and the Masai and Kwáfi more to the East, pushing South of the Equator into the Bantu Region, are provisionally added from alleged, but not sufficiently proved, Grammatical affinities to each other, and divergences from the conterminous Negro and Bantu forms of speech. Far to the West is the Fulah Language, spoken by a superior and conquering race, who have adopted the Mahometan Religion, and established several independent kingdoms in Central Equatorial Africa, North of the Equator, reducing the Negro races to subjection. As Arabic is the Language of Religion in those Regions, so Fulah is the Language of Empire. The Nuba and Fulah Languages have been studied by competent scholars, and some progress made as regards the others.

The Region of the pure Negro, as distinguished from the above-noticed three subdivisions on the North, and from the great Bantu Family, and the unimportant Hottentot to the South, stretches from the Atlantic to the Nile, from the River Senegál round the great Western bend of Africa to the Kamerún Mountains, and the Bight of Biafra. The population is estimated at two hundred Millions, and the distinct languages spoken by them amount to one hundred and ninety-five, in addition to forty-nine dialects. Some of these languages are of the greatest importance, such as the Wolof, the Mandé, the Susu, the Mendé, the Bullom, the Kru, the Grebo, the Ashánti, the Akrá, the Ewé, and the Yáriba, of the Ivory Coast, the Grain Coast, the Gold Coast, and the Slave

Coast. Behind these littoral languages, which have been well studied, and in which portions of the Holy Scriptures have been translated, is a large number of languages less well known, but of whose existence there is no doubt. This makes up the Atlantic Sub-Group of the Negro Group. To the South extends the Niger Sub-Group, spreading up the bed of that great River-way, comprising many important languages, spoken by millions, such as the Idzo, Ibo, Igára, Igbara, Nupé, and Efik, and a crowd of others. In the study of these languages we have had the advantage of the co-operation of pure Negro Scholars, who have evidenced great linguistic powers, entirely sweeping away the old notion, that Negroes had no power of logical discrimination.

Passing into the interior of Negro-land, we come upon the Central Sub-Group, the linguistic varieties of which have been evidenced by the Vocabularies collected by the travellers Burth and Nachtigall. In the midst of several unimportant languages, some grand Vernaculars are conspicuous: the Hausa, which is the great commercial language and lingua franca of the Regions North of the Equator, as the Swahili is to the South: the Súrhai, which is the language of Timbaktú on the Quarrah branch of the Niger: the Kanúri, which is the language of the Central Kingdom of Bornu round Lake Tsad, and the Tibbu, spoken by tribes, who occupy the Western portions of the Great Sahára, South of Tripoli and Fezzan: by some this last has been classed as a Hamitic Language, but the best authorities class it with the Negro Group. The Hausa and Kanúri have been fully illustrated by Grammatical works. Proceeding further West we come on the Nile Sub-Group, occupying the vast regions of the Upper Nile right up to the frontier of the Hamitic Group, and conterminous with the Bantu Family Field at the Victoria Nyanza. In this Group are the important languages of the Dinka and the Bari. A great many of the Negro languages in each of the Sub-Groups have been thoroughly studied by competent European Scholars, and Grammars are available: a great many translations of the Bible have been made, and many more are in progress. Comprehensive Vocabularies are in the Press, and in one or two a large literature, Educational and Religious, is springing up from the local Presses, which are at work. It must be remembered that the phrase "Group" is only a convenient Geographical expression for collecting together languages, which have no proved affinity to each other. A great many theories have been started to explain the origin of this mass of languages, so totally diverse from each other, but nothing satisfactory or conclusive has been arrived at. The Negro is depicted on the walls of some of the earliest Palaces of the old Egyptian Kings, and nothing of a literary character exists in any of them, before they felt the influence of the contact of Arabic, or one of the European languages. With two or three exceptions, the grammatical feature of Gender

is totally absent. A comparative Grammar is much to be desired, and ample material is available, and is being added to daily : but few care, or are able, to master more than three or four of these multiform varieties of speech : this problem is reserved for the next generation.

South of the Equator right to the extremity of Africa is the Region of the Bantu Family of Languages, with the exception of certain enclaves occupied by the Hottentot-Bushman Group. Over this vast Region one uniform and identical system of languages prevails, resembling not only in Grammatical Method, but to a certain extent in Word-Store. No one Scholar knows more than a limited number of the one hundred and sixty-eight languages and fifty-five dialects of this Family, for Family it is in as strict a sense as the Indo-European and Semitic Families. Some of these are magnificent and lordly vernaculars, spoken by Millions, who delight in public orations. The Swahili, the Zulu, the Suto, the Herero, the Bunda, the Kongo, the Pongwe, and the Dualla, are described by those, who know them, as vehicles of speech unparalleled in melody, and comprehensiveness, able by their grammatical method to express every shade of thought, and out of the wealth of their word-stores sufficient to convey every idea, however abstruse, without demanding loan-words from more cultivated languages. The Scriptures in their entirety have been translated in many of these languages. Behind the first row of well-known and literary languages comes a second, and much more numerous, row of languages, which are in the course of development, grammars being compiled, vocabularies collected, and translations commencing ; behind these is a still larger row of distinct, but as yet unstudied, languages, spoken by millions, who are coming under the influence of the European. Each traveller in his journey brings news of new languages ; only a few months ago one of them discovered the course of a new River, and revealed the existence of several languages totally unintelligible to his people ; these I have had to add to my lists : and behind this row of languages, of which we only know that they exist, is another row of languages, of the existence and name of which tidings have not reached us yet, but which will be introduced to us shortly, when the blank spots in the Heart of Africa are filled up by the Traveller and the Missionary. I commend this to the Scholars of the Twentieth Century.

Quite at the South are the Hottentot enclaves, but the language of that tribe appears to be doomed, to be superseded by a bastard Dialect of the Dutch language. The language of the Khoikhoi is thoroughly known, and the Scriptures translated into the Nama Dialect, but the printing has been arrested by the news that the language is in the throes of expiring, and that the younger members of the tribe prefer Dutch. As to the languages of the Bushmen or San, and the other Nomad tribes scattered here and there, as helots

in the midst of the Bántu population, their doom is at hand: if their language is studied, it is only as a linguistic curiosity, and in a few years it will disappear.

A consideration of what is written above will show how vast has been the progress since Dr. Latham read his paper at the Oxford meeting of this Association; there has been an advance both in material and method: he alludes to some *unplaced* languages, that is to say, he had Vocabularies collected from the mouths of slaves, but could not indicate where they were spoken. All such doubts have passed away. No language is now admitted on the list, unless the drawer of the Language-Map can, upon independent grounds, give it a location, and unless the compiler of the list can produce certain evidence that it exists. Many of the names entered may upon closer investigation prove to be only dialects, or perhaps so slightly differentiated as to be identical, though bearing different names; many will be trodden out by the influence of more powerful Vernaculars, and this process of extinction is always going on.

It remains to notice the individuals, to whom we are indebted for this progress. No Government has taken any trouble, or spent any money on the subject, nor can I lay my hands on any book published at State expense, except two most important volumes of Dr. Bleek, the Librarian of the Grey Library of Cape Town, and the Grammars of two Hamitic languages published by the French Government of Algeria. The whole work has been done by Missionary Associations, or private travellers. Among Frenchmen, Hanoteau, Faidherbe, Duveyrier, Lamoise, Kobes, D'Abbadie, Du Berré, Mabile, Arbousset, Halévy. Among subjects of the Queen of England, F. Newman, Norris, Baikie, S. Crowther, Wakefield, New, Henry Johnson, Goldie, Hunter, Moffatt, Roberts, Davies, Livingstone, Steere, Bentley, Saker, Beke, Baikie, Last, Hetherwick, Wilson, Mackay, Laws. Among citizens of the United States, J. C. Wilson, Grout, Payne, H. Stanley, Mackey. Among Germans, Fred. Müller, Lepsius, Bleek, Koelle, Schön, Nylander, Schlenker, Isenberg, Hinderer, Kolbé, Krapf, Rebman, Auer, Schlegel, Christaller, Zimmermann, Barth, Nachtigall, Schweinfurth, Reinisch, Munzinger, Dillmann, Mitterutzner, Hahn, Steinthal. Among Italians, Beltrame, Sapéto, Marno. Among Swedes, Almqvist, Englund. Among Norwegians, Schröder. Among Swiss, Heli Chatelain, Berthoud. Among Spaniards, Zabála. Among Portuguese, Dias, Cannecattim, Brusciottus, Cavalheros.

It must be remembered, also, that at the period when Dr. Latham wrote, much, in fact nearly all, of our information was collected from the mouths of slaves at Cairo, or Sierra Leone, or in the West India Islands: now these men had long left their native country, and had sojourned long periods in intervening countries, acquiring a new language on their road to the Sea Coast; their memories were not trustworthy, and their ideas of the Geographical

position of their country most hazy. Another portion of the information was collected by travellers, who had no particular gifts for Philology, and who merely passed through the country. How different is the position of the Missionary, himself a qualified man, and settled for a long period in the midst of the people, living upon terms of intimacy and friendship with them! Besides, the information collected from slaves, and travellers, was of a transitory character, and there were no means of testing its accuracy. The work of the Missionary is that of a permanent resident, and his colleagues and successors in his School and Chapel soon discover any flaws in his Vocabularies, Grammars, and Translations. In another quarter of a Century the knowledge of the Languages of Africa will be on as firm a basis as that of Asia at the present moment.

A prolonged study of many years, and the sympathy and collaboration of men in every part of Africa, without reference to their nationality, have enabled me to throw together in one treatise all that is known of African Languages at the present epoch ("Modern Languages of Africa," Trübner, 1883). I stand at the bar, awaiting the judgment of the Court of Appeal in the next generation, who will stand, as it were, on our shoulders, availing themselves of our knowledge, and, I hope, pardoning our errors, on account of our good intentions.

Meeting of the British Association at Aberdeen, 1885.

XV.

NOTICE OF THE SCHOLARS, WHO HAVE CONTRIBUTED TO THE EXTENSION OF OUR KNOWLEDGE OF THE LANGUAGES OF AFRICA.

IN the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1879 I was permitted to insert a notice of the scholars, who have contributed to the extension of our knowledge of the Languages of British India during the last thirty years; and upon the occasion of its being read at one of the Society's meetings, considerable interest was shown in the subject. I venture now to intrude with a kindred notice about those scholars, who have devoted their talents, and in many cases their lives, to enlarging our knowledge of the Languages of Africa.

To the Botanist the wild flower is of greater interest than the more beautiful development which is the result of culture. So to the Linguist, the unwritten forms of speech, caught alive as it were from the lips of uneducated savages, who are totally unaware of the wonderful organism, which they are handling, supply deeper lessons than can be found in those languages, whose spontaneous development has been restricted by becoming the vehicle of a written literature. The continent of Africa, year by year, supplies new and wondrous forms, the examination of which will upset many favourite theories, based upon the very limited phenomena supplied by the Arian and Semitic families. I have lately published an account of our existing knowledge of the Modern Languages of Africa, accompanied by a Language-Map, specially prepared from the latest data, and a Bibliographical Appendix showing where the language is spoken with reference to the Language-Map, to what group or family it may provisionally be assigned, and in what separate work, serial, or general treatise, information may at once be obtained, which will enable an inquirer to know what his predecessors have done, and start off rejoicing upon a course of further investigation. This generation will pass away long before we are in possession of anything approaching to a sufficient knowledge of the Languages of Africa.

My present object is to pass lightly over the whole subject, and to record with a loving hand names, which ought to be more known and honoured. It is very well for a University Professor to sit in his arm-chair, and talk wisely about many languages, not one of which he has ever heard pronounced. The individuals, whose names I propose to record, have undergone perils and discomforts, and in many cases sacrificed their lives, in the attainment at first hand of the knowledge, which they have communicated to the learned world. The feeling of astonishment, which welcomed the earlier revelations of unknown tongues, may have passed away, because it has been replaced by a conviction of the boundless stores of language-variety, which exists, and has existed for countless ages, indicating how utterly hopeless and visionary is the speculation as to the origin of language, and how unfounded is the favourite theory of a language altering that organic structure, the germs of which were, as it were, born with it. And two or three great Scholars have already been led by a consideration of the revealed phenomena to question the axiom of the impossibility of the existence of a Mixed Language, and to propound a new system of Classification based on the existence, or non-existence, of Gender.

There are four classes of contributors to our knowledge.

I. In the first order as regards time, and in the lowest order as regards value, are those travellers, often unscientific, and always untrained, who have recorded vocabularies. We gratefully accepted half a century ago such crumbs of knowledge, and in many cases a language is still only represented by such a vocabulary; but care has been taken to indicate to modern explorers the particular classes of words, which should be selected, and the proper mode of uniformly expressing the sounds. Many books of vocabularies and short sentences, prepared in this way, are of the highest value.

II. In the second order come those, who undertake to write a grammar, a dictionary, or a grammatical note on one or more languages; such are not always trained scholars, and many have not the genius for that particular work. Others have come to the work with excellent training; or have found themselves possessed intuitively of the faculty of grasping the real elements of the particular organism. We have two or three scores of such grammars and dictionaries, some of the highest merit, others which make the path ready for a skilled grammarian to follow. In all cases the work is honest, and done upon the spot, to be used at once in schools, and by fellow-labourers, who will immediately bring the work to the test. This is a formidable check on any imposture, which might have passed current in Europe undetected, when the grammatical treatise is written to pass under the eyes of those only, who are even more ignorant than the compiler.

III. In the third order come two or three great scholars, masters

of the principles of Comparative Philology, under whose eyes these grammars and dictionaries, as well as the less valuable vocabularies, pass. Here begins the process of inter-comparison of forms and methods, as well as of words, and the isolated work of many becomes a part of the great scheme of classification.

IV. In the fourth order come the popularizers, or dishers up, of the knowledge acquired by others in a palatable form suited to the taste of an unlearned public. In the form of Lectures and Essays the raw materials of hard-working and unknown scholars are boiled down and served out, and pass current as the result of original inquiry, instead of being mere assimilations of the work of others. This renders necessary an occasional reminder of the names of such original inquirers, which I now propose to make.

My attention has been more particularly called to this subject in the course of the preparation of my *Sketch of the Modern Languages of Africa*. Such a book could not have been compiled thirty years ago, simply because the material had not been worked out by many scores of workmen, acting without any communication with each other. I drew attention to the amount of good work done by Continental scholars, and recorded their names, in the African Section of the Oriental Congress at Berlin last September, remarking how little would have been known, had not German industry and acumen been available, to carry out the work commenced by English energy and resources.

English, French, German, Norwegians, Swedes, Swiss, Spaniards, Portuguese, Italians, citizens of the United States of North America, and African negroes, have contributed to this great work. Some have been servants of the English or French Colonial Governments, but by far the greater portion have been Christian Missionaries, for no other earthly consideration could have induced men to live among the people, and acquire their language, but the highest motives of Christian Benevolence. Whenever in the detail of work done the word "text" appears, it means a translation of the whole or a portion of the Bible, the work of these dead men. Many have visited Africa for the purposes of general Science, or exploré, and have made contributions to knowledge, more or less perfect, but such have rarely attained to an accurate knowledge of any language themselves, still less have they been able to prepare scientific treatises. Lepsius, Almquist, Munzinger, Reinisch, and Fred. Müller, are splendid exceptions. The Dutch, in spite of their long settlement in South Africa, have not contributed one line to Linguistic Science, yet their language, in a debased form, is trading out some of the primeval vehicles of speech of the indigenous inhabitants.

Of the one ancient language of Africa, which has died leaving no lineal living descendant, the old Egyptian and Coptic, it would be impertinent in a paper like this to attempt a proper notice, and yet

it would be incomplete not to mention, that it is designedly omitted. The same remark applies to modern Arabic, which, with more or less purity, is spoken over such wide regions in Africa. Its elder sister, the dead Phœnician, represented in Africa by numerous Inscriptions, is also passed over. English, French, Dutch, Portuguese, and Spanish, are sometimes an additional, sometimes the sole, vehicle of speech of large native communities, but require no notice here. Our remarks are restricted to the work done in indigenous modern Vernaculars; and as an instance of the slight appreciation hitherto extended to this work, it may be mentioned, that in two celebrated series of Lectures on Language, and the Science of Language in its widest sense, by a learned German and American Professor, a few lines were twenty years ago deemed sufficient to illustrate the marvellous phenomena of African languages, and the praiseworthy labours of African scholars.

It may be convenient for our purpose to divide Africa north of the Equator into two regions, stretching one north of the other east to west nearly across the continent; the territory south of the Equator forms a third region; and in each region there are two entirely distinct groups of language, making six in all for the whole of Africa.

The most northerly region comprises the Semitic and Hamitic Families. In the Ethiopic subdivision of the Semitic we must note the grammar and dictionary of Ludolf, dating as far back as 1698 A.D.; Dillmann's grammar and dictionary, dated 1857-62, of the old Ethiopic or Gíz; Prætorius's grammar; Massaia's grammar; Isenburgh's grammar of the Amháric. Abbadie and Isenburgh have contributed dictionaries: there is an old version of the Bible. There exist also learned contributions by Beke, Munzinger, Gesenius, Renan, Sapéto, Schrader, and Krapf. Of the sister-language, the Tigré, we have a grammar by Prætorius, vocabularies by Beurmann and Munzinger, and a text. Of the less well-known Harári we have grammatical notes by F. Müller, Mallet, Burton, and Prætorius.

Passing to the Hamitic Family, and the Libyan Branch, we come in contact with the work of the French scholars, to whom the conquest of Algeria gave great opportunities. The Berber language is the representative of the old Mauritanian and Numidian in its numerous dialects. To Du Ponceau, Faidherbe, Halévy, Venture de Paradis, F. W. Newman, W. Hodgson, De Slane, and Delaporte, we are indebted for grammars, vocabularies, and grammatical notes.

The well-known language of the Kabáil, with its dialects of Showiah and Zouave, is illustrated by the grammar of Hanoteau, the dictionary of Brosselard and Jaubert; also of Créusat, and the grammatical notes of F. Newman, Sierakowsky, and W. Hodgson, and a text. Of the language of the Tuwárik Nomads, the Tamáshek, we have grammars by Hanoteau and Freeman Stanhope. Of the

language of Morocco, the Shilha, we have grammatical notes, vocabularies, and texts by some of the above-mentioned scholars, as well as by Ball, Jackson, and Basset. The British and Foreign Bible Society supplies a text of the Kabáil, and of the Riff Dialect of the Shilha. Of the Zenága dialect, south of the Sahára, on the Senegál frontier, we have a grammatical note by Faidherbe. Far away to the east, on the confines of Egypt, the kindred language of Siwah, in the Oasis of Ammon, is revealed to us by Minútoli.

On turning to the Ethiopic Branch of the Hamitic Family, I can point with satisfaction to a grammar of the Somáli language by Hunter, a great advance upon the grammatical note by Rigby. Of the Galla language Tutschek has published a grammar and dictionary, and another is attributed to Massaia; Lottner, Krapf, Schmidt, and F. Newman have also contributed vocabularies or grammatical notes: there exist also texts of two dialects. Of the Beja-Bishári language, this year has produced a most complete grammar by Almqvist, of Upsála, supplementing the grammatical notes by Lepsius, Munzinger, Fred. Müller, and Halévy, and the vocabularies collected by Seetzen and other travellers. Of the Bogos Reinisch has published a grammatical note and a text, a grammar, and a translation of a gospel. Of the Dánkali, Reinisch supplies a grammar and a collection of texts; Isenburgh, many years ago, published a vocabulary. Of the Agau, Waldmeier has published a vocabulary, and Halévy a grammatical note. The Falásha-Kara, spoken by the Jews of Abyssinia, is a dialect of the Agau, and is represented by a grammatical note by Halévy, and a text. Of the Barea language Reinisch has published a grammar. Reinisch has also published a grammatical note of the Saho, Irob Saho, and Kunáma languages in the German language; and Englund, a Swedish Missionary, has published one of the last-named in the Swedish language. Krapf, Munzinger, Halévy, Abbadie and Beke, have also contributed to our knowledge of the other less well-known languages, or dialects of languages, of this group, towards which a great deal more labour must be devoted.

The second, or central region of Africa, is occupied by two groups of languages, totally distinct from each other, and only associated for geographical convenience: the Nuba-Fulah and the Negro.

In the Nuba-Fulah there are two well-defined subgroups, the Nubian and the Fulah. In the Nubian subgroup Lepsius has illustrated the Nubian or Barabra language with his grammar, a vocabulary, a text, and a disquisition on the languages of Africa generally. Reinisch has also published a grammar. Nerucci, an Italian, has published a dictionary by a Roman Catholic missionary of the seventeenth century, found in manuscript. In the case of an unwritten language, such peeps at the word-store used two centuries ago are most valuable, as marking the degree of fluctuation in the ordinary terms of daily life. Brugsch Bey has carried

the language back, and worked out a comparison with the old Egyptian. Of the Tumále, one of the languages of Kordofan, Tutschek has supplied a grammatical note. Of the Masai, Erhardt has contributed a vocabulary, and Krapf has done the same for the Kwafi. To Schweinfurth we are indebted for our scant knowledge of the Monbutto, Nyam-Nyam, Kredi, Golo; and Petherick, Wilson, Long, Marno, and Ruppell have contributed to the still fainter idea that we can form of other languages indistinctly heard of. Of the Shangalla we know more from the writings of the Italian Beltráme, Beke, Marno, and Halévy.

In the Fulah subgroup Reichhardt and Faidherbe have supplied grammars of the only language, of which there are several marked dialects.

The Negro group, on the other hand, comprises scores of languages, perhaps hundreds, thrown together merely for the purpose of convenience of treatment, all other attempts at classification in the present state of knowledge being hopeless. This may be roughly divided into three geographical subgroups:

I. Western Negroland along the Atlantic shore, viz. Senegambia and the Guinea Coast.

II. Central Negroland, viz. the Basin of the Niger and Lake Tchad.

III. Upper basin of the Nile.

In the first subgroup, under the influence of missionary zeal, many scholars have contributed works of solid value.

Mandingo	Macbriar	grammar, text.
Serawale	Faidherbe	(French) grammatical note.
Vei	Koellé	grammar.
„	Norris	grammatical note.
Susu	Duport	do. do.
Mendé	Schön	grammar.
Wolof	Kobez	(French) grammar.
Serere	La Moise	(do.) do.
Bullom	Nylander	grammar, text.
Temné	Schlenker	do. text.
Sherbro-Bullom	Schön	vocabulary and text.
Súrhai (or Timbaktú)	Barth	grammatical note.
Kru	Usera y Alancon	(Spanish) grammar.
Grebo	Wilson	grammatical note, text.
„	Payne	grammar.
Basa	Crocker	do.
Ewé	Schlegel	(German) grammar, text.
Yáriba	Crowther	grammar, text.
„	Wood	do.
Ashánti	Christaller	do. dictionary, and text.

Akrá or Gá	Zimmermann	grammar, text.
Affetu	Müller	(Gorman) grammatical note, text.

Fanti

Vocabularies exist of other languages.

In the second subgroup, we are indebted to scholars, who either are themselves natives, or have gleaned their knowledge from natives, or have made use of materials collected by others, or to great travellers, who have found time in the midst of their great enterprizes to increase our knowledge.

Ibo	Schön	grammar.
"	Crowther	vocabulary, text.
Efik	Goldie	grammar, dictionary, and text.
Nupé	Crowther	grammar, text.
Igára		text.
Igbira		text.
Idzo		text.

S. Crowther, in his *Diaries of Voyages up the Niger*, has given us vocabularies and grammatical notes of a dozen additional languages, the existence of which cannot be doubted, but the illustration of which will be the work of the next generation. Passing on to Lake Tchad, we have

Hansa	Schön	grammar, dictionary, text.
Kanúri or Bornu	Koelle	grammar.
"	Norris	grammatical note.
Baghirmi	Nachtigall	(German) do.
Tibbu	Nachtigall	(do.) do.
"	Barth	do.
Búdduma	Nachtigall	(German) do.
"	Barth	do.
Logóne	Barth	do.
Wandala	Barth	do.
Maba	Barth	do.
Sara	Nachtigall	(German) do.
Badi Baelo	Nachtigall	(do.) do.
Kuka Lisi	Nachtigall	(do.) do.

In the third subgroup we know little.

Dinka	Mitterreutzner	(German) grammar.
"	Beltrame	(Italian) do.
"	Schweinfurth	(German) grammatical note.
Shilluk	Schweinfurth	(do.) do.
Bari	Mitterreutzner	(do.) grammar.
"	F. Müller	(do.) do.
Bongo	Schweinfurth	(do.) grammatical note.
Kavirondo	Wakefield	vocabulary.

Other first-hand investigators, Long, Marno, Von Heughlin, and Ruppell, have contributed to our scant knowledge of the languages of this region.

The long roll-call of names may to some minds suggest no thoughts, but to me it suggests many. Many of the gallant soldiers of Science fell in the conflict with the pestilential climate; more than one painfully collected store of linguistic knowledge has perished utterly in the burning of a camp, the sinking of a boat, the loss of a trunk or box. Many of these languages have been spoken by generations of men for centuries, but until the present century they have left as little trace as the humming of the insects, and the chirping of the birds. If we are to believe credible evidence, languages have died out, or been crowded out, and new languages, new dialects, have come into existence. Some of these wild languages evidence a most intricate and elaborate organism, which, if they prove nothing else, at least point to the existence in the brains of the speaker of a logical power of reasoning. In some idioms, spoken by apparently similar people, and in fact in cases of bilingual individuals, spoken by the same people, there exists a totally distinct and opposite order of conceptions. What a priceless service have these honest and intelligent collectors rendered to science? One remarkable feature is admitted by all, that, though Agglutination may be the prevailing type, any notion of affinity between particular groups of languages spoken by negroes, ethnically identical, may be set aside.

South of the Equator we enter into a world of totally distinct phenomena. There are two groups, the Bantu and Hottentot-Bushman. The latter occupies a comparatively small inclosure; the former are the offshoots of one common stock, the children of one common mother. Year by year new tribes have come into view, and new languages into the region of hearing, and as yet but half the field has been explored. For convenience of description, I have devised the following geographical distribution, so as to meet present requirements, and provide for future expansion.

Southern Branch, below the tropic of Capricorn.

Eastern Branch, the East Coast from the Victoria Nyanza to the same tropic.

Western Branch, from the Kamerún Mountains to the same tropic.

In each Branch there are three sub-branches, crowded with languages.

The scholars of the Southern Branch are numerous, and have pretty well exhausted their subject. There are three great dominant languages: Kafir, or Xósa, Zúlu, and Chuána. It must be remembered, that this region is in the Temperate Zone, and without derogating from the merit of the scholars, it must be admitted, that their reputation has not been purchased at the

tremendous sacrifices, to which their contemporaries have been exposed in the Equatorial regions.

Zúlu	Schreuder . . .	(Norwegian) grammar.
"	Grout	grammar.
"	Colenso	grammar and dictionary.
"	Perrin	dictionary.
"	Dohne	do.
"	Roberts	do.
"	Boyce	grammar.
Kafir or Xósa . . .	Davis	dictionary, text.
"	Boyce	grammar.
"	Appleyard . . .	do.
"	Roberts	grammatical note.
Chuána	Archbell	grammar, text.
Suto	Casalis	(French) grammar, text.
"	Endemann	(German) do. do.
Gwamba	Berthoud	text.
Tonga or Siga . . .	. . . . .	do.
Pedi . . . . .	. . . . .	do.

Many of these are philological works, which future generations may improve, but scarcely surpass.

The circumstances of the Eastern Branch of the Bántu family are very different. Within this region there have been no great missionary Protestant settlements; a heavy shame lies upon the Portuguese Government, that for more than three centuries they had settlements, and Roman Catholic missions, from Cape Delgado to Lorenzo Marques, and some distance up the Zambési basin to Teté and Zumbo; that they should have been able to send at rare intervals expeditions across the Continent to their settlements on the Western Coast; that on the Western Coast they have left linguistic monuments, of a certain amount of value, and yet on the Eastern Coast from the Equator downwards they have contributed nothing towards the knowledge of the people of the interior. Within the last twenty years this field has been thrown open by the enterprize of Livingstone, Burton, Speke, and Stanley to Protestant missions, and the result is a crop of small linguistic efforts; in only one language do such efforts reach the dignity of a grammar and dictionary.

Swahíli	Stcere	grammar, text.
"	Krapf	dictionary.
"	Krapf	grammar.
Kagúru . . . . .	. . . . .	text.
Makúa	Maples	grammatical note.
Yao	Steere	do. text.
Nyanja	Rebman	dictionary.

Nyanja	Proctor	grammatical note, text.
"	Riddell	do. do.
Kondé	Steere	do. do.
Nyamwézi	Steere	do. do. text.
Shambála	Steere	do. do.
Gindo	Steere	vocabulary.
Zarámo	Steere	do.
Angazidja (Komoro I.)	Steere	do.
Gogo	Clark	do. text.
Bondei	Woodward	grammatical note, text.
Ganda	Wilson	do. do. text.
Pokómo	Krapf	vocabulary.
Nyika	Krapf	do.
Kamba	Krapf	do.
Chagga	New	do.
Teita	New	do.
Nyóro	Emin Bey	do.
Teté	Bleek and Peters	do.
Sena	Bleek and Peters	do.
Kilimáue	Bleek and Peters	do.
Máravi	Bleek and Peters	do.
Inhabáue	Bleek and Peters	do.

All these are but the budding promises of a future harvest, as from every quarter the report reaches me of translations of the Scriptures preparing, and grammatical notes being compiled.

In the Western Branch we come face to face with a totally distinct state of affairs. Three hundred years ago the Portuguese authority, and the Roman Catholic religion, were established in the great kingdom of Kongo and the province of Angóla, which last remains as a Portuguese province to this day. Brusciottus di Vetralla published at Rome a grammar of the Kongo in the Latin language in 1699 A.D. I was able to examine a copy of this work at the Angelica Library at Rome October, 1879; most probably no one had asked for it for a century. My inspection led to my friend, Mr. Grattan Guinness, looking for it in the British Museum Library, finding it, having a copy taken of it, translating it, and publishing it. Thus Brusciottus has obtained a new life, and will become the seed-plot of new grammars. Desirous of leaving no stone unturned to discover the works of the Jesuit missionaries, I called on the late Mr. Desborough Cooley, a veteran author on African subjects, who had closely examined the Portuguese authors. I found him at the age of 87, stone deaf, but ready to help me: he produced a box full of manuscripts, written by himself with wonderful clearness, which represented the materials for works, which he once intended to publish. Among them was a voluminous dictionary of Kongo and French, copied as far as letter E; upon inquiry where the original was, I was referred to the Grenville

Library of the British Museum, and there Mr. Grattan Guinness found a manuscript volume containing ten thousand words, which has been copied, and printed.

In the neighbouring province of Angóla, the language spoken is called Bunda; in the year 1697, Pedro de Dias published a grammar in this language, copies of which are in existence. In 1804 the Capuchin Canne cattim published a grammar and dictionary in the Portuguese language. This is the extent, to which Science has to thank the Portuguese lay and clerical authorities during the many centuries of their jealous occupation of the West Coast. Within the last forty years, since English Protestant and French Catholic Missionaries have established themselves, the following books have appeared :

Hereró (Damaruland)	Hahn	(German) grammar, text.
„	Kolbé	(do.) dictionary.
Loango.	Bastian	(German) grammatical note.
Kongo	Bentley	dictionary, text.
„	Grattan Guinness	grammar.
Umbundo	Sanders	text.
Mbundu	Chatelain	grammar.
Teké	Sims	text.
Pongwé	American Board	grammar, text.
	of Missions	
„	French Roman	grammar and dictionary.
	Catholic Mission	
„	Delaporte	Vocabulary.
Kelé	American Board	grammar, text.
	of Missions	
Benga	Mackey	grammar, text.
Dualla	Saker	grammatical note, text.
„	Saker	vocabulary.
Isubú	Merrick	grammatical note.
Bubi	Merrick	vocabulary.
Fernando Po I.	Clarke	grammar.

In this Region also each year will bring additional languages to our knowledge from the establishment of the Kongo Administration, and the labours of the Livingstone, and the English and American Baptist Missionary Societies.

In the region south of the Equator there is a second group of languages, the Hottentot-Bushman, comprising two languages, totally distinct from each other, that spoken by the Hottentots, and that spoken by the Bushmen. Of the four Hottentot dialects, that of the Nama is the only survivor; the others seem to have succumbed to Dutch. In the Nama we have a grammar by Hahn (German), Tindull and Wallman (German), a grammatical note by Charency (French), besides vocabularies and notes included in

other works, and a text. The Bushman language is still only imperfectly illustrated by grammatical notes by Hahn and others. In this group must be included the Dwarf or Pigmy tribes found in different parts of Equatorial Africa, of one description of which only we have a grammatical note by Beltr  me of the Akka language in Italian.

Independently of the particular works devoted to one language, many most valuable works have been published in a collective form, containing information sometimes at second-hand, sometimes at first-hand; or at least written by persons who have sojourned a certain time in Africa. Such authors are Bleek, Beke, Munzinger, Hal  vy, Koell  , Abbadie, Lepsius, Fredk. M  ller, L  ttner, Reinisch, Barth, Steinthal, Schweinfurth, Nachtigall, Bastian, Baikie, and many others. Thanks are also due to those, who have conscientiously worked at second-hand, with an entire ignorance of any one of the languages spoken; such as Latham, Hovelacque, J  lg, Balbi, and the authors of Mithridates, and the anonymous Dictionary of Languages. In most cases one author has repeated the other, oftentimes without notice of the original source of information, forgetting, that the entry in such compilations depends upon the authority quoted for its value. The real motive power has been supplied by the Missionary Societies, and the Bible Societies, of Great Britain and America. Nothing but Christian zeal would have induced scholars to spend long periods, at the risk of their lives, among a most uncongenial people in a detestable climate. When the utility of Foreign Christian Missions is questioned, let scholars say a good word in their favour. The majority of the languages alluded to have no literature, and had never been reduced to writing. There was therefore no question of learning an existing form of script. At the request of some of the Missionary Societies the late Professor Lepsius devised a Standard Alphabet; but in dealing with German scholars (and the majority of Bible translators are German) the maxim applies: *Quot hominum, tot sententiarum*; the consequence is, that there is a variety of the adapted Roman alphabets, and the use of a common alphabet is as distant as ever.

It remains to notice, that in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society is a collection of African philological works, the nucleus of which was supplied by Sir Bartle Fr  re, when Governor of the Cape, through the kind offices of Miss Lloyd, sister-in-law of the lamented Dr. Bleek. In the Library of the Royal Geographical Society are some African philological books. In the Library of the India Office are some African books relating to the East Coast. The Church Missionary Society, the Wesleyan Missionary Society, the British and Foreign Bible Society, the Christian Knowledge Society, in their libraries or dep  ts, possess works which are to be obtained nowhere else. Those, who require more than the above libraries supply, must purchase, as I have had to do. From the

stores of Trübner, Quaritch, and Williams & Norgate, in London; of Maisonneuve at Paris, and of Köhler at Leipzig; by applications to friends in Portugal, Spain, France, Switzerland, Italy, Germany, Austria, the United States, and every part of Africa, the books required have gradually come in, and many a kind present has to be thankfully acknowledged. Where a printed copy could not be obtained, I have received a copy of the whole work in manuscript. The same trouble will not occur again in hunting out existing works, as new books, or omitted books, will drop into their right places in the Bibliographical Appendix which accompanies my published "*Languages of Africa.*" The British Museum had the pick of my African Library, when my work was done, and the remainder were sold, for books should not remain unused.

Only a small portion of the work that has to be done has as yet been accomplished. Another generation must die out before our knowledge of the languages of Africa reaches the level of our knowledge of the languages of Asia, and it is notorious that even that is far from complete. However, till we have approached nearer to an idea of the number and nature of languages actually spoken at this moment, it is mere waste of time to speculate on the origin of Language, or to spin idle cobwebs about the existence of a primeval form of speech. Let that rest, until we have more reliable data.

It may be objected, that Africa is outside the orbit of the Royal Asiatic Society; but papers relating to African languages have been from time to time admitted into our Journal, the earliest being in the year 1835. When a Royal African Society comes into existence, the duty, now undertaken in the interests of the neglected and trodden-down Continent, will be readily surrendered to its proper representatives. At any rate, I am only treading in the steps of my distinguished predecessor, Edwin Norris, and of each of us it may be said:

—— hic est, quem non capit Africa, Mauro
Percussa Oceano, Niloque admota tepenti:
Rursus ad Æthiopum populos, aliosque elephantos.

JUVENAL, Sat. X. 148.

Journal of Royal Asiatic Society, with additions up to 1881.

P.S.—In my earnest desire to add to our knowledge of the word-store of languages, dimly and imperfectly known, I issued a Circular, copy of which is subjoined (A), and in the hope of staying the yearly increasing confusion of scores of different adaptations of the Roman Alphabet, I issued the second Circular, copy of which is subjoined (B). I regret to say that no practical results have arisen from either.

London, October, 1890.

(A)

ON THE SUBJECT OF UNIFORM VOCABULARY OF CAREFULLY
SELECTED STANDARD WORDS.

DEAR SIR,

I take the liberty of forwarding to you a copy of a form of "Selected Words and Sentences," which the Church Missionary Society is about to distribute among its Missionaries in Africa, in order that it may be filled up in all the languages, and separate dialects of languages, in use in their different fields.

This form was prepared several years ago by the Council of the Bengal Asiatic Society, and distributed in the different provinces of British India by the Local Government; and the returns have been collected and printed in a volume, and for the first time the number and nature of the languages of a *second rank* were discussed and recorded. Of course, the more important languages were well known previously.

If we could do the same thing for Africa, a great point would be gained. I have the pleasure of forwarding to you a copy of my "Survey of the Modern Languages and Dialects of Africa," which amount to nearly six hundred, but all vocabularies have been excluded, so as to limit the bulk of the work. It would be a further step in advance to publish a volume of Vocabularies, carefully compiled by men in the field, and transliterated on one uniform principle. The Lepsius Standard Alphabet is preferable; but, if the compiler of each vocabulary states in a note the system of transliteration which he has adopted, and faithfully adheres to it, there will be no difficulty to the compiler of the general volume to understand it. Then, and then only, will any inter-comparison of languages be possible, and gradually a classification will be worked out.

A compilation of this kind will greatly assist the Missionary in the preparation of vernacular works, and will be highly appreciated by the British and Foreign Bible Society, and I venture to ask your friendly co-operation.

(B)

ON THE SUBJECT OF A UNIFORM STANDARD ADAPTED
ROMAN ALPHABET.

DEAR SIR,

You are aware, that nearly all the languages of Africa are illiterate, that is to say, have no peculiar form of written character, the existence of which in a great variety is so remarkable a feature of the languages of Asia. Setting aside the wholly impracticable idea of devising an entirely new alphabet, it has been generally,

and for a long period, accepted, that some one form of the Roman alphabet should be adopted by the Missionaries in their Schools and for their Translations. But it soon became evident, that the letters of the ordinary Roman alphabet were quite insufficient to represent distinctly all the sounds, which had developed themselves in each language.

This difficulty became very urgent, was discussed, and remedies were suggested. In 1856, the late Professor C. R. Lepsius, a scholar of the highest repute, after mastering the subject, not only as regards the languages of Africa, but the whole of the world, published his "Standard Alphabet," reducing all unwritten languages to a uniform orthography in European letters, and many Missionary Societies formally proclaimed either their adhesion to, or their approval of his conclusions.

A second edition of the "Standard Alphabet" was published, in 1863, at London and Berlin, with the words, "Recommended for adoption by the Church Missionary Society," on the title-page.

It is worthy of remark, that the great scholars, who have been employed in the field of African philology, and have mastered the subject of comparative philology, such as Schön, Koellé, Zimmermann, Schlegel, Christaller, and others, have uniformly adhered to this Standard; but of late it has fallen out of sight, or has been actually forgotten; it has never been known to some, and has been deliberately departed from by others. The consequence is, that a lamentable diversity of practice prevails, and one Author remarks, that on the West Coast of Africa there are no less than six varieties of the adapted Roman alphabet. It will occur to all, that the position of affairs in Asia is more tolerable than this. A great variety of totally distinct symbols represents the sounds of the different languages of Asia; but in Africa the strange inconvenience will arise of the same or similar symbols being used with a different value attached to them in different languages, possibly spoken in the same town or the same Mission, requiring an explanatory chapter to precede every treatise, or rather, every publication, and adding considerably to the trouble of acquiring and using a new language. The necessity of different founts of types is at once an expense and a scandal.

Already an inconvenience is felt. In the survey, which I have lately made of all the languages of Africa, it has forced itself on my notice. That the French translators should adopt the same system as the English and German was not to be hoped for. The Portuguese works are so few, that their divergence does not signify, and they will be superseded; but a great point would be gained, if the English and Germans would agree to adopt the same mode of transliteration, yield up their own private opinions, and accept the Lepsius Standard with such slight variations, as are obviously required by each language.

The trouble arises in every part of Africa. The mischief will be very serious, as whole tribes are taught the different methods, and will cling to them with tenacity. Moreover, the same language is sometimes exposed to the torture of two systems. Swahili on the East Coast, Ashanti on the West, are being exposed to a perilous rivalry of alphabets. Moreover, changes seem from time to time to be made, and the elder Missionaries, who, at home, are employed to correct proofs, find themselves at war with their juniors in the Field, and the Committees have embarrassing questions of technical detail submitted to them, which could all have been avoided, if the Lepsius Standard were adhered to, as one of the standing orders of the Parent Society.

Some inconvenience may be experienced in effecting a change to the uniform Standard, but it will obviate much greater inconvenience hereafter; at any rate it is worth making the attempt in the case of old Missions, where a different system has been adopted. But as regards new Missions, it is earnestly hoped, that the labourers in the Field, to whom the subject is a new one, be without delay supplied with copies of the Lepsius Standard, and urged to adopt it without fail.

The Church Missionary Society having placed some copies of the second edition of the Lepsius Standard at my disposal, I venture to forward one for your acceptance. A very large edition of 1500 copies was published at Berlin in 1863, and it is not likely that it has been exhausted. Every Mission should be supplied with two or three copies, and allusion made to the subject in the Missionary periodicals.

PART II.
I N D I A .

I.

INDIAN WISDOM. BY SIR MONIER MONIER-WILLIAMS, BODEN PROFESSOR, OXFORD, 1875.

THE object of this book is briefly stated in the Preface, and is a reply to the question: "Is it possible to obtain a good general idea of the character, and contents, of Sanskrit literature? Is it possible to get an insight into the mind, habits of thought, and customs, of the great Hindu people, and a correct knowledge of a system of belief, and practice, which has prevailed for three thousand years?"

No one volume did assuredly contain a *précis* of such knowledge, and I am satisfied, that any one, who would dip into these pages, systematically as a student, or cursorily as an amateur, would not fail to rise up with a feeling of pleasurable wonder at the intellectual phenomenon of an isolated literature of such expansion, and such variety, yet free from contact with the outer world. The Hindu sage borrowed nothing (except the Phœnician alphabet), imitated nothing, was even aware of the existence of nothing beyond the limits of his literary consciousness, and the peculiar bent of the National genius. In the dawn of his intellectual life he composed Vedic hymns, and elaborated a system of Nature-worship: to preserve the correct understanding of these treasures he composed a system of Commentaries, and spun a web of Grammar, the like of which the world has never seen. As he advanced in self-consciousness, different orders of Hindu minds worked out different systems of philosophy, some religious, some opposed to all religions. As each generation overlaid the work of its predecessor, new dogmas arose, new modes of treating old doctrines, new definitions, new hair-splittings, which few can understand without contracting a headache, and a bewilderment of mind, and the majority cannot understand at all.

A later age began to make laws, and codify laws, to construct a cast-iron system for the control of all future generations, the strangling of all new ideas, the arrest of all possible progress. Vain effort at Banáras as at Rome! At the same period the fountain of Poetry, which lies at the bottom of the hearts of all nations, burst forth into magnificent epics in glorification of the heroes, and demigods, of the past: to them in due course succeeded the drama, and a class of Poems, which may be called Elegiac, or

Lyric, and prose writings of a didactic character. Last of all were the legendary tales and traditions, written in a later age to prop up the uncompromising Pantheism, to which centuries of intellectual isolation, and philosophical conceit, had reduced the Hindu in spite of his fine intellect, unwearied industry, and magnificent literature. Of genuine history there is not one reliable fragment.

And the whole of this literature is clothed in Sanskrit, a language of unrivalled force, variety, and flexibility, wonderfully preserved, considering that for many centuries the Vedic hymns were handed orally from mouth to mouth, until about four hundred years before Christ, at the very latest, the necessity of a written medium made itself felt, as the retention of the accumulated mass of commentary exceeded even the power of an Eastern memory; that any indigenous alphabet was elaborated in India is neither asserted in their books, nor hypothetically probable. The Hindu is far too self-conscious, and given to fable, to have omitted notice of this invention, if it had been home-born: it would have been attributed to Ganesa, or some divinely-inspired sage: as a fact it came in without notice, and is no doubt a loan from Western Europe, being clearly the issue of the great Phœnician alphabet, a branch of which, either the South Arabian, or the Bactrian, or the Mesopotamian, transmitted it to India so early, that it appears in a two-fold form in the Asôka Inscriptions two hundred and fifty years before the Christian era.

The author has done good service in enabling the extent and nature of this great literary treasure to be understood within reasonable limits, and in a popular form. It is a surprising fact, that this great literature, in its long solitary course, like the Nile, received no affluents, and yet by some universal law of intellectual life should have been developed into the same forms of dogma, legend, philosophy, epos, and the drama, which are represented in the cognate literature of the Greeks and Romans. If the soldiers of Alexander the Great in the fourth century before Christ had not mutinied in the Panjâb, the result might have been different. The Chinese Classics have maintained from the earliest period the same isolation, but the materials are slowly collecting, which will enable the next generation to grapple on the comparative method with the great problem of the growth of thought and knowledge in the older world, as evidenced in the literary remains of mankind in his entirety, which have survived the wreck of ages.

Much has been done to prepare translations of the chief works, such as the Vedic hymns, the law-books, the dramatic books, the epics, the philosophical treatises, and the legends: they vary in method and wideness of scope, but there has never hitherto existed any one work of moderate dimensions, like the present, accessible to the general reader, compiled with the direct aim of giving the student, who is not necessarily a Sanskritist, a continuous sketch

of the chief departments of Sanskrit literature, Vedic and Post-Vedic, with translations of select passages to serve as examples for comparison with the literary productions of other countries. Such was the author's avowed object, and I consider that he has succeeded. Not only is such a conspectus of the knowledge and literature of the Hindu valuable as throwing light upon the feelings and customs of the great people, but it has the additional advantage of enabling the general scholar to compare the output of the Hindu mind, and genius, with similar productions of other Nations at their respective epochs of rise and fall. The author has wisely, out of the abundance of his material, restricted himself within such limits, as will popularize his subject: those, who seek for more, know where to find it.

Throughout these pages we find a healthy catholic spirit on the religious aspect of the question: no sickly, or faint-hearted, depreciation of the truth and excellence of the faith adopted by European nations for many generations, but an ample acknowledgment of the strong points of other Religions of other countries at an earlier epoch, and a calm refutation of the dishonest and ignorant notion, that all, that is good in Ethics and Dogma, sprang into existence at one moment at the time of the Christian era. It is one of the special advantages of having a long series of the productions of many centuries, that we are able to note how the innate longing after goodness in the human race strove to make itself known in spite of the environment of disadvantageous circumstances.

It is impossible to do more than notice the heads of a book, which is in itself an epitome of the treasures of the most learned nation of the East, where, like everything else, literature is on a gigantic scale. It speaks volumes for the tolerance of the Mahometan Rulers of India for eight centuries, that such a mass of literature should have escaped the ravages of bigotry. Time and Climate have also been merciful. So much of the treasures of Greek and Rome perished. The literature of the ancient Semitic Race has totally disappeared. The Brahmins in India have but few losses to deplore.

Of the Veda the author gives specimens in blank verse of the hymns to the great Nature-Deities, which occupied the thoughts of the fathers of the race, who penetrated from the North-West into the Panjáb. Not as yet had the conceptions of Vishnu and Siva been worked out: they belong to a later age. The Elements, and the Dead, were the simple objects of primeval worship. Hymns of praise and thanksgiving, rituals to appease and conciliate, were the halting machinery of unassisted men, the first feeling after God, who spoke to them *not* by His *Word*, but by His *Works*, the uncertain light of natural phenomena. As the world grew older, the everlasting problem of life and death: the riddle of riches and

poverty, of youth and old age; the mere toss-up of sickness or health, good or evil luck; the nice question of so-called Virtue, and so-reputed Vice, forced themselves on the notice of thinking minds; and, as they worked on in an unceasing unrelenting round, induced that system of introspection, which men called Philosophy, and about 600 B.C. the great Philosophic age began to dawn all over the world, ushered in by such wise men as Zoroaster, Confucius, Pythagoras, and the Indian Sages. In that birth came into existence the six schools of Indian Philosophy.

Nothing is more striking, as the author shows, than the existence of such divergence of opinion in one rigid framework. Brahmanism, and Rationalism, under the semblance of orthodoxy, advanced hand in hand. New ideas were conceived, expanded, blossomed, and in the case of Buddhism appear to have been forcibly extinguished by some exterior power. The author remarks, that Buddhism, a pure Arian conception, has found chief favour among races, who do not speak Arian languages, while the great majority of races, who speak Arian languages, have adopted Semitic dogma. Such is the irony of the Human Destiny.

I pass lightly over the Veda, Bráhmāna, Upanishad: the account of the Jains, and of the Bhágavad-gita have a strange fascination: I arrive now at the Epic Poems, and the classical age of Sanskrit literature. The author enters into details on this subject, and compares the Sanskrit Epics with the great Homeric Poems, and as one, who have been familiar from my youth with the great Sanskrit, Greek and Latin Epics, I hesitate to decide which deserves the palm of superiority. The author adds a choice selection of religious and ethical sentiments as the best test of the degree of moral perception, and human sympathy, at which their compilers, and those, who *then*, and *still*, hang rapturously on their recitation in the Vernacular, had arrived. Virtue, and Patience, and Innocence triumph, and Crime meets with just punishment.

What may be called the artificial Poems deserve some notice: they comprise noble poems, which illustrate both the beautiful flexibility of the Sanskrit language, and the defects of taste of the writers, in the meaningless play of words, the fanciful conceits, the linked sweetness long drawn out of words chained by the Laws of Euphony into a compact sentence-word: the idea spun out to the finest thread, and the intricate Grammatical forms. In these particulars no poem in any language can compete as regards singularity, charm of originality, and highly wrought finish, with the Raghuvasa, and Meghadúta of Kalidása. I read them first fifty years ago, when fresh from the Sixth Form of Eton, and some of the sounding lines still rise in my memory above even the grandeur of the Homeric, or sweetness of the Virgilian, strains. Many a student, who can read the Epics, or the Laws of Manu with facility, will find a deeper study necessary to open the locks of a

Poem, where every Sloka presents a separate puzzle: and the grand Sonorous Indravajra lines echo through the corridors of time with a rhythmical vibration, which can never be forgotten: the great Homeric hexameters even read tamely by the side of the masterpieces of Kalidása, whose exuberant genius runs riot in the unlimited use of melodious homophones.

The Purána are practically the Veda of popular Hinduism: they are modern in date, very numerous, and of varying popularity: they are designed to convey the esoteric doctrines of the Veda to the lower Castes, and to women: their motive therefore is good. The compilers however fell into the pitfall of pretending to know everything, and teach every subject of human knowledge, to give the history of the whole Universe from the remotest age, and to be the inspired revealers of Scientific, as well as theological, truth: they represent therefore a cross betwixt the Papal Syllabus, and the Penny Cyclopædia; and are justly charged with questionable omniscience. The sincere Hindu maintains, that the Veda were actually brought from Heaven, and not only comprise all knowledge existing at the date of their appearance, but all possible knowledge, that can ever be developed afterwards. Pope Pius IX. is only a latter-day asserter of the monopoly of Infallibility.

I rise from a study of this book with a sense of the great service, rendered to the student and the general Scholar by the bringing together for the first time in a readily accessible form the corpus of Indian Wisdom. Those only, who commenced the study of Sanskrit nearly fifty years ago can fully appreciate the value and assistance of such a volume. At that time no one could say with certainty what were the boundaries of Sanskrit literature: when we look back to the period, everything seems very dark indeed. The last half century has been one of constant expansion, of annual gatherings-in of a rich harvest: many nations have contributed to the work, and now my old fellow-collegian and life-friend Professor Monier-Williams has given us a conspectus of the whole subject, a mine of reference, and a vade mecum of future Scholars. It is a real subject of congratulation, that Great Britain still maintains its ancient fame acquired in the heroic age of the grand Hindu triad, Jones, Colebrooke, and H. H. Wilson, to whom the proud title of "Primi in Indis" is cheerfully conceded by all European Scholars.

Athenæum, London, 1875, with additions, 1890.

II.

THE ADI GRANTH, OR THE SACRED BOOK OF
THE SIKHS. BY DR. ERNEST TRUMPP.

IN 1859 two civil officers, holding high posts in the Province of the Panjáb, in Northern India, Sir Donald McCleod, and Mr. R. N. Cust, took counsel together to have a translation made of the sacred book of the Sikhs into some accessible vernacular, such as Hindustani or English, as it seemed a blot, that the contents of these books should still remain a mystery. A correct copy was secured in manuscript from the lineal descendant of the Fourth Guru, or spiritual leader, Sadhú Singh, and the India Office sanctioned the employment of a distinguished German Scholar, late a Missionary of the Church Missionary Society in India, and at the time Professor of Oriental Languages at Munich, to undertake a task, for which he was peculiarly qualified, having had his attention particularly called to the Vernaculars of the Northern frontier. The task proved tedious and difficult. Dr. Trumpp had to proceed to India to obtain assistance from written commentaries, and oral explanations, and the result of his labours is now presented to the public in the volume before me.

The sacred books of the Sikhs take rank neither with the pre-historical Veda, nor the voluminous literature of the Buddhist and Jain, nor with the Korán, nor even the Purána. They are confessedly an expression of religious conceptions as modern as those of Luther and Calvin. Nanak, the founder, was born in the Panjáb 1469 A.D., and died 1538 A.D., and he founded not a new religion, but a new Sect of the Neo-Brahminical system, which was established in India under the forms of Vaishnavism, and Saivism, after the expulsion of the Buddhists in the seventh or eighth century of the Christian era. He had been preceded by many distinguished reformers, whose main ideas seem to have been to oppose the Brahmins, abolish Caste, and attempt to spiritualize a dead idolatry: the most conspicuous of these was a man named Kabír. These reformers had worked upon the great conception of the incarnation of God, called the Avatár of Vishnu, and Saving Faith in Vishnu, or Bhakti, by which total dissolution of individual existence, and re-absorption of the soul into the fountain of light, could be obtained. It is necessary to bear in mind the epoch of the world, at which Nanak appeared, and the relation, which he bears to the philosophers and sectarians, who preceded him, to form a right judgment of his work. At all periods of their long existence the Hindu has been exceedingly tolerant of the wildest speculation, and independent sects.

Nanak was born, lived, and died in the Panjáb of a respectable Caste, next in rank to that of the Brahmin. I have visited the

scenes of his birth, life and death. He had no scholastic knowledge: he travelled, as a fakír, in many parts of India, and it is asserted, that he got as far as Arabia, which I doubt. It is stated, with some probability, that he came face to face with the Emperor Baber, who at that time was founding the Moghul dynasty on the ruins of the Pathán. He led a peaceful life, never shed blood, and founded a new Sect with the distinct understanding, that they were not to be a monastic order, but continue the ordinary occupations of married life under his new rules of piety, faith, obedience, the way of Salvation being open to all from the highest to the lowest Caste: this was his great innovation. Passing over his sons, he named a disciple as his spiritual successor, or Guru: he again in due course named a disciple as his successor: the office became hereditary in the family of the fourth Guru, and ended with the tenth Guru, Govind, a contemporary of the Emperor Aurungzéb. This Monarch's persecutions led to the conversion of an exceedingly peaceful, and retiring, religious Sect into a warlike military confederation, which eventually uprooted the Mahometan power, and founded a Sikh polity, that only ceased in 1849, when the Panjáb passed under the rule of British India. Since then the Sikhs have remained peaceful sectaries: their peculiarities have become very much softened by entire religious toleration, and friendly contact with their orthodox Hindu brethren: they never had really abandoned Caste, or the cultus of Hindu divinities, or Hindu pilgrimages. With the Mahometans they are at peace, and it is quite possible, that the Sect may die out, or merge into some new religious development, as many similar Sects have done before.

The book before us consists of writings by Nanak and his spiritual successors Angad, Amar Dás, Ram Dás, and Arjan, the last of whom collected the scattered documents, and fixed the Canon of the *Adi Granth*, or First Volume. Two small additions were made to it by two of his successors: Guru Govind Singh wrote the Second *Granth*, which has not yet been translated. *Grantha* means "book" in the Indian languages. In the body of the *Adi Granth* are extensive quotations from Kabír, and the other Sectarians, who preceded Nanak in the task of spiritual reform: this fact gives linguistic interest to the volume, as it thus contains specimens undoubtedly genuine of the great Vernaculars of North India at different periods, and places, and all of a date much anterior to the current Panjábí and Hindi languages. The *Granth* thus may be said to be written in an archaic Vernacular, and in a peculiar form of the Indian Written Character called *Gurmúkhí*. This is often quite unintelligible from the use of obsolete words, and presents most interesting examples of grammatical inflections, intermediate betwixt the Synthetic Prakrits, and the Analytic modern Vernaculars. This alone gives a great value to Dr. Trumpp's labours, and it was hoped, that he would be able to publish a grammatical

treatise on this archaic form of speech. The real meaning of the *Adi Granth* is in many instances totally unknown to the Sikhs themselves, who possess no learned class. The Brahmins, who from generation to generation have taken pains by Commentaries and grammatical treatises to keep alive the meaning, or at least some scholastic interpretation of the meaning, of their sacred Sanskrit books, would not so much as look at the Vernacular effusions of an heretical teacher, any more than Cardinal Manning would look at Bishop Ryle's tracts.

Dr. Trumpp characterizes the book as one of the most shallow and empty ever written : it is full of vain repetitions, and, though I lived many years amidst the Sikhs, I do not pretend to have read through its tedious and interminable rhapsodies, nor could I recommend any one to do so : the volume is a large one. The tenets of the Sect are a strange amalgamation of Monotheism, Pantheism, and Polytheism. While the unity of the Deity is loudly asserted, Pantheism of the rankest kind is self-evident on every page : at the same time the worship of the lower classes was unquestionably Polytheistic, the Guru being added to the number of divinities. The doctrine of transmigration of souls was a snare, from which no Hindu philosopher, no founder of a new Sect, not even the atheistic Buddha, could escape. That one doctrine is the common property, and the only common property, of every one of the post-Vedic religious conceptions, as being to their apprehension the only possible explanation of the sadly capricious distributions of temporal blessings to the unworthy, and the unmerited sufferings of the virtuous and innocent : this could only be accounted for by reference to what has happened in previous births, and what might happen in future births. Upon this was grafted the truly marvellous idea of Faith in Vishnu to bring about freedom from the endless toil of transmigration : the object therefore being personal extinction, there could be no room for the joys of a future state in such a system.

Dr. Trumpp deserves thanks for this work, and the way in which it has been executed. The great name of the Sikh polity has reflected a celebrity on the tenets of the supposed *new religion*, which it never deserved. Two things are clear to me, as the result of long intimacy with the people, that Sikhism is but a Sect of Hinduism, and is gradually becoming absorbed into the greater system. As to the alleged amalgamation of Hindu and Mahometan, it was neither contemplated by Nanak, nor realized in the slightest degree. The mysticism of the Mahometan Sûfi, and of the speculative Hindu rationalist, may have a common intellectual ground, but there can be no point of contact between one religious system based upon strict Monotheism, and one founded on uncompromising Pantheism.

Athenæum, London, 1878, with additions, 1890.

APPENDIX. OBITUARY NOTICE.

Dr. Ernest Trumpp was born in the year 1828 in Wurtemberg, the son of a carpenter, a simple devout man, and with classical knowledge. As a boy he exhibited good talents and a desire for knowledge, which led to the Church becoming his profession. He proceeded to the Tübingen University, and there studied Oriental Languages: circumstances led to his becoming a Missionary of the Church Missionary Society, and being in 1848 sent to India, he was stationed at Karáchi. Ill health compelled him to return to Germany in 1858. On his return to India, he was sent to the Afghan frontier to study the Pastu language, which he mastered. In 1864 he left the service of the Society, and took parochial work in Wurtemberg.

In the year 1870 the Government of British India, at the suggestion of Mr. R. N. Cust, Commissioner of Amritsar, requested him to come out again to India, and translate the sacred books of the Sikhs, which work he accomplished most satisfactorily. He compiled Grammars of Pastu, and Sindhi, a Grammatical Note of Kafiri, and Dardúi, and settled upon the texts sent to him by Mr. R. N. Cust the position of the Brahúi language. In 1884 he became totally blind, and died in 1885.

 III.

 ESSAYS ON INDIAN SUBJECTS. BY BRIAN
HOUGHTON HODGSON, 1880.

THIS is a remarkable volume of the collective Essays of a remarkable man, who in green old age (aged 90) is still among us, though some of his writings date back to a period, when men of seventy were still boys at school, and these Essays register the high-water mark of a particular branch of linguistic knowledge, which up to this date has never been exceeded. At a time, when one portion of the influential classes of India were laying undue stress upon the study of Sanskrit, a language which had been dead for centuries, and a second portion went to the other extreme of wishing to make English the vehicle of instruction of the people of India, Mr. Hodgson saw, that it was by means of the Vernaculars alone, that any general enlightenment of a Nation could be attained, and the principles, which he preached in vain then, have long ago become the rule of practice. When I landed in India in 1842, I found the battle betwixt the Sanskritists under Horace Hayman Wilson, and the Anglicists under Thomas Babington Macaulay, still raging, but both these extreme views have long given way to the principle, that the instruction of a Nation must be in their Vernacular.

More than this, Mr. Hodgson, availing himself of the rare opportunities, which a residence of twenty years at Khatmandú, the capital of the kingdom of Nepál in the Sub-Himálaya, supplied, deliberately studied the manners, and languages, of the numerous tribes, which occupied what is now known as the field of the Tibeto-Barmán Family. With pen in hand he interviewed deputations of Hill men, and jotted down vocabularies, and colloquial phrases, which fell from the mouths of different specimens of humanity at different stages of civilization, and thus threw a light into corners, never previously, or since, explored. Some portions of these results, hitherto scattered in the volumes of the Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society, or other Serials, are collected in these volumes, and are a mine of wealth to the student of the languages of India. All the Vocabularies, brought together in the course of his laborious researches, are designed to show the validity of his opinion, that all the so-called non-Arians of India (*i.e.* those who do *not* speak the Arian languages) are essentially of one stock, and came from that "*officina gentium*," the trans-Himálaya Regions of Central Asia. This dictum, with the exception of the great Dravidian Family of South India, who unquestionably came from Western Asia, leaving an echo of their language on the second of the tablets of Darius at Behistún, has been provisionally accepted by subsequent labourers in the same field, but much remains still to be done to place the theory on the solid ground of demonstrated fact.

The letters on the "Pre-eminence of the Vernaculars," though written as far back as 1848, have a peculiar and continuous value, as one of the epidemics, to which Statesmen in India are peculiarly liable, exhibits itself in an insane and useless desire to supplant the magnificent Vernaculars of British India, which are spoken by hundreds of Millions, by the English language. That whole Nationalities have changed their Vernacular language is evidenced by the notorious examples of Syria and Egypt; but the process must be a slow one, and the impetus comes voluntarily from beneath, and this operation is far beyond the power of an Emperor of Russia, or an Empress of India: these letters are therefore of practical value, and have been quoted in Returns made to the Houses of Parliament.

But Mr. Hodgson was not only a linguist, but something more. In the field of Natural Science he led the way, and found time to supply Zoological Annals with seventy-one papers on the Mammals, and fifty-two on the Birds of the Sub-Himálaya. There was something greater still, that occupied his singularly receptive mind. He discovered, as with the wand of a magician, the existence in Nepál of an independent Buddhistic literature of the highest importance, and the most undoubted authenticity. Where he could not secure originals, he had copies prepared under his

immediate supervision, and transmitted them to Calcutta, Paris, London and Oxford. How highly they were valued by scholars is evidenced by the fact, that Eugene Burnouf, one of the greatest of Scholars, dedicated his last great work, "*Le Lotus du bon Loi*," to Mr. Hodgson, as "the founder of the true study of Buddhism." St. Hilaire, Regnier, and all other scholars, who have made Indian Buddhism, or the non-Arian Vernaculars of India, their study, have acknowledged the debt, that they owed to the author of these volumes. With rare munificence he presented a unique specimen of Tibetan literature in 334 volumes to the India Office Library, and hundreds of Zoological specimens to the British Museum. It is characteristic of the unsympathetic spirit of this country, and its rulers, that, though he was decorated with the order of the Legion of Honour by King Louis Philippe before 1848, and had a gold medal struck in his honour by the Asiatic Society of Paris, here he has been unrecognized and undecorated, though not unvalued and unloved by his many friends and admirers. He still lives (1890) in possession of his faculties, with a grand and noble presence. I look upon my acquaintance with him as a great honour, and I conversed with him alone two months ago, and found his interest unabated. Some public servants have been decorated for the most trumpery services, or as the result of political influence, or their own shameless continual application; it may be recorded of him, as of Lord Castlereagh at the Congress of Vienna: amidst the crowd of be-starred and be-ribboned courtiers he wore a plain dress, and Metternich remarked cynically, "*le moins décorée le plus distinguée*."

These volumes will serve to maintain his reputation, as one of the greatest, and most original, workmen in the great Indian Field. They are by no means light reading: the casual reader will turn over the leaves in despair: the man of Science, whose tastes are attracted in another direction, will place it with leaves uncut respectfully on his bookshelves: but to those, who take an interest in the manners and customs of the people of India, and their languages, it will ever be instructive, and suggestive. They will learn to their surprise, that the majority of the people of India, though some of them speak Arian languages, and all are more or less imbued with what is called Arian civilization, are by no means entitled to that name ethnologically. Affinities undreamt of before betwixt races with most distant habitats are here clearly indicated. New worlds are opened out of languages and dialects: new conceptions are suggested of the mode, in which tribes are broken up by defeat or disease: the existence of a language such as the Kirantí with seventeen dialects conveys an idea of the process, by which forms of speech have been differentiated. The language-field of Nepál still remains the peculiar preserve of Mr Hodgson, as he left it thirty-five years ago, and it is in the fields of Assam,

Barma, Central and Southern India, through the labours of men like Phayre, Caldwell, Dalton, and Forchhammer, that our knowledge has been extended, and new terminologies and classifications worked out; still this progress has been made on the lines, and on the spoor, marked out by the great pioneer through the previously unexplored forest. The use of the Vocabularies contained in these volumes has given a reputation to more than one scholar, and the perusal of such Essays as those on the Kooch, Bodo, and Dhimal tribes has been, and will long remain, the best model for any young scholar, who wishes to try his prentice-hand in putting to paper a faithful, intelligent, and sympathetic, delineation of the characteristics of a barbarous race.

Athenæum, London, 1880, with additions, 1890.

IV.

RELIGION OF THE PARSI. BY MARTIN HAUG.

EDITED BY E. W. WEST.

Messrs. TRÜBNER have inaugurated their new Oriental Series, destined to collect all extant information and research upon the history, religion, language, and literature of ancient India, China, and the world outside of Europe and America in general, with a second and enlarged edition of Martin Haug's Essays on the Language, and Religion of the followers of Zoroaster, who once exercised so large an influence in the affairs of Asia, but who are now represented by the wealthy, and enlightened, though small, community of the Parsi at Bombay, and a few Guebre at Yazd in Persia.

This great scholar, whose merits will be the more fully appreciated now that the animosities, which gathered round his person, have been buried in a premature grave, after a good training in a German University, was elected to the post of Professor of Sanskrit in the Dekkan College of Poona, in British India, and his extraordinary knowledge of the language, and religion, of the Parsi was thus acquired from original sources at the same time that his intimate knowledge of Vedic Sanskrit, and friendship with learned Brahmins, enabled him to march by the parallel lines of Iranic and Indic Language to the common origin of both. He may have had many rivals in his Indian studies: in his Iranic investigations he had none. Had his life been spared another twenty years, many moot points would have been cleared up. He had intended to compose a comprehensive work on the Zoroastrian Religion.

The list of his smaller publications show how much he added to the sum of human knowledge. His principal object in publishing the first edition of these *Essays* was to present in a readable form all the materials for judging impartially of the Scriptures and Religion of the Parsi: the same object has been kept in view by his literary executors in the second edition. Many additional papers have been added from the scriptorium of the dead Scholar, comprising translations from the Sacred books in the earlier Avesta language, and the later Pehlavi, and numerous detailed notes descriptive of some of the Parsi ceremonies, as witnessed by the Author, who thus in his person felicitously united the profoundest search into the dogma and ritual contained in the most ancient MSS. with actual observation of the ceremonial observed down to the present day. No second scholar may have such a rare conjunction of opportunities.

I proceed now to make a few remarks on the language, literature, and religion, to each of which the Author devotes a luminous Essay, and, when the full light thrown by them is contrasted with the dim twilight which surrounded the subject forty years ago, we may indeed wonder, that the revelations of the Iranic Branch of the Indo-European Family have attracted so much less attention than that, which has been lavished on the more fortunate Indic Branch.

The language is properly called the Old Bactrian, of which two dialects are represented in the scanty fragments of Parsi Scriptures: the most ancient dialect is the Gátha, as being the vehicle of the oldest Gátha or hymns. The later dialect is the Avesta, which for many centuries was the spoken and written medium of speech of Bactria. The term *Zend*, applied to it by early European scholars, was a misnomer, and should be discarded, as that term applies to the commentary of the Sacred text in a language of a much later date. The venerable Bactrian language died childless in the fourth century B.C. But there was a sister-language in Western Irán, represented by the Achemenian Cuneiform Inscriptions of Behistún, and Hamadán. This was the mother of the Modern Persian, but it intermediately appears in the era of the Sassanian Monarchs in the fourth century of the Christian era, as Pehlavi, in which form of speech, the ancient Scriptures, recorded in the Avesta language, and no longer intelligible, were translated and commented upon. Space fails us to describe the subsequent modifications of the later language, known as Huzvarésh and Pázand.

In these languages the Scriptures have survived: what do they consist of? First in rank are the five Gátha, said to be the work of Spítama Zarathrastra, or Zoroaster himself, in a dim period of antiquity, to which we can only approach by hazardous inferences. Next stands the *Yasna*, the work of one of his earliest successors, who deviated in some particulars from the stern Monotheism of his

master. After the Yasna came the Visparád, composed by one of the later high Priests. The above represent the Veda of the Iranic Family. The Vendidad correspond to the second class of Indic Sacred books, and is a collection of customs and laws, which has come to us accompanied by later commentaries and explanations. The Yasht correspond to the Purána of the Hindu. Prof. Haug fixes 1200 B.C. as the date of the earliest and 400 B.C. of the latest writing, thus giving to the whole Canon a range of 800 years.

The fourth Essay is devoted to a description of the development of spiritual ideas, and ritual practices, to which this ancient language, and wonderfully conserved literature, were devoted. Both language and religion have proved sterile. Unlike the religion of the Jews, it has engendered no new germs, such as Christianity and Mahometanism. Unlike the more fortunate language and religion of the Indic Branch, the Avesta language never budded out into Prakrits, and magnificent modern Vernaculars, and the tenets of Zoroaster gave birth to no such giant progeny as Buddhism, and underwent no such a weird transformation, as the Vaishnavism, and Saivism, of the modern Hindu. There is still life in the old Hindu trunk, and century after century it has given out new religious conceptions, such as Jainism, Sikhism, and many other less well-known forms, and even now, under the influence of the nineteenth century, we hear of the tenets of the Adi-Samáj, the Brahmo-Samáj, and the Arya-Samáj. There are no intellectual bees buzzing in the Iranic hive: what has remained is perfectly calm, still, correct, and self-inclosed. And yet its conceptions were worthy of a better fate. Many great names sound through the corridors of time. Zoroaster's conception of Ahúramazda, as the Supreme Being, is identical with the notion of Elóhim, or Jehóvah, of the Jews. King Cyrus felt the identity, when he restored the Jews to Jerusalem, and the Hebrew Prophets acknowledged it, when they spoke of Cyrus as the Lord's Anointed, and the shepherd, who carries out the Lord's decrees.

It is even asserted, that Judaism borrowed some of its conceptions from its neighbour. The imputed dualism of Zoroaster arises from a confusion in the minds of those, who are imperfectly informed as to his philosophy and theology. He undertook, like other wise or foolish men of antiquity and modern times, the sad and hopeless task of solving the great problem of human existence: he tried to explain the inexplicable, and the seeming incompatibility of the co-existence of so many imperfections in this world, the infinite variety of Evil, Wickedness, and Baseness, with the goodness, holiness, and justice of God. If He were omnipotent, why did these things exist? If He were not omnipotent, how could He be deemed God? This was the hopeless dilemma of many a weary soul. Thus sprang into existence Ormazd, and Abrimán, the one a Being luminous and good, the other a Being

gloomy and bad : on close examination the doctrine is nothing more than the Christian conception of the Devil. This is the way, in which the Bactrian lawgiver tried to disentangle the hopeless knot, which the Brahmin untied by the doctrine of Transmigration, the Buddhist by Nirvāna, the old Greek and Roman by the existence of Até or Nemesis, and which the modern Christian divine evades rather than explains by appealing to the inscrutable decrees of an all-wise Providence.

In Martin Haug's charming volume all these subjects are treated in full detail : in these days, when so much eloquence is devoted to the Veda, and when so many English Halls now lend their echo to Sanskrit words, and Brahmanical conceptions, we cannot but regret, that Martin Haug was not spared a few years more to address an English audience on the subject of a language and literature no less ancient than the Veda, and on a religious system, which has at least this speciality, that it preserved to the last, and still preserves, its Monotheism, and never allowed itself, like Pre-Buddhistic Brahmanism, to narrow and harden itself into Pantheism, and, like Post-Buddhistic Brahmanism, to dilute and degrade itself into Polytheism. The Parsi still represents the highest type of the conception of the Divinity, to which unassisted man can rise. The Hindu system, as now represented in India, stands out as a warning of the depths of degradation, to which an uninspired theology, in spite of the genius, learning, and industry and bold speculation, of countless generations of Scholars and Priests, can fall.

Athenæum, London 1878, with additions, 1890.

V.

HISTORY OF NEPÁL.

A TRANSLATION FROM A BOOK IN THE NATIVE VERNACULAR, WITH AN INTRODUCTORY SKETCH, BY DR. D. WRIGHT, Residency Surgeon at Khatmandú, Capital of Nepál, British India, 1877.

THIS is an unpretending, but important, book. The Editor resided ten years at Khatmandú, and collected his materials, and gives (1) a sketch of the portion of the Kingdom, which is open to Europeans, (2) a translation of a native history, (3) certain Appendices. The author faithfully describes the valley adjacent to the Capital, its towns and temples, which he was allowed to visit, though accompanied on each occasion by a Nepáli soldier as a spy on his actions and words. He describes Khatmandú, the Capital, as built on a dunghill in the midst of latrines : it would be impossible to cleanse this filthy town without knocking down the entire

city: yet it is situated in the midst of superb mountain scenery, which those only can realize, who are familiar with the slopes of the Himaláya.

The moral turpitude of the place exceeds the physical. This book is not written by an anonymous slanderer, but a British official, who well knew, that his book would find its way back to India, and that a copy in the Vernacular would be read by the Nepál Authorities.

It so happened, that the great Minister Jang Bahádar died in the interim betwixt Dr. Wright's leaving Nepál, and the publication of this volume. This great man was well known both in England, which he visited, and in India, and he rendered good service during the Mutinies. I met him in Lord Canning, the Viceroy's camp at Allahabad in 1858: his history is well known. In 1844 Sir Henry Lawrence, then Resident, mentions a dashing young officer, and intelligent intriguer, named Jang Bahádar, nephew to the then Minister Matabar Singh. In May, 1845, at the instigation of the Queen, and in the presence of the King, he shot with his own hand his Uncle, and took a prominent part in the new Government. On the 13th September, 1846, the King came at night to the Resident, and told him, that Jang Bahádar had invited the Nobles of Nepál to a Council in the Palace, and by preconcerted arrangement made short work of thirty-two of them, and a hundred of their followers: he then became Prime Minister, and in November of the same year he shot thirteen more of the Nobles, and established his power over the King, whom he has retained to this day in honourable surveillance, and over the country. Indeed when the old King showed some desire to free himself, he was deposed, and his more pliant son placed on the throne, which he still occupies.

Jang Bahádar had seven brothers and no less than one hundred children, and a large clan of cousins: he had monopolized every office of the State civil and military: the officers of the army held only annual commissions, and greybeards were subordinated to boys, and children aged five had the rank of Colonel. He married three of his daughters to the heir apparent: his own eldest son married a daughter of the King, and there were many other connexions of the same kind.

How did he use his power? Instead of prohibition, the rite of "Sati," or widow-burning, was regulated, and over the ashes of this fellow-sportsman of the Prince of Wales three poor girls were burnt alive within the last few months: a murderer all his life, he was accompanied to the funeral-pile by three murdered females. On the other hand, the slaughter of a cow was punished by death, and an injured husband had the legal right to cut down with a sword his rival placed before him unarmed in the presence of witnesses. Of Education there was not a thread. On provision for the sick there was

not one Rupee spent, and it must be remembered, that in other Native Indian Courts some form of rudimentary education, and some sort of inefficient hospitals, are always found. Slavery exists in some of its worst forms: there are no less than thirty thousand slaves in a scant population, and these slaves are bought and sold: a female slave costs 120 Rupees, and a male 180. Certain offences are punished by the sale of the offender as a slave. All the valleys, mountains, and paths, are closed to strangers of every kind: objections were made to the Survey. Roads, Post Offices, and Telegraphs, are undreamt of. The British Resident, like the King, is treated as a State Prisoner. No literature or culture, no arts or manufactures, can be said to exist: the nobles are so ignorant, that they believe that the British are afraid of them, and so arrogant, that they consider their army a match to the British. It is said, that Jang Bahádar did much to soften the barbarity of the Laws, and went as far as the Priests and People would let him. This is only a proof of the rottenness of the basis of his power, for the other great Potentates of the Empire of India have abolished the Rite of Sati, and adopted many of the civilizing appliances of the age. Dr. Wright has done an eminent service in thus exposing the true state of affairs in Nepál, and writing what has proved to be a true Epitaph for Sir Jang Bahádar, G.C.B., G.C.S.I., the guest of Her Majesty the Empress of India at Windsor Castle, and the host of H.R.H. the Heir Apparent in Nepál.

The second part of the book consists of a History of Nepál, translated by one of the Residency officials, assisted by a Pandit, whose ancestors had compiled the history. Dr. Wright is not an Oriental Scholar, and is presumably ignorant of the dialect of the great Arian Vernacular of North India, in which this legendary history is written. The original MS., which appears to be in the above-mentioned dialect, with an admixture of Sanskrit and Newári, is in the possession of a Scholar at Cambridge: other copies, or redactions, exist: as a historical document it is not worth much. The opening chapters consist of the most astounding nonsense, and the brain reels under the variety of absurdities, which follow each other, as the legend details with accuracy the events, which took place in the valley millions of years ago. The most improbable events are related as happening after incredible lapses of time: deities and heroes pass over the stage: temples are erected and destroyed: the whole is like a frightful dream. Even when we come down to modern times, and our feet touch the ground, this native history appears to be of the flimsiest character, and scarcely worth the paper, on which it is printed. The people of India never had any conception of History.

The author's modesty does not inform the reader of the singularly great service, which he has rendered to linguistic science by the purchase of certain Sanskrit MSS. Some thirty years ago the

illustrious Scholar, Mr. Brian Hodgson, then Resident of Nepal, surprised the learned world by collecting and transmitting to Europe a store of Sanskrit Manuscripts, original and copies, bearing on the subject of Northern Buddhism. They were distributed betwixt the Libraries of London and Paris. Dr. Wright, who is brother of Dr. William Wright, the Professor of Arabic at Cambridge, was commissioned by that University to purchase a large supply of still more valuable Sanskrit, and Tibetan, MSS., which will employ Professor Cowell for the rest of his life. They are written either on palm leaf or on paper: the former are the most ancient, and many of them contain brilliantly coloured pictures. They are some of the oldest MSS. in Europe, and if the dates, provisionally assigned to them, bear the test of criticism, they will enable us to place the date of the oldest Sanskrit MSS. in the same century with the oldest Hebrew, viz. about the ninth Century of the Christian era. I wish that all, who had opportunities, would use them as well as Dr. Wright has done, who as Editor of this book has written what is worth reading, and as the judicious collector of Sanskrit MSS. has done what is worth writing about, and such is the lot of comparatively few.

Athenæum, London, 1877.

VI.

BUDDHA GAYA, THE HERMITAGE OF SAKYA MUNI. BY RAJENDRALĀLA MITRA, LL.D.

THIS is one of the portly volumes of archæological lore, which are issued from time to time by the Government of India and its subordinate provinces in all the *luxes* of typography and photography, and combining a vast amount of learning and patient study with not a little of daring hypothesis, and unduly arrogant assertion, which is the more to be noticed, as the author of each work tilts against the favourite hobbies of his predecessor, and is himself the subject of subsequent bitter criticism. The author is a native of Bangál, most favourably known, who wields the weapons of his science with great skill, and whose English style is as pure and irreproachable, as that of any English author. It is encouraging to those interested in the education of British India to think, that among the first generation of scholars such great ability, such acuteness of argument, and such soundness of judgment, should have been developed. Nor is the volume before us the only one, which has proceeded from his pen.

The subject is a description of one of the holiest places in India, and round which the most ancient legends have clustered, viz. the

Hermitage of Sakya Muni, known as *Buddha Gaya*, a few miles distant from the celebrated city of that name in the western portion of the provinces under the Lieutenant-Governor of *Bangál*. The cloud, that for so many centuries hung over the history of Sakya Muni, has during the last quarter of a century been raised up by the industry of a score of illustrious scholars and archæologists; and it may now be accepted as a fact, that Sakya Muni, than whom no man has left a deeper impression upon the religious convictions of the human race, was born about the fifth century B.C. at *Kapilavastu*, accomplished his six years' penance, and became "enlightened," or *Buddha*, under the sacred *Bodhidrum* or *Pipal* tree at *Buddha Gaya*, and died or obtained *Nirvana* at *Kusi*. For fifteen hundred years from the date of his death the Hermitage of *Buddha* was as *Jerusalem* or *Mecca* to the *Buddhists* of *India*, and of the countries beyond, to which his religion had been peacefully, and by force of argument, extended. And when in course of time that religion by a process, of the details of which we have no knowledge, died out of the country of its birth, and its sacred places and images were occupied and appropriated by rival religionists, still travellers from distant regions found their way as pilgrims to the sacred spots. The accounts of the visits of the Chinese pilgrims in the fifth and seventh centuries A.D., when the glory of the *Buddhist* had begun to wane, have been preserved to us in the Chinese annals; and it was in consequence of a visit of the emissaries of the King of *Bárma*, who were deputed to repair the breaches of the ancient Temple of *Buddha Gaya* in 1876, that we are indebted to the Government of *Bangál* for this noble volume.

Restorers of ancient buildings have proverbially a bad name both in *Europe* and *Asia*. Some of the cathedrals of *England* have suffered much in the same way as these ancient ruins seem to have suffered at the hands of these well-intentioned pious *Burmese*, who were totally devoid of architectural, archæological, or historical knowledge. Powerless to save, the Lieutenant-Governor of *Bangál* deputed our author, who was previously acquainted with the place and subject, to proceed in 1877 to the holy site, inspect the work, and the remains, which had been brought to light in the course of the repairs, and advise the Government as to the mode, in which the operations of the excavators should be controlled. In his Report, the author distinctly admits, that he is only a gleaner in a field where many distinguished archæologists had gathered in rich harvests; he modestly limits his own task of following their footsteps, elucidating questions left doubtful by them, filling up *lacunæ*, and summarizing all that is worth knowing. It may be added that, though he had been preceded by the two greatest authorities in *British India* on subjects of archæology and architecture respectively, General

Alexander Cunningham, and Mr. James Fergusson, no such ripe scholar of Sanskrit and Buddhist lore, as the author had had the opportunity of personally inspecting the locality, and interpreting the original inscriptions.

There is a romantic charm surrounding the whole volume. In the six chapters, into which the author divides his work, he deals in order with the salient features of the subject, as they come before the mind. In his first chapter he tells us of the modern villages, the shapeless mounds, the Hindu places of worship, that from one point of view have smothered, from another have tenderly preserved to our days, these precious relics. Here we have the precise analogue of the mode, in which the ruins of ancient Rome have been preserved to us by the mound of accumulated rubbish, the vineyard surrounding the village, and the Christian chapel, which has insinuated itself into the Pagan temple. In his second chapter, with that abundance of knowledge, with which a study of the original MSS., preserved to us in Nepal, has supplied him, the author tells us the story of the great penance performed by Sakya Muni at this place. A tree must have existed in full luxuriance at that time, the ancestor by successive replantings, or dropping of seeds into the decaying limbs, of the Pipal, which still flourishes on presumably the same spot. The consistency of the legend is testified to by the Sanskrit, the Chinese, and the Pali books, the representations on railings and walls, on countless stupa and vihara in different parts of India. That the great founder of the Buddhist faith did pass some portion of his mortal career at this spot may be accepted with as much reasonable belief as any other well-accepted historical fact. Credulous religionists, lying chroniclers, poetic dreamers, have flung round the spot a garland of fiction of the grossest and most material character; and a safe medium must be sought for betwixt the weakness of the simple-minded believer and the wholesale destructiveness of the scoffer. The third chapter is devoted to a description of the architectural remains which have survived the lapse of years, the assaults of Hindu and Mahometan, the craving for building materials on the part of the villagers, and, lastly, the repairs of the Burmese. The chief feature is the Great Temple, of which photographs are supplied, as well as a most careful description, and the platform in which the sacred tree is imbedded. The tree is spoken of much as a Pope, or Great Lama, being chosen to succeed to the office in almost the same fortuitous way, and liable to the same mortal change. The present occupant of the Bodhimanda was installed there in 1863.

In the fourth chapter the author treats at very great length, and with great learning, perhaps rather ostentatiously displayed by the use of words not in ordinary parlance, on the sculptures, which exist in the form of statues, reliefs, architectural ornaments, and

footprints on stones. The notion of expressing historical events and religious ideas by stone carvings and symbols had attained a very high development in this, as in other Búddhistic remains. The story, as related in the sacred books, preserved for many centuries beyond the limits of India, is confirmed by the sculptured effigies which have remained for centuries buried under the mound of rubbish; and on some occasions the obscurity of the meaning of the written narrative is cleared up by the unmistakeable evidence of the stone, assisted by an inscription. Though not so much talked about as their more favoured rivals of Egypt and Mesopotamia, the discovery and interpretation of the written and lithic monuments of the forgotten period of Búddhist history must be considered as one of the greatest triumphs of this century of great achievements.

In the fifth chapter the author deals with a subject more peculiarly his own: that of inscriptions. The number discovered is exceedingly small. It must be remembered, that this sacred spot was visited by the Chinese pilgrim, Fa Hien, in the fifth century, and by Thsang in the seventh. Of the numerous inscriptions noticed by the latter none have survived entire, and of those fragments that have escaped none are *dedicatory*, and the same regrettable deficiency is noticeable at the other celebrated Búddhist ruins in India. There must have been a systematic destruction of such records at the time when the buildings were converted to the use of the rival and dominant Hindu priesthood. Still there are well-preserved lapidary monuments, to the earliest of which an age is assigned of not less, certainly, than two centuries before the Christian era. These are in the famous Asóka or Lát characters, and the date is ascertained on well-understood palæographical grounds. To these succeed inscriptions in the Gúpta and Kútila script, followed by others in the older and modern forms of the character used in Barma. In this branch of the subject our author is one of the best authorities.

The last chapter is devoted to chronology, and contains the author's hypothesis as to the date of the buildings. Here we leave the hard ground of facts, and enter into a sea of doubt and controversy. By a chain of argument, based upon the facts described in his previous chapters, he places the date of the present building at the beginning of the first century *before* the Christian era. Mr. James Fergusson places that date in the fourteenth century *after* the Christian era. No less than fifteen centuries, therefore, represent the differences in the conclusions of these two esteemed authorities.

The volume before us is fascinating, suggestive, and instructive, and is not likely to be superseded by any memorial work on the same subject-matter; but many of the conclusions of the author will not be accepted, until a greater *consensus* of authorities has

confirmed his individual and, up to the present moment, unsupported opinions. It may be questioned, whether a work published at the cost of the State, under the orders of the local Government, and distributed gratuitously to all the scholars and libraries of Europe, should be permitted to be the vehicle of so much controversial matter, and such attacks, direct or implied, on highly esteemed authors, who have previously worked in the same field, and are still among us. Our author has shown a wonderful power of adapting himself to the style of argument of the period, and is an antagonist with whom any scholar might be proud to break a lance; but he has not learnt one lesson from the study of the works of his contemporaries and predecessors, that the greater and more profound the knowledge of the scholar, the greater also will be the mistrust of his own judgment, and the deference, that he pays to the expressed and deliberate opinions of his esteemed fellow-labourers. To carry conviction to the reader it is not sufficient to enunciate, that such a one is entirely wrong, and that the writer has made the true discovery. Such recondite questions as the knowledge of the Hindu of the Arch, the copying of stone-forms from wooden models, the non-existence of sculpture and stone buildings in India before the time of Alexander the Great, the date of the great Temple of Buddha Gaya, the peculiarities of architecture, the authenticity of particular inscriptions, are matters, on which the learned world is not able as yet to arrive at any absolute conclusion, and, suspending our judgment, we weigh the value of the arguments of rival authorities. The soil of India has not yet completed its new duty of giving up the buried treasures of the past. Some new excavations may suddenly stultify the fine-spun theories of the archæologist. Our author, at p. 167, writes: "The city of Palibothra was found by Megasthenes surrounded " with a ditch. The walls were adorned with 570 towers and 64 " gates." This quotation is brought forward to show that stone architecture *did* exist before the time of Asôka; and yet, on turning to p. 66 of McCrindle's *Megasthenes and Arrian*, the following passage from Strabo strikes the eye: "According to Megasthenes, " Palibothra is girded with a wooden wall, pierced with loopholes " for the discharge of arrows." It is not pretended, that either quotation is decisive of the point at issue, but it indicates, that a reference to the Greek originals is necessary before a *cardinal fact* of so great an authority as Mr. James Fergusson on Indian architecture can be so lightly swept away.

I had the advantage of a conference with this learned, and amiable, archæologist, now lost to us many years, before I wrote this paper. I have a high esteem for the author of the volume also, and am not in the habit of allowing my judgment to be influenced on matters of pure Science by a friendly feeling, or the contrary, to either of the combatants. Perhaps the fault of both was, that

having made up their own minds on a particular point, they could not see room for a doubt on the part of others. A wider survey of human affairs has led me to the conviction, that on every point there is room for two or more honest opinions. It is said of my predecessor in the office of Honorary Secretary to the Royal Asiatic Society, one of the soundest, and most modest, and diffident of scholars, that when on any controversial point he thought he saw light in one direction, others became at once convinced, as the oracle rarely expressed itself in terms more decided than a sympathetic doubt.

Athenaum, London, 1877, with additions, 1890.

VII.

WOULD INDIA GAIN BY THE EXTINCTION OF EUROPEAN GOVERNMENT?

It is an interesting question, and young India may read with profit remarks made by one, who deeply loves the people, and has made the study of the subject one of his chief thoughts for nearly half a century.

Of course, the people of every country prefer to be ruled by rulers of the same race, language, and religion, as themselves, as, in addition to the national sentiment of independence and immunity from possible foreign oppression, there is the pleasing feature of the loaves and fishes and surplus revenue finding its way into native coffers. But this is a kind of dream of Utopia. Independent nations must themselves consist of an independent and united people, with a power for self-government, strong enough to maintain its own independence, and sufficiently united as to avoid disintegration. The provinces known as British India have at no time until now been united under one rule, nor have they in themselves the elements of which unity is formed, nor for the last eight hundred years have they ever enjoyed independence. If we were to give credence to the stump-agitators, British India was a free, flourishing, united, independent, kingdom, until Great Britain laid hands upon it. Dreams pass through the minds of native enthusiasts, that, were the British rule withdrawn, free India would still remain an undivided kingdom, ruled by its own sovereign or parliament. But the condition of a European State, fashioned under the slow discipline of centuries, is far different from that of a congeries of kingdoms and provinces, the inhabitants of which have no unity of sentiment, religion, or language, and which were never united before, disliking each other rather more than their common foe and conqueror.

If the leading spirits of New India were wise, they would calmly and coldly sum up the advantages, which they now enjoy relatively to other Oriental nations in the nineteenth century. It is of no use contrasting their circumstances with those of European nations. History tells us, that there will be strong and superior races, and weak and inferior ones. The British nation had in its youth to cope with the Romans, the Danes, the Saxons, and Normans; in its old age it may have to hold its own against new enemies, but it is small, compact, insular, and united, and India has not that advantage. The census has revealed to us the manifold differences of race, religion, language, and degree of culture, and this feature of its population has rendered its subjection to the British power possible, and renders the idea of a free independent country highly problematical.

India is not a Colony in any sense of the word. Australia, and the Dominion of Canada, represent the typical Colony: Malta and Gibraltar represent the isolated fortress. India is a congeries of subject kingdoms, a mere geographical expression, kept in military subjection by a distant European nation, but under circumstances unparalleled in ancient or modern history. If we go back to the earliest ages, we find, that the practice of the Assyrian or Babylonian conqueror was to transplant a conquered people. When a stronger race on the warpath from causes which impelled them, but of which at this distance of time we cannot appreciate the force, occupied a country, as the Hebrews occupied Palestine, or the great so-called Arian invaders Northern India and Europe, they exterminated all that opposed them; and of the poor remnant part fled into wild and hilly tracts, and maintained a precarious independence, as the Kolarian races in Central India, or became hewers of wood and drawers of water in the settlements of the conqueror. Such was the law of uncivilized man. By the time of Alexander the Great, populations had so far settled down, that native kingdoms under Greek alien sovereigns were established at Babylon, Antioch, and in Egypt. Insensibly these dynasties adopted the habits and customs of their people. Not so the Roman empire: the whole known world was held subject to the Imperial city, whence prætors and pro-consuls were sent out to rule over subject provinces, and there is much analogy between this system, and the one adopted by European nations in modern days. A study of the writings of Cicero during his government of Cilicia, and of Pliny during his government of Bithynia, is not unprofitable. The British Islands, Gaul, North Africa, Western Asia, were for centuries ruled, or rather misruled, in this way; there was not a thought for the welfare of the people governed.

In the Middle Ages we find the detestable system of the Spaniards in South America, and of the Portuguese in East and West Africa. The rule of the Dutch in the Indian Archipelago

was, and is, based on purely commercial and selfish principles, as low and unsympathetic a form of government as can be imagined; a kind of survival of the principles of the old East India Company of the last century, when the first, last, and only, object of the State-officials was the company's investment and the shareholders' dividend.

The French occupy their subject territories as military positions, and an area for protected French commerce. By a strange inconsistency they admit representatives (Frenchmen by birth) of the subject State into their Republican Chamber; but the governor of the province is generally, though not always, a soldier, and the administration is upon military principles. I have visited Algeria and Tunisia, which are indeed now ruled by civil governors, but vast tracts of land have been confiscated, and French settlers located surrounded by Mahometans. This is a dangerous experiment. The only European language allowed to be taught in schools is French, and an attempt is made to introduce that language among the people; on the other hand peace is maintained, order secured, and no signs of oppression were manifest. The French army in these two North African provinces, with a population of a very few millions, exceeds in number the British army in India, and a conscript army has to be relieved every three years, as the term of service is over.

The Russian administration of subject provinces is purely military; they are lean provinces with an enormous area, great distances to traverse, and no return adequate to the expenditure. No attempt at civilization meets the eye, beyond the priceless boon of peace, and railways. European colonists are found ready to occupy land; and the natives are in a great number Christians of the Georgian and Armenian Churches. I lately visited Trans-Caucasia as far as the Caspian Sea, and considered well the aptitude of the Russian Civil officials. With an intimate knowledge of every detail of the administration of the Panjáb, including Pesháwar and the Dérajat, from the date of annexation in 1849, it is inconceivable to me, how in the event, more possible than probable, of Russia penetrating the Afghan passes, and occupying, by force of arms, the Panjáb as far as the River Satlaj, it could carry on the administration. It must be recollected, that the railway system would have ceased to work; the retiring British army would have removed the rolling stock, broken up the bridges, destroyed the stations, and torn up the line, and broken the telegraph wire; and Russia could not replace them. All the civil officials, native and British, would have disappeared; the navigation of the Indus being blocked in Sindh, all export and import commerce would disappear; and the length of the way to Tiflis in Trans-Caucasia, and Tashkend on the River Amu Darya, would render the position of the invaders most hazardous. The British officials have by long experience mastered

the art of governing without bullying, of being firm without harshness, sympathetic without weakness, conducting all business in the language of the people, keeping the soldiery out of sight. How different would be the Russian system !

What shall be said of the Turkish administration of subject-provinces ? An entire absence of the first elementary conception of good government, imperfect investigations, cruel punishments, organized plunder, rabid intolerance, insecurity of highways, corruption of officials in power. I only allude to it, because, if the controlling power of Great Britain were withdrawn, such would probably be the form of government, which the people of India would enjoy for the next century, varied by the carnage and wholesale desolation of a new crop of such soldiers of fortune as Tipu, Sivaji, and Ranjít Singh.

With regard to the administration of British India since the year 1840, I can speak with some degree of knowledge, and an entire absence of partiality or prejudice. I have little to be thankful for personally to the great Government, for I left India without pension, having nine months' *residence* wanting in twenty-five years of service, and without honours, though present in great battles, and charged with the administration of virgin provinces under my great master, John Lawrence. The attempt has been made by the Government of British India, and successfully, and continuously made, to give British India the very best form of government, that the circumstances of the nineteenth century permitted, on the sole condition of submission to our rule. In that form of government were included many principles impossible to any government in Europe, even to their own subjects in Europe, but freely conceded by us to our subjects in India. Free trade, free religion, free education, free Press, free right of assembly, free power of movement in or out of the realm, free sale and acquisition of land, free agriculture, absence of poll tax or military conscription ; no forced labour, no distinction of class, no personal disqualifications and State religion. In no country of Europe, not even our own, are all these essentials to be found. The utmost publicity is given to every act of authority : in all the prisons of British India there is no one political offender ; there are no exiles of Siberia, no *détenus* of New Caledonia, no hunting of Jews, no ostracizing of classes.

The danger to India may arise from three causes, all of which may be in force at the same time : an invasion from the North West frontier, an uprising of the people of India, or such a weakness of the power of Great Britain, as to diminish seriously the military garrison, or withdraw it altogether. Let us consider each calmly. It is idle to suppose, that it is possible or desirable to prevent or retard the process of civilization of Northern Asia, which has fallen to the lot of Russia. It may, or may not, happen, that the Russian kingdom may break like a great steamer, owing

to the extreme length of its keel. We must recollect, also, that the idea of constitutional rights is developing amidst the Russian people, and that there may be domestic troubles at hand. Those also, who have had to do with the conquest of subject nations, may think that the annexation of Turkey, Persia and India, of one, or other, or all three, may prove a meal, which will choke the stork which swallows them. It would seem that an attack upon India would rather be as a feint, while the less difficult annexation of Persia, and the access thereby to the Indian Ocean, would be the object.

The greater danger is the growth of discontent among the natives of India, a kind of Irish desire for Home Rule, without exactly defining what is wanted, an insensate craving for constitutional rights, a seditious Press compelling an unwilling Government at last to restrict its freedom, and a spirit of disloyalty on the part of the British interlopers: this term is not used in an offensive sense, but as the only one, that can express a class of educated respectable men, aliens in birth, sojourners in India for a limited time only in their own personal interests, and who can have no more right to interfere with the affairs of the Empire than they would have in Russia, or Turkey, or the Dominion of Canada, if they sojourned there. Such alien communities in the midst of a population numerically superior, and differing in race, religion, and language, are notoriously timorous, short-sighted, and outrageously selfish, and during the Mutinies of 1857-58, this character was fully maintained by the British interloper. On the other hand, the excess of liberty, allowed by the Government to an Asiatic race, to whom liberty was previously unknown, and the educational advantages and political knowledge of certain classes, must bring with it strange consequences, the nature of which we cannot predict. Liberty can only be used wisely by those, who can distinguish betwixt liberty and license; and the learning acquired from high education is something very different from political wisdom, which can distinguish betwixt what is desirable and what is possible, and what changes are more pregnant of danger to existing good things than likely to produce permanent benefit.

We sowed the seed, when fifty years ago we introduced the youth of India to European literature: can we be surprised at the abnormal harvest, the vain aspirations. Lord Macaulay aptly described the Bangáli, *as he found him*: the same remark applies to the Madrasi, and men of Bombay. Is any deed of valour, manliness, any great action, such as lives for ever, and floats down the corridor of time, as incentives to future generations, recorded of these gentle, timid races, always subject, sometimes slaves to, stronger races? Is there a soldier in the Army of India connected by blood ties with any one of the Congress speakers? Could you raise a Regiment of Cavalry or Infantry from their midst? Sterner

stuff than them is required to found a Nation : and in the warlike races, among whom I spent my Indian life, every man is a soldier, or ready to become so : the Rajpút can do nothing but fight, he will not tend the plough ; the Sikh goes back to his plough like a lamb, but when wanted comes back to the sword and rifle like a lion.

The third danger is equally real. In case of a long European war, or an invasion of Great Britain, it may prove impossible to maintain the garrison of India ; and there is no question, that on that garrison the hold upon India depends ; the moment our strength is doubted, the beginning of the end is at hand.

It is forgotten, that with the withdrawal of the strong impartial government, colourless in matters of religion, the old strife betwixt the Hindu and Mahometan would re-commence. An attempt to blend together socially the different races and religions has failed, and at the very first opportunity dormant antipathies would wake up, unsoftened by time, education, or social contact. Ancient feuds would blaze out into perpetual conflicts, rousing undying religious animosities, destruction of property and sacrifice of life. Such troubles do not arise from the thinking few, but from the uneducated, unthinking masses, the refuse of the great cities. We know what they did during the mutinies of 1857.

The long *Pax Britannica*, accompanied by a strong urban and rural police, has extended the area of cultivation far beyond the dreams of the last generation. In times of internal turbulence, or foreign invasion, the villages are deserted, the fields drop out of cultivation, the breadth of the land under corn or other crop is sensibly reduced. In the time of piping peace, the means of supporting life, and the number of the population, and the rude comforts of life, are indefinitely increased. Those, who have had to do with the settlement and the collection of the State-revenue, know this well : the sites of deserted villages are found in the jungle, and a few years after new villages or hamlets have sprung up in the centre of a newly-cultivated area, which has had a long fallow. It may be argued cynically, that such fallows are a law of nature, and a superabundant population has to be thinned down by one of the three scourges, war, famine, or pestilence : it matters not which. Still, the thought of the misery caused to a peaceful agricultural population dwelling by millions in thousands of villages, and hundreds of market-towns, by the withdrawal of the strong arm which enforces order, cannot be contemplated without deep anxiety. The loss of prestige to the British nation, and of wealth to the British trader, is as nothing, when weighed in the balance with the overwhelming woe brought upon a peaceful population placed suddenly, after a long enervating period of protection and prosperity, at the mercy of alien Oriental hordes, or the scum of their own cities, turned loose upon them.

At the time of the break-up of the Mahometan Empire in

Northern India, after the battle of Paniput, the power of Delhi was wounded to the heart; the Marátha army had driven back the Afghans; the Panjáb was without a ruler; the leaders of the agricultural classes, who had adopted the new faith of the Sikhs, seized upon the country and partitioned it among themselves. It is narrated, how horsemen were sent to every village within a certain limit, who merely threw a shoe or a turban or a waistband into the village, as a token that they had annexed it, and passed on to the next. Castles sprang up in every central village; the highways ceased to be safe; all outlying villages were deserted; all reality or even form of government ceased to exist; Mahometan places of worship were destroyed, and revenge taken for the insults and outrages of centuries. Forty years ago I used to listen to these stories from greybeards, who had themselves taken a part in the uprising, or younger men who had heard of it from their fathers. Ranjít Singh by force and fraud united them into one kingdom, and on his death we annexed that kingdom, and I took part in the annexation.

Asia has ever been the field of such events. In the dawn of history, just before the fall of Nineveh, there was an irruption of Scythians into Media; and there is, as it were, a law, by which the poor and hardy races are periodically directed upon the civilized and therefore effeminate kingdoms, to shake, ravage, and overturn. This prevents their stagnating with corruption, or purges, as in the case of Imperial Rome, the Augean stables of hopeless, shameless, corruption.

But it might be urged that the long period of British rule had swept away the memory and the possibility of such uprisings; that the people had forgotten the habits of their ancestors. The story of the mutinies of 1857 may help to remove the illusion. For more than fifty years the districts round Delhi had been under British rule, lightly assessed, with every possible advantage. None but those in extreme old age could remember the bad days of the Marátha armies and the siege of walled villages, and the severe punishment dealt out to the freebooters. Still, within a few weeks after the mutiny at Mirat, the country was in a blaze; all the old practices revived; every vestige of civilization was destroyed, and obsolete forms of crime came into existence. There are tribes peculiarly addicted to plunder, and, though not one of them could have had any training, they took to the ways of their ancestors without hesitation: it was in their blood.

Now, if any disasters were to happen to the French arms, Algeria would be up in revolt in an instant, as it was in 1870. The size of the country is limited; all are Mahometans, though of two races; but in some rude way a government would be established, as good as that of its neighbours, Morocco and Tunisia. So in Trans-Caucasia, if the arm of Russia were shortened, very

little time would be required to resuscitate the ancient kingdoms of Georgia and Armenia. The petty mountain chiefs of the Caucasus, and the three million of Turks in the Trans-Caucasia, and the adjoining provinces of Azerbiján in Persia would unite and form a kingdom: the population is so inconsiderable, the wealth so restricted, the progress of civilization so slight, that there would be no difficulty: it would be merely an addition to the political world of more little kingdoms like Servia, Bulgaria, etc., troublesome but not dangerous. The commerce of the world would scarcely feel the effects of the submersion under the ocean of the whole of the French and Russian subject provinces. They bear the same proportionate value to the world that the French possessions in India bear to the area of India. It is on record how on one occasion when war was imminent with France, it was proposed temporarily to annex Pondicherry, and it was found that a "Naik and four" was the only additional force required.

But, if British India were to be convulsed by internal tumult, its roads and rivers would cease to be traversable; its extensive agricultural productions would perish in their distant provinces; its manufactures would wither; it would cease to be a great consumer of European imports, and a mine, out of which fortunes could be extracted; and the loss would be felt in every centre of commerce in Europe. Any one, who examined the commercial statistics of the period, would become aware of the extreme importance of India; it must be remembered, that an income of sixty millions is spent in salaries, military and civil supplies; the sudden stoppage of the pension-list would create a sensation in every town in England, and reduce hundreds of families to starvation.

But our real attention should be directed, not to the ruin of thousands in Europe, which would be caused by the loss of India, but to the perils, to which India would be exposed. Let not the eloquent orator in the native Congress, or the audacious editor of the native paper, suppose, that with the retirement of the British officials would commence his innings: let him be assured, that he is but a creature of the European system, and that he would be consumed, like a moth in the candle, by the first blaze of popular feeling. Room would be made for men of sterner material than him. In times of peace, the warlike tribes of the North are silent, because their occupation is gone, and the talkative men of the pen and ready voice put themselves forward. As a rule, the fighting races of North India, in whose midst I lived many years, cannot read or write, and the educated classes of Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras, notoriously cannot fight. On the eve of the battle of Maharájpur, the Bangáli Hindu clerks of the office of the Governor General represented to the Secretary, "that they belonged to a "non-fighting race, and asked leave to retire to Agra until the

"issue of the day was decided." It is understood, that not a single soldier is recruited from the millions of Bangál; and yet in the hour of commotion, caused by the withdrawal of the British in India, the issue will depend upon hard fighting, not on eloquent speech making. The Press, the Post Office, the Congress, the colleges, the clubs, the debating societies, would all disappear, when the great struggle for supremacy was being fought.

A late Viceroy disposed of them summarily and logically in a speech at the St. Andrew's dinner in Calcutta. Only five per cent. of the population of British India could read or write. Only one per cent. could speak English. There were but a very few thousands who could take a tolerably intelligent view of political and economical questions. "I would ask how far any reasonable man could imagine that the British Government would be content to allow this microscopic minority to control their administration of that majestic and multiform Empire, for whose safety and welfare they are responsible in the eyes of God and before the face of civilization?"

Nor would the ignoble scions of the existing dynasties fare much better. With the exception of the Rajpút dynasties of Central India, and of the lower Himaláya, all the mushroom dynasties, which now exist, sprang into being at a later date than the charter of the East India Company. A robber chief, successful in the hour of confusion, founded them and maintained them by unscrupulous valour; but the valour has long since left their descendants. The tinge of European education has made them still more unequal to the task of profiting by the disappearance of the Imperial Government. It would be difficult for them to grasp the situation in all its bearings: some might be tempted to launch out in a brief career of conquest; others might be satisfied by strengthening their own fortress, and preparing to fight for their own. But they will have the population to deal with, and in all probability some successful soldier, or robber chieftain of the well-known Indian type, will appear on the field, very unscrupulous, very determined, and very cruel; at any rate they would be real men, and not bloated, effeminate, self-indulgent princelings, who would disappear from situations, for which they were unfit.

In the struggle, the railways would cease to be worked; locomotion and postal telegraph communication would have stopped; it is idle to suppose, that petty upstarts would be able to maintain such luxuries of civilization; they rather dislike them. I recollect the Maharája of Pateála refusing to allow me to open a post office in Pateála, while he rather approved of female infanticide, if conducted decently. The editor of a newspaper, or the speaker at a grievance-meeting, would have but a brief shrift, if they fell into the hands of the robber chieftains, who could not bear patiently language such as the British Government only laughs at. Even in

the event of Russia or France succeeding to the Empire of India, the occupation of these patriots would be gone; as the British Government is the only one in existence, that estimates the value of free Press and free Speech so highly, that it allows itself to be abused, calumniated, and misrepresented by its subjects. The Press would be confiscated, and the Hall of Assembly locked up by the Russian and French police, on the same principle, that we muzzle our dogs, and extinguish incendiaries. Let them be wise in time and consider this!

There exist, no doubt, serious evils in the present system, but it is difficult to see how they can be remedied: the superb albocracy, which seem to get worse and worse, and every mean white, or European maid-servant or railway official, is considered as something superior to the Rajpút noble of a hundred generations, with great nobility of bearing and character. There is a constant drawing away of the wealth of India to England, as Englishmen grow fat on accumulations made in India, while the Indian remains as lean as ever. The same kind of thing went on in Ireland from the reign of Charles I. to that of Victoria. Every post of dignity and high emolument, civil and military, is held by a stranger and foreigner; Akbar made fuller use of the subject races: we make none: it is the jealousy of the middle-class Briton, the hungry Scot, that wants his salary, that shuts out all Native aspiration. The Russians avoid this error, and allow men of the subject races like Colonel Alikhanoff to rise to high commands. All native aspirations are crushed, and there is a daily-increasing estrangement between the two races. The officers of the old native army, and the old class of civilians, who lived among the people, who loved them, and spoke their language, are gone. There are not many now, round whom, in the hour of peril, the chiefs and better classes would rally, and who by their own personal influence could raise a regiment; the lower classes seem to be getting poorer and poorer. The public officer lives more and more a European life, surrounded by family comforts, and constantly backwards and forwards to England. This may be more moral, more comfortable, and more respectable, but it is not the way, in which the Empire of India was founded and maintained in past decades. It does not require much wisdom to manage a district.

“Nescis, mi fili, *quantulâ* sapientiâ mundus regitur.”

But it does require sympathy and kindness of spirit. The men of the old type were men of vigour, of mental and physical strength, mighty horsemen, and ready writers; men, who knew their work and were not afraid to do it, for they could strike like a hammer, cut like a razor, and revolve like a wheel: they cared little for vituperation or saucy language in the Indian Press, for each of them knew, that he was just the gate post, that every old

bull butted at, and every young calf tried to defile; and he went steadily on the course laid down for him. In the last forty years, the Panjáb, Oudh, the Central Provinces, and the Assigned Districts, have been managed by men such as the above described. It rests with the present generation not to throw away what has been handed down to them, but it looks very like it.

If it be asked, why the existence of so many independent Chieftains is tolerated, the reply is, that not only their existence is guaranteed by treaties, but they have a certain use as safety-valves for venturous, and discontented, spirits, who cannot brook the crushing, and unsympathetic, dead level of the British system. The armies of these chieftains absorb the dangerous classes, who would be brigands, if they were not soldiers. In managing Oriental countries allowance has to be made for a certain per-centage of the males of a family, to whom agriculture would be a disgrace, and who are not ashamed to be robbers. Many of the royal houses, as already stated, were founded by successful robbers. We must recollect, also, that the Native Chieftain makes no distinction between military forces and civil police. A large proportion of the so-called armies are in effect policemen, and the wild population of these States has to be controlled in a rough and ready way. It is not unusual to have to attack a village with guns before the Revenue is paid. The British Government had to act in this way at the commencement of this century. The Emperor of Morocco has recourse to this "ultima ratio" every year. The *Times* reports that he is doing so, at this moment, while I write these lines.

It is not logical to complain of the existence of Native Armies in India, and then to laugh at the inferiority of their accoutrements, and drill: this is just what should be. It is well known what constant care is required to keep military forces in fitness for use. These Native Armies have no educated officers, no trained non-commissioned officers, no hospital, arsenal, or Commissariat. For all military purposes beyond the frontier of each State they are useless: if called upon to serve in active warfare, they would have to have their arrears of pay paid, and be weeded of incapables, be fresh clothed, armed, and got into order by British officers: good material unquestionably they are. Any attempt of the Supreme Government to reduce these over-grown armies would be certain at once to produce the dangers, which it is our object to avoid, or defer to the latest possible date. If these armies have been in late years swollen, it is because our own native army has been so much reduced: on the other hand, the really dangerous war-machines of Oudh, Nagpúr, Barma, and the Panjáb, have ceased to exist.

But Sir Madhava Rao has pointed out one dangerous feature, which should be attended to. So long as Native Chieftains employ Natives of India in its widest sense, we can look on, if not with

satisfaction, at least under a silent protest. But, when they employ aliens, not subjects of Her Majesty the Empress of India, such as Arabs, Africans, and alien Afghans, it is our bounden duty to interfere to prohibit such recruiting, and take such precautions at every Seaport, and along the line of the Indus, that no such warlike aliens enter the Peninsula. This is an element of extreme danger, especially in the army of the Nizám of the Dekkan. And with regard to our own native army it may be a question, whether it is wise to admit into our army men, who are not subjects of Her Majesty. The Indian Army is composed not of conscripts, but of free soldiers, enlisted for a term: they have not much Patriotism, but they have Nationality, and language, and customs. It is not credible, that Arabs or Africans have been admitted into the ranks, but the number of Afghans and Gúrkha is an element of danger. When these men take their discharge in due course, they take back to their homes military training, and knowledge of our system: as long as they remain in our ranks, they would certainly fraternize with an invader, or a rebel, if *he were their countryman*.

The question of the hour is, How long? How long? Each year the thread, which attaches British India to Great Britain, is undergoing greater tension and becoming weaker. The methods, by which in sterner ages Oriental people were kept in subjection are exhausted, and offend the conscience: things used to be done, which were not reported by special correspondents. The wholesale destruction of a nation by the Israelites on their move from Egypt, the high-handed policy of Nebuchadnezzar in deporting conquered tribes to another region, the slaughter of Genghiz and Timúr, and the piles of heads heaped up before the gates of a conquered city, the killing of women and children, as practised by the Israelites, are out of date. We read of them with horror and disgust. And yet the government has to be carried on: in Europe (excepting Ireland and Poland), it may be possible to rule by forms of law, constitutional machinery, and trials by jury, and in time of peace to try to do so in India; but in time of trouble we have a hard problem to solve: "*Inter arma silent leges.*" I have had repeatedly to face it.

In my travels in Algeria, Russia south of the Caucasus, and the Turkish Empire, I have listened to terrible stories, and reflected, how I should have acted under the circumstances, the nature of which I could realize. During the Mutinies in 1857-58, I was cognizant of outrages as great: the fearful vengeance taken at Dehli: slaughtered princes, offenders swung off without trial, wells filled up with bodies of mutineer-Sepoys, blowing up of temples, blowing away of mutineers from guns, confiscation of property, forcible carrying off of women, gallows standing in permanence and used daily, summary trial and conviction and execution, men sent to the rear and cut up by the soldiery,

Mahometans hung in pigskins, or their bodies reduced to ashes at the foot of the gallows. All the actors have passed away to their account. Revolutions and rebellions, and re-assertion of authority, cannot be effected by rosewater and etiquette politicians. I came home in 1864 in the same ship with Garibaldi, the Liberator of Italy, and told him some of these things: his remark was that the English after all were "*veramente Tedeschi*," or in reality as bad as Austrians, of whom he had had such experience in Italy.

There is however another real danger to British Rule in India, and this is the interference of private individuals, or religious or benevolent associations in the affairs of that country, and getting up a cry. Lord Dufferin remarked, in one of his speeches, that the Viceroy was the "man upon the spot," and, supported as he was by his Council, and Lieutenants, he must be credited with knowing a great deal more intimately than people in Great Britain, whose sole information was derived from newspaper correspondents, the requirements of the situation. The very flower of the men of the time of both parties of the State are selected for the duties of ruling India: *trust them*: how exceedingly different are the circumstances of social life in India from what can be conceived by the ordinary Briton, who is well informed in his own country's affairs, may be illustrated by such telegrams as the "*Times*" reported this year: a Native Station-Master at a small station telegraphs to his Chief: "Tiger on platform: express train due: send orders;" or perhaps information is given, that a native gentleman invited a party of European friends of both sexes on the occasion of the worship of a Hindu deity, or the circumcision of his eldest son. The terrible M.P., who makes the winter tour of India, is likely to be one of its greatest curses. Inconsistency is a mere nothing, when a grievance is to be aired, and the demagogue of a Borough pleads the cause of a Maharaja deposed for tyranny over his subjects, and his place occupied for a term of years by his brother.

"*Quis tulerit Gracchos de seditione querentes?*"

Fanatics and Enthusiasts are like dogs, and worry one corner of the great tapestry of an Empire, to clear away one spot, which offends their scruples, and are surprised, if the texture of the whole becomes unravelled and destroyed: they would cure a man, who squinted, at the cost of his life. Thus the Opium-Trade-fanatics thought nothing of the deep injury threatened to the people of India by gratuitously interfering with their profitable exports. Fortunately Common Sense has triumphed: the Emperor of China has legalized the culture of the Poppy, and, if the export from India ceases, it will be in the ordinary course of trade, and the people of India will have no grievance, but if fanatics had had their way, it would have been

"*Fiat temperantia, ruat India.*"

And now another grievance has been found, and a Parsi Fire-worshipper of Bombay takes up the cause of the early marriages of Hindu girls, and with it is mixed up the sorrow of the Hindu widow. The Census records twenty-two Millions of Widows, and yet the re-marriage of widows has been legalized in so far that the issue are declared to be legitimate. The Viceroy can hardly compel men to marry widows. On the other hand, in the length and breadth of India there are no "old maids," that conspicuous feature of British social life: and an old maid is as much an object of pity, or the reverse, as a "widow." The ridiculous decision of the High Court of Bombay, granting specific performance in a case of breach of contract of Marriage, is not likely to occur again: if it were, a Statute of two paragraphs would get rid of it. I have decided scores of such cases in the Panjáb, but one of the provisions of our Code of Law was that no specific performance could be granted in such cases, but only damages. As to interference by the State in the private affairs of families, the policy is very questionable: where a crime is committed as in the case of burning widows, burying alive lepers, killing female children, drowning parents, sitting "Dhurna," the Government has always interfered, and peremptorily forbidden such practices, regardless of the risk, which was incurred. It would be easy to pass another Statute: "No one to be married before reaching such an age under such a penalty." Now in a country, where there exists no Registration of Births, where women are secluded from sight, where the fact of the birth of a daughter rarely transpires, where contracts of marriage, and the completion of contracts, requires no formal record made before a public official: where among the warlike tribes of North India the men are extremely sensitive of any allusion to the females of their household, and would resent any interference, how could such a law be complied with? The only remedy is to bring home to the intelligence of the leading men in each Province the necessity of some change, and draw the attention of the youth in the public schools to the evils arising from the present practice. We must recollect, that in any such great and sudden change there is always a counterbalancing evil to be met: the abolition of widow-burning has led to the amazing number of widows: the abolition of burying alive lepers has led to the increasing pest of leprosy; the abolition of the destruction of daughters has led to a superfluity of females: this was inevitable, and was anticipated, but Murder cannot be tolerated: the interference, however, with the Customs of the people with regard to Marriage and Inheritance, which were specially guaranteed to the natives of each Province, when it was conquered, or annexed, may lead to consequences of the most formidable character. Recognizing the evil, as I knew it among the warlike Millions of North India, I should recommend to let well alone. The Legislature has indeed decided that no one should

forfeit his inheritance on account of a change of his Religion : this was in conformity with National Equity, and under the Mahometan Rules many thousand Hindu retained their Estates, notwithstanding change of Religion : but the same line of argument does not apply to the re-marriage of widows, as even in Great Britain many widows by re-marriage lose the property of their first husband.

If the state of India were to become such as that of Ireland is now, if we were fools enough to jeopardize our Empire to enable the absentee landlords to levy exorbitant rents from the hereditary resident tenants of their purchased estates, if no attempt be made to interest the better class in the maintenance of our rule, the end will be near. The consequences to India will be terrible. We saw what it was during the Mutinies, and the marvel was, that the tempest so soon subsided when a large British army arrived : but let it not be forgotten, that it may occur again, and there be no British reinforcements available. The card-house may fall to the ground, and the British interlopers, who in the hour of their opportunity did their best to malign and weaken the patient Government, which protected them, will be swept out of the land. If they were wise, if they were able to realize the precarious position of British Commerce in India, they would support the Government ; and let them take the opinion of one, who has carefully considered the policy of all the existing Governments to their subject provinces, that there is not one, which equals or comes near to the Government of India, in the simple desire to do justice to the people whom they govern, without distinction of race or religion. "A justice, which neither
 " prejudice nor self-interest can pervert, an impartiality between
 " all religions and races, which refuses to be irritated by criticism,
 " or cajoled by flattery, and a beneficence of intention, which seeks
 " to spread abroad amongst the many millions of her Majesty's
 " subjects in British India contentment, prosperity, wealth, educa-
 " tion, professional advancement, a free course to municipal insti-
 " tutions, and every other privilege, which is compatible with
 " authoritative government, and Imperial supremacy." It is impossible to allow an alien Briton special privileges in a country occupied by a great and ancient people like the people of India, whose ancestors were highly civilized at a period, when our forefathers were mere savages dressed in skins. Let us only reflect what the world owes to India. If they borrowed the germs of the Phœnician alphabet, they elaborated it to such an extent that the Indian alphabet is one of the most notable landmarks in Science ; they invented those numerals, falsely called Arabic, which superseded the clumsy notation of the Romans : they taught the world the elements of grammar ; and until a knowledge of Sanskrit was acquired, the mechanism of the Greek and Latin languages remained unexplained. In Astronomy they went ahead ; in Architecture they have left monuments of unrivalled beauty : we are

slowly finding our way through the wealth of their monumental inscriptions on rocks, on pillars, and in caves; in poetry, and deep speculations as to the origin of mortal things, and the relation of the soul to the great Creator, they stand unrivalled. Over and above, and independent of, the great Hindu sages, came the great creations of the Mahometan new birth, and for nearly eight hundred years the two streams ran parallel, both at length merging into, and coming under, the control of the Colleges of British India.

If a stranger from another hemisphere were to visit the Indian Council Chamber, how surprised he would be to hear one member rise, and without further comment, propose a bill to amend the law regulating the marriage of Fire-worshippers; another member would introduce a bill to check systematic infanticide in the families of people of high station and respectability, by whose ancient customs female blood-relations did not exist; a third member would press a measure with the smack of the Nineteenth Century, providing for the education of the lowest classes, the sweeper, and the helot, who had no more conception of instruction than the birds twittering in the trees, or the goats browsing on the hillside.

Foreigners, who have made a hasty tour through India, are surprised at the Stoic calm, with which the British official gazes at all that is around him, which strikes the new-comer with intense interest; the fact is, that the novelty is worn off and the interest pared down by the incessant hard work and grinding responsibilities. During my quarter of a century in India it was one unceasing drive backwards and forwards from Allahabad to Lahór, in the two provinces, to both of which I belonged, and every district of both of which I had visited. Many things now occur to me, which I much wish that I had paid attention to. Oh! for an hour with one of my old friends, to explain a matter which must remain unsolved! Oh! that I had made better use of my opportunities amidst a virgin population, in the midst of whom I dropped in their simplicity and my freshness! It is too late now; all my old friends of forty-five years ago have been consumed on the funeral pyre, or put away in a shallow Mahometan grave, perhaps to be pulled out the next night by a jackal; but I remember their faces and characters still, and think with kindness of their friendly demeanour, and loving words.

What an imperfect idea of human life in its entirety must those have, who have not visited the East, and contemplated the ways of men in one of the three great developments, the Mahometan of West Asia, the Indian, and the Chino-Japanese! The Arabian Nights, and many portions of the Holy Scriptures, have a strange fascination, because they lift up the curtain, and permit an imperfect glance into an Oriental world; but to the sojourner for years in the East, all these things are clothed in a wondrous

reality. He has himself walked the bazaars at night in the disguise of a native, and listened to the chattering of the people, and spied out the hidden grievances and sorrows of the poor. In the courts of native chieftains he has known of favourites, who sprung up to greatness like the mustard-tree, and, behold, an evil day came, and they were gone! Who has not looked out on the parching desert and watched the camels? Who is not familiar with the long row of so-called worshippers going through the drill of afternoon prayer in the Mosque? Who is not familiar with the jars of the forty thieves, the hunchbacked tailor, the story-teller, the letter-writer, the water-carrier, the veiled woman, the minaret, and the pipe? The unpronounceable names resolve themselves into intelligible syllables to our practised ear, and our servants answer to the call of the very names chronicled in the most fascinating of romances. But the field of romance and fable is now terribly circumscribed. Modern cyclopædias and maps have left no open space for the islands of the Blest, or for the wanderings of Sindbad. No climes are now beyond the postman, the tax-gatherer, the newspaper-correspondent, and the grievance-monger. Imagination once had a free scope; we have gained materially, but we have lost the charms of fancy. We have to regard the well-being of India, as one of the serious problems of the first quarter of the Twentieth Century, and I ask the young patriot to remember the sad lament:

"I was well: wishing to be better, here I am."

Asiatic Quarterly Review, London, 1890.

VIII.

THE GAOL.

HAVE you ever been within these walls? Take leave of all hope, you who enter therein! All in India that is vile, that is sordid, that is opposed to the sentiments of our better nature, is concentrated there: all of the English character that is merciless, hard, unsympathetic and unfeeling: all of the Indian character that is grovelling, shuffling, deceitful and degraded. It is true, that an enlightened Government set over a degraded people is placed in an awful dilemma. It cannot hang all those, whom Society could desire to get rid of: it cannot brand, hamstring, or cut the nose and ears of those, of whom Society could desire to be forewarned. When the rulers and the ruled are both on the same round of the ladder of Civilization, such things may be possible. Hence rises the necessity of prisons, the great difficulty, the great scandal, and great burden, of the Indian Government. Much has been done of

late years in the way of classification, intra-mural labour, education, the introduction of the messing system, the attention of sanitary and prophylactic arrangements, to regulate the condition of the imprisoned malefactor, without on the one hand making his lot an enviable one to the poor unconvicted rustic, and on the other sentencing him to death from the influence of prison-malaria. Still the whole question is a miserable unsolved problem, causing deep thought and sorrow to any one, who looks into the details. Let us pass through the wards, which look so clean, and glance at the fetters, which look so bright, and at the food in the kitchens, which looks so wholesome and abundant, and at the manufactures, which look so interesting, and at the registers, which look so business-like, and at the different dodges of those, who make gaol discipline their hobby, which appear so clever; and let us look in the faces of the prisoners, which are so dogged, and listen to their story, which is so piteous. It is the old story: quite a mistake, and no guilty intention at all: no inquiries into their case, inability to bribe the police, false swearing of their enemies, absence of witnesses to clear up their characters, absence of any desire of the judicial officers to get at the truth. In the hospital they are cared for more than they would be in their homes; they have the advantage of a daily minute of the white doctor's inspection; they have the pleasure of swallowing the English medicines prepared by the whity-brown apothecary; and they are all day under the special care of the black doctor himself. If they die, they are not troubled with crying relatives round their bed, and are buried, or burnt, according to their religious persuasions, at the expense of a paternal Government. In the manufactory they are set to work, of which they and their ancestors are ignorant; they are constrained to spin thread, weave blankets, and make paper and baskets; their hard hands somehow get softened to the work; or they are grinding flour, or baking cakes on the hearth, or occupied in menial offices. Their much cherished whiskers and hair are shaved away; they are clothed in uncongenial garments; the fetters clank on their legs, which are encased in leather anklets. In the schoolroom big men are taught to read and write, and chant out the mysteries of the Multiplication-Table. In the solitary cells they are left to think over their confused past, and wonder if they have any future in this world or the next. But they are men for all that; they think of their old fathers and mothers in the humble cot in the far-away village waiting for their return; of the wife and children starving at home, while they are tied by the leg learning to read, and make baskets in the district-gaol; they sigh for their freedom, their free, easy, shabby life in the village, always on the verge of starvation, just over the edge of honesty and good repute, free from the restrictions of civilization, free from the bustle, the speed, the commotion, that shakes life in this world, free from the

aspirations and fears, that surround the thoughts of life in the next. They wonder who committed the particular offence, of which they have been found guilty; they do not think worse of him for having done so, and admit, that they themselves would and could willingly have done it, but they blame their hard fate for being caught, and so cruelly kept from their simple home by uncongenial law, which they cannot understand, and for a purpose which they cannot imagine, for one day they see hardened villains, whose crimes of a whole life had at last been brought home to them, released by a process of Appeal, which no one will explain to them, and the next day they see the poor lad, who stole fruit, carried out dead from a fever, which he had contracted in this wretched pest-house. But these prisons are also to some the passage to death; death by violence sanctioned by law. Let us pass into the condemned cell, and see who is awaiting the extreme sentence, and consider well whether, amidst such a people, this form of sentence could be dispensed with. It is a woman, and an armed guard stands opposite to her face to face, night and day, that she may not anticipate what is prepared for her. Death sits before her also. Death as a felon in a strange way; Death without sympathy or tears of friends; Death communicated harshly, and unfeelingly, twenty-four hours before; Death, that she has well deserved. She will die not because, like so many of her sisters, she was an unfaithful wife, but because she was a childless mother, because the fount of maternal love had never opened in her bosom, whence the waters of mercy might have flowed. It was a sad and common story. At night a little child was missing, the cattle had come home from the meadow to the stalls, the labourer had turned in from his toil, there was a sound of roosting in the trees, a golden glow in the western horizon, a smoke arising upwards from a hundred hearths in the village, a humming and a stir, and a sound of men and women and children in the lanes and the thoroughfares. God counts his children at nightfall, every one of them; and one little girl, whose only apparel was a silver armlet on her arm, and silver anklets on her feet, according to the manner of her people, was missing; she answered not to the roll-call of the Mother and the Wife, bidding to the evening meal.

For a time it was only the child that was blamed, for a further period it was only the mother, whose fluttering heart was anxious; there is a calling by name down the gullies, and a despatching of messengers to the houses of kinsfolk and brethren, till at length anxiety communicates itself to the hard rough males, who would scarcely have noticed the little one when present, but who miss the one piece of copper when it is lost. A search is commenced, and a common instinct of humanity, roused by the wild cries of a mother, turns the whole body of villagers into active detectives, and the evening meal being completed, all are again in the streets: the

blacksmith, who labours into the dark hours, relaxes his strength; the seller of herbs flings away his unsold remnants, and with outstretched neck joins in the search; women in balconies, in doorways, on house-tops, count their own children, and tender incoherent advice.

The feelings of the women will not let them be still, while one of the playmates of their children is unaccounted for. And the men, who count women as nought, are wrought upon by the mystery, by the uncertainty: thus by many a sleepless night is passed. Rachel sits weeping and cannot be comforted: parents wonder where the lost one is, whether the wolves are rending the little bones, and tearing the tiny limbs, whether toads and slimy reptiles are crawling over that little body.

In the morning the search is renewed; the white ruler on horse-back is in the streets: the mother clasps his knees, as if he were able to call back the lost one from the dead. He is himself, perhaps, a father, or hopes some day to see little ones clinging round his knees, the pride and reward of life: at least he has been a son, and has felt the blessing of the love of a parent; his sympathies and his passions are roused. Wells are searched; the tanks and the streams are dragged; rewards are offered; dark benighted spirits light lamps in filthy shrines, and rub their heads against obscene idols. But material and artificial expedients are in vain. She is not to be found.

At length the sun, the great detector, rises in his majesty, and surveys all the hidden things of the earth; his glorious heat tells the tale; the smell of carrion attracts the dogs: the action of the dogs attracts the men; and lo! beneath the hearth, where this woman cooked her daily food, is a swelling and cracking of the soil, and one poor little stiffened arm is found protruding, pointing to the guilty one. It is dug out, recognized too quickly, though the cruel worm has already disfigured that chubby cheek: in righteous indignation the assembled crowd call for blood, for it is a crime, that parents, that human creatures, cannot forgive or excuse; her husband repudiates her as his wife, and allows her to be taken off to justice. The law takes its course, and in this case is reduced to a form; no defence is offered; no friend stands by to plead extenuation, or implore mercy. Death, Death is too good for her, who for thirty pieces of silver, which these trinkets might have realized, snapped that little thread of childish innocent life, and sold her own soul. There she sits before us now: a worthy minister of Christ has sat hours with her trying at this last moment to instil into that frozen heart some drop of Repentance, and some wish for Pardon and Love: but in vain! What is she thinking of? Would she recall the past? Does she fear the future? Does the little childish form rise up before her? Does she suffer from the want of sympathy? Does she tremble at the

idea of death? She was led out before us, and unwillingly I became a witness of the last scene. In the presence of a rabble of the scum of the bazaars, of women and children, of the officials summoned for the purpose, of her male relations, who by some strange instinct could not be absent, of travellers and wedding parties, who drew up their vehicles on the other side to enjoy the spectacle, the paternal Government discharges itself of its duty to its subjects, and launches this poor sinner into eternity. Will her unhappy end deter others, who never heard of her existence, from re-enacting such a crime? In such a case would not a harsh laborious life have been more suitable punishment than to die and go we know not whither? At the last moment, before she mounted the platform, she asked to speak to her husband alone: leave was given, and I was near enough to hear her dying request (which he granted,) that her body should be burnt, and not buried. This sentiment accompanied her on her last journey.

Allahabad, 1867.

IX.

AD MONTEM.

WHITSUN WEEK calls to the recollection of society in general, and of Etonians in particular, a good old Eton practice. Once in three years the whole school turned out, went to Salt Hill, and abode there a whole day. We have our doubts whether the excellent Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjáb was an Etonian, but he has certainly re-established within his jurisdiction the Ad Montem practice, "*Mos pro Lege*," in Northern India, with the notable variation, that he and the whole of his School go off to the mountains, not once in three years, but every year for five or six months, and draw their "*Salarium*" or Salt-money, though not answering "*at absence*" in the Station, to which their duty would tie them. The poor peasants, or artificers, who have petitions or appeals, or require interviews, have positively to study the Geography of the Hills, and to find out on which peak their particular Jupiter Olympus, or Mercury, is squatting. Appeals, some crack officers think, are great nuisances, and it is an effectual check on them when a petitioner has to walk a hundred leagues, as Pleaders are forbidden, and incur the risk of Cholera or some gastric complaint by a change of temperature from 90° to 65°.

To those, who have leisure to study the theory and practice of Government, it is extremely interesting to note how on Whit-Tuesday the Panjáb authorities were keeping their annual "*Ad Montem*" festival. Far in the West overhanging the Indus, and backed by the Suliman range, as everybody knows, lies the

Sanatorium of Shaikh Booddeen. There is the Commissioner of the Deraját, the Lord of the Western Marches. Of course his deputies and assistants are there also, for it is monstrous to be in the plains, where tiresome petitioners stupidly live.

Proceeding Northwards we come to Abbotabad, a charming retreat in the Hazára Hills. There in due course of time will be perched the Commissioner of Pesháwar, somewhat inconveniently distant from the frontier; near him are his Deputies and Assistants, with perhaps a sprinkling of the Panjáb frontier-force.

A little to the East lies the Capua of Northern India, Murree. It is one might say a vast Governmental and Family-Warren. In this delightful retreat of Murree are clustered the Lieutenant-Governor, and his Aide-de-Camps, and the Inspector-General of Police, and the Military Secretary, all more or less connected by the Indian system of intermarriage: other members of the Royal Family are on other hills. Then at Murree we have other pleasant and sociable groups. Who, a casual subaltern may inquire, is that party of five gentlemen walking on the Mall? He is told that among them is the Post-Master-General, the Secretary to Government, and the Officer commanding the Division. At Murree besides is the Secretary to Government in the Department of Public Works, the personal assistant to the Inspector-General of the Police, the Commissioner of the Division, the Director of Public Instruction, the Consulting Engineer of the Panjáb Railway, the Agent to the Panjáb Railway and many of his Staff, the Superintending Engineer of the Circle, and a sprinkling of humbler Civil and Military officers.

Let us pass on to Dalhousie on the Chumba Hills. Whose house is that? Oh, that belongs to the Judicial Commissioner of the Panjáb, and that to the Commissioner of Lahór, and that to the Commissioner of Amritsar: and that to the Director of Canals, and those to all the Canal-officers. Then there are locations for the Deputy-Commissioner, and the Assistant-Commissioners, and the Deputy-Inspector-General of Police and the Superintendent of the Lahór Central Gaol. What a number of highly-paid Officials perched on this solitary hill in the centre of the foreign and independent State of Chumba!

Let us pass on to Dhurmsála. Whose house and gardens are those? They belong to the Financial Commissioner of the Panjáb: then there is the Commissioner of the Trans-Satlaj States, and the Deputy-Commissioner of Kangra, and the Inspector of Police, and the Executive Engineer and others.

Pass on to Simla. Here we have the Inspector-General of Prisons, reposing in a kind of dormouse-slumber after his weary inspection of Gaols; the Deputy-Commissioner, the Assistant-Commissioner, and the Superintending Engineer of the Circle, and the Superintendent of the new Pateála Canal, and his assistant (both

Members of the Royal Family): and the Commander-in-Chief and his Staff, and many a warrior brave and lady fair, and blooming infant. Pass on to Kasouli. Here sits the gallant, witty, and excellent Commissioner of the Cis-Satlaj States (Sir Herbert Edwardes), and we may go further on hill or plain before we find a better man. Government "in nubibus" or "in excelsis" is a truly captivating sight, and which must stir to admiring despair the heart of many hardworked officials on the arid plain of the Doab, or in the damp, moist, unpleasant Stations of Eastern Bangál. "What would Tipperah and Backerganj give to be here?" many a Panjábí says in the words of Nelson regretting Collingwood's absence at the Battle of the Nile. "Quorsum hæc tam putida!" some will ask, and what matters it to record, where all those obscure officials are at this moment? Much, every way, we answer, in all sobriety and seriousness; chiefly because this straw shows how a vast province can be converted into family-preserves, and symptoms of general laxity can pervade a whole administration. Not only is the absence of all the chief officials from their post most inconvenient to the public, but a deep-rooted spirit of discontent seizes all those, who from very shame are not allowed to go to the Hills also.

Wives nag their husbands, illnesses are kept skilfully in hand to justify the great Panjáb-declivity of going to the Hills. Medical men have not time enough to effect a cure of any man or woman, and they are sent off sharp to the Hills. The Post-Office-carriers are laden with letters sent on Government Service in unnatural directions, in which they had no business to go; delays multiply; prisoners kick their heels, and sometimes the bucket also, in the Gaols waiting for trial; suitors hang about, or hang themselves, and make weary, fruitless journeys after Mahomet, who has in sad verity gone to the Mountain, and does not come back. The State is put to great expense, for all the clerks get one-third more salary, and, poor fellows! we do not grudge them this sum, without which they could not house themselves.

All the Inspecting and Directing Officers get a Rupee a mile on all these salubrious inspecting and directing trips: elements of discontent and dissension are introduced into Society, and a man, who does not send his wife and children to the Hills, is looked upon as a Bluebeard, while another, who does not go himself, when he might do so, is esteemed socially an ass.

This is "*vox in calido eremo clamitantis*." No doubt this article will be attributed to spite or discontent, or set down as the effluvia of a stern and incorruptible Patriot, who could not get the place for which he strove, or perhaps it may be thought to have been written by a man, who has not been allowed what in Panjáb technical language is called "to take his office to the Hills," but what in plain honest English is really "to leave his office behind

in the plains." But what drives the iron into the souls of men left in the plains most is, that the favoured body go off to the hills with the air of men doing virtuous and benevolent actions against their inclination: and it is afterwards remarked, how much the State is benefited by these excursions: how highly the intellect of officials is developed: how easily the trammels of habit are thrown off, and the canons of an exploded creed are discarded; and with how much greater energy and systematic perseverance Commissioners, Deputies, and the whole fry, after their return, can carry out the favourite system of John Lord Lawrence "of bringing the noses of sinners to the grindstone."

The Panjáb, 1860.

X.

THE IDOL AND RAILWAY.

No ONE can fail to have been struck with the crowds of men, women, and children who poured through the Civil Station of Lahór, down the Multán Road, for several days lately. They were pilgrims hastening to the great shrine of Mother Badarkál, and owing to the peculiar facilities offered by the introduction into the Panjáb of Christian inventions, the number of idolatrous worshippers was this year far greater than usual, probably exceeding fifty thousand. The Dévi is a goddess of wonderful power both for good and evil. Upon those, who treat her priests with respect and reverence, she confers the blessing of children, but slaughters without compunction the children of those, who neglect to worship at her shrine. The Managers of the Panjáb-Railway, which opportunely was opened for public traffic on the day of the great Sikh festival, impressed with pious and pecuniary sentiments, which did honour to their heads and hearts, did not neglect on this occasion to run special trains for the accommodation of devotees coming from Amritsar, and in return for this advantage, special prayers, we understand, were put up by the priests for the success of the Railway, and moreover, in many a Hindu family the names of the Agent and Chief Engineer are associated with pleasant recollections of a visit to the holy shrine for the sake of removing leprosy, or curing sterility; for which particular purpose the pilgrimage is usually made, with frequent success (we are assured) in the latter object, though rarely in the former. They go to the shrine "en pelerine," and return "en sainte" (enceinte). Those, who are wise, will read this dark saying. The locomotives "Lawrence" and "Montgomery," with long trains of carriages, were particularly busy on Sunday driving a capital trade, and to a fanciful mind the steam seemed to be rejoicing over the

good work, while whistling the fine old tune of "Do Christian things in a Christian way." It was instructive to contrast the happy countenances of the worshippers in the train, lit up with gratitude for the benefits, which they were receiving, and the horror depicted on the faces of the Christian Missionaries at either end of the line, on finding the train interfering with their vocation, by carrying away those, upon whom they desired to exercise their oratory. It was worthy of remark, that these worthy Christians, with their obsolete, iconoclastic, and monotheistical, theories, stood no chance against the idol-serving Railway, with his living polytheistical practices; for indeed the car of Jagannáth is nothing in comparison to the Railway-cars. The devout Hindu has to drag the first along, whereas this carries him, a difference of which he is perfectly sensible. We can't vouch for the fact, but it is probably true, that in order that the Railway Officials might not forget the day, on which they were so well engaged earning profit for the Company, the keen Traffic-Manager had provided each of them with a time-table, on which he had had printed at a Hindu or Mahometan press, the First and Second and Fourth Commandments with all the negatives omitted.

"We must live," said the Frenchman. "Railways must be made to pay," says the Briton. The laws of commerce must override all prejudices, the spirit of free trade cannot be trammelled by the spirit of religion. The Railway must make money, creditably if possible, but at any rate it must make money somehow; that's a clear case. Do not the Manchester-Puritans cotton to the American Slave-States for the sake of the raw material spite of slavery? Do not the religious public at home prefer slave-grown sugar from Cuba, because it is cheap? We even heard that Christian people in the Panjáb take a wonderful interest in transporting an article of commerce grown in Kashmír, called "koot," a species of frankincense, to Calcutta, where it is shipped to China, to supply the censers of the Buddhist priests, and they turn a pretty penny by the transaction.

Money justifies anything. A "cure of souls" is disposed of in England in exchange for sovereigns. Why therefore should fault be found with the Railway-people for making it easy for people to worship the Devi and other false gods? We call it public-spirited behaviour, which displays a manly freedom from false sentiment and ridiculous prejudice. We suggest, that an Idolatrous Department be attached to the Traffic-Manager's office, to be managed by a Brahmin and Moulavi, whose duty it will be to ascertain the periods and localities of the chief feasts and the mela, and then enter into communication with the Priests of the Temples, and the Mahometan Imam, in order to arrange for the transport of devotees by the train. The interest of the Railway and the interest of the Idol being identical, the Agent of the former and the Priest of the

latter will work in harmony, and make every exertion for their mutual advantage. They will play into each other's hands, for the one cannot thrive without the other thriving also. The Agent will canvass for the Idol, and the Priest will recommend the Rail. Gold models of Locomotives are, we suppose, to be offered at the shrine of the principal gods and goddesses, to secure the goodwill of the Priests, from whom drivers and stokers are expected to ask a blessing whenever a train starts.

Now that special trains run on Sunday as well as other days, on Railways guaranteed by Government, carrying devotees to worship at Heathen Temples, maintained principally by means of lakhs of rupees of Land Revenue alienated by Government for the express purpose, we think it is quite time, that old-fashioned Christians, whose crotchets are manifestly behind the age, should abandon the idea of introducing the Bible into the Government grant-in-aid schools.

Lahór, 1860.

XI.

HINDU WORSHIP.

WE are living in the midst of an idolatrous people, and yet so separate is our life from that of our neighbours, so walled off by customs, language, and climate, that we hardly realize, that we live in a land, in which alone of all civilized and great countries with a Nationality and a History, for some great and mysterious purpose of God Idolatry has been caught alive, and preserved until the nineteenth Century. The beautiful worship of the Greeks and Romans, consecrated to us by the Arts and Poetry, has passed away, and we hardly, owing to the classic halo, which envelopes it, realize the enormity of what it pained the heart of Paul to behold. The abominations, after which the wayward hearts of the Israelites went astray: the idols of the house of Baal: the creeping things and abominable beasts: the weeping of the women for Adonis: have passed away also: all the idols of the ancient world are dead. Great Pan, the representative of Nature-worship, and Pantheism, is dead also: but the Hindu worship still exists as a great Anachronism, a memorial of the unassisted seeking after God of the Human Race: and the lapse of centuries has only tended the more to degrade its ceremonial, and to press out of its practice, all the essence of Truth, and Divine Wisdom, which its wondrous books disclose to the astonished student, as having once existed in it.

Let us enter one of the temples, for, like the Athenians of old, the Hindu carries his reverence very far, and devotes a large portion of his substance to alms, and the due worship of his Deities. The spot is often picturesque: the building elegant in

its fantastic architecture: gold is lavishly spent on the roof: the walls are covered with fresco: fine old trees, generally crowded with monkeys, overhang the building. In the courtyard, which surrounds it, accommodation is found for the attendant priests, and mendicants, and for the hospitable kitchen, from which the hungry are never sent empty away. Bronze bells are hanging over the doorway, and are tolled at stated periods: crowds of worshippers bring offerings of food and fresh flowers: strange half-naked figures mutter incantations, or chant in sonorous tones the contents of the books open before them. We find ourselves face to face, and mind to mind, with customs, and ideas, which existed in the time of Homer and Solomon. Such may have been the ritual of Delphi, of Ammon, of Dagon, of Nisroch, of Amen Rá at Thebes, or Artemis at Ephesus, or Venus in Idalia: but the men, who do these things, are our contemporaries in every other act of their body, in the thoughts, which rise up in their mind, in the material of the dress, with which they drape their bodies, and the words which pass from their lips. They desire the things, which we desire, and buy the things, which we buy and sell, and understand correctly the things which we understand. Yet they have remained in their conception of God, and of His Law, and a Future State, on a level, which is centuries behind us, and they cannot help it. Even the young men, whose intellects have been stretched to the measure of our schools, and whose ideas are remoulded in the matrix of Occidental learning, cannot in all cases so far come out of their environment as to apprehend the absurdity, and falseness, of what their Priests and the Worshippers are doing. Two thousand four hundred years have passed away since the famous words were uttered:

“Woe unto him, that saith to the wood: ‘Awake!’

“And to the dumb stone: ‘Arise, and it shall teach!’

“Behold it is laid over with gold and silver,

“And there is no breath at all in it.”

The woe still continueth, and the World, which has in the interim advanced so far in every other Science, has been unable to fold up, and place away, the fatal garment, which it put on in its infancy. The Hindu is in very deed the last heir in remainder of the mournful inheritance of our common ancestors: the conceptions of the Mahometan, the Buddhist, and the Confucianist, are comparatively modern: the Jew and the Parsi are but mournful survivals of a great Past, disinherited and exiled. The Hindu is still “in situ,” and as we watch what he is doing we may think gently of our forefathers, and thankfully of our greater privileges. As regards the Nature-worshippers of Africa, North America, Oceania, and Asia, they are altogether in a lower stage of human culture, never having risen to the dignity of possessing a Religion with a Book.

The ceremony of the day has commenced. The Mángala is announced, the morning has dawned, and the deity is awakening : loudly chant the Brahmins, and echo his praises : their voices are accompanied by the tabret and the pipe : they lift him up from his couch, and place him in his golden chair, wash his limbs, purge away the drops of heat : they change his apparel, offer some slight refreshments, the betel-nut, and the pán-leaf : they retrim the lamps, which have become languid, and sweep out the sanctuary. We may smile at this insensate conduct, but similar attentions are paid daily to the black statue of the Virgin of the Pilár at Saragossa in Spain, and, because it is a female idol, her clothes are changed by aged priests.

Next comes the Sringára : they anoint the Deity, and perfume him : they spare neither oil, nor camphor, nor sandal-wood, nor sweet odours. Now is the time for him to receive his Court, and, as the morning advances, the worshippers hasten in, and rub their heads reverentially against his feet.

But soon he is a-hungered : their God's appetite is roused, for the Bhoga is come : they bring in delicacies, and pile up costly viands : hands has he, but cannot lift them : mouth has he, but cannot open it. He seems to watch with a stony gaze, while the Priests with their holy countenances and sleek paunches, and the inferior ministers, help their God to discharge the grateful function of eating, and leer round on the votaries, as if in satisfying their appetites they were working out a sacred ritual, and offering a soul-saving sacrifice. Rich and respectable citizens purchase at a high price the leavings, the upgatherings of this foul banquet, and carry it home to satisfy the cravings of some one of their wives, to whom the blessing of offspring has been denied.

But the god now enjoys his post-prandial nap : the attendants fan him, for the air is warm, and the poor foolish blue-fly, who mistook the divinity for a log of wood, is brushed away : the dancing-girls, who belong to the temple, watch over his bed, fearless of the excess of his passions, for their modicum of virtue is safe from the violence of his rude caress. He sleeps, but his stupid eyes remain open, though the ingenuity of a French toy-maker may remedy this shortcoming : he sleeps till the time arrives to arouse him : this is the Utthápan.

Rouse him now, for the glorious sunset has come on. Heaven glows like a bright furnace. The Sandya has arrived : it is the time of the evening-toilet of his godship. They take off his ornaments and anoint him afresh : they scatter flowers and perfumes, which his nostrils cannot inhale : they take him to visit some God or Goddess in a neighbouring temple, or to drink in the glorious prospect of the blessed Earth, the world which is subject to him. They take him to his own native place, the forest, where grew the

tree, from a log of which he was fashioned. Oh! glorious art of the carpenter!

Now comes the Sayán. He is weary, but he does not yawn: only weak mortals yawn: calmly composed and unchangeable is that glorious countenance: perhaps a little of the paint is rubbed off, but that loss will be made good by some devotee at daybreak: they place him in his bed: water and refreshments are placed near him, and a betel-box: a dancing-girl is in attendance to cherish him: the votaries, who waited for the last service, retire. Far, far off the Profane! Let him sleep.

But this intellectual and spiritual slumber has for centuries oppressed a nation consisting of two hundred Millions, and under a Christian Government lands are set apart, and revenues assigned, for the perpetuation of such folly in every part of the British Indian Empire. God forbid, that we should cease to be tolerant: the matter is in His hands.

Allahabad, May, 1867.

XII.

THE CEMETERY.

" I never pass through a churchyard old,
 " But I think I may slumber there,
 " And wonder within me what strange disease
 " Shall bring me to rest so fair."

THESE lines of Cox's on a churchyard are doubtless familiar to many of our readers, and truly, when we wander amongst the tombs and grave-mounds of an English burial-ground, they may ring not unpleasantly in our thoughts; for though the last resting-place of the dead must ever bring to our minds sad and solemn remembrances, yet there is a calm pervading peace, a holy repose, beneath the shadow of the old church's tower, or amidst the trees and flowers planted and tended by loving hands: the same surname recurs ever and ever again, recording young, old, and middle-aged, all of one kin gathered to their fathers. There is a feeling of companionship even in the grave. But, alas! how different an aspect does an Indian cemetery present! We wandered lately, slowly, and sadly too, through the one belonging to our own station, a fair type of many another in this country. We entered first the old part of the cemetery, which has long since been filled with the tombs of those, whose remembrance and name are no longer on record; even on their monuments. Large trees have grown up and spread their branches over them, and the damp green mould, which their shade has caused to come, has fretted away the carvings and effaced most of the inscriptions. Heavy

and unsightly are these monuments, high columns, the tops of which are now lost amidst the branches of the overgrowing trees. On one high column a few words still remained, telling of the deeds of a gallant General, who died long ago, and of whose remembrance and even name this shaft of stone alone bears witness. There were broken Corinthian pillars, square masses of stone with carvings of flowers, and weeping angels, which might perchance once have been thought handsome and fitting memorials to be erected by broken hearts over their lost treasures, all now decayed, discoloured, and fast crumbling away; already is all record of the inmate gone, and ere long the very tomb will be among things vanished, and yet perchance there still remains, in far distant England, a heart, that can in memory see one of those spots, one whose thoughts in the still and silent hours still turns to that now fast-decaying tomb, and can still picture to itself with vivid reality the scene of a newly-opened grave that enclosed in its dark recesses all that had made this world bright, that took away all that had made India a happy home. Again, on another unwieldy monument, we could trace the name of a young man, who died, whilst rising to an honourable post in the Civil Service: so long ago had he been called away that his contemporaries, if any remain, are old men, no longer calling India their home; he is known to no one but the chance passer-by, who reads of him as a promising young man fifty years ago. Of the friends, who raised this tribute to his memory, nothing is known at all. Our minds became so occupied with the thoughts and memories that crowded in of what had been, in years now so long numbered with things of the past, that we had almost forgotten the dead and sorrowing ones of the present day and hour. Evening was closing in upon us, and we hastened from beneath the gloomy shade of the overspreading trees to that part of the cemetery taken but lately into use; here is to be seen a great improvement in the monuments and tombs. The simple cross at the head of a tiny grave, with the short touching inscription, "To our dear little Charlie." The low white monument, with the emblem of our faith carved on it, encircled with words of hope and comfort. A simple elegance marks nearly all these tributes of affection; perhaps the contrast from the deep shade of the old portion of the ground was rather too great, for though flowers and shrubs are growing round these graves, yet there is a bare new planted look, which, however, time will but too quickly remedy. How many tiny tombs we passed, how often and often did the words "our dear child" meet our eyes, and we thought how the hearts of many mothers in their now still and quiet homes in Great Britain must remember this Indian-cemetery, and the little mound that hides the infant form, which they laid there. More than once we saw the tomb of a young mother beside her infant, but seldom more of the same name

lay together ; many, many, lay alone, strangers in a strange home. Many tombs were without names, others with only Christian names, and then again we found recorded the short history of a life, which made the passer-by acquainted with the desolate husband or the widowed wife, who had thus told out their grief. We recognized names, that we had heard spoken of in terms of esteem or affection, names of those who but a few years since gave promise of a long career of honour and of usefulness, and now at rest for ever. To those who have long been in India, and have been familiar with the place and its denizens from time to time, each familiar name comes back as it were with a shock. "Is he dead, then? I had no idea of that." "Yes, he has been dead ten years." "What, is she buried here? I heard of her death a few years since, but I knew not where she fell;" and then the thought comes back how perhaps many of them, who now sleep calmly, once walked up and down these gravel paths as we were doing, much in the same spirit, spelling out the names of those records of the past, wondering who would fill the newly making graves and the wide open space of the future, hoping that we might be spared to return to dear England, a hope destined never to be realized. Each sickly season, each year, new crops are garnered in, and the walls of the cemetery are always expanding; for a few years perhaps a grave is visited and watched over, after that the one mourner is called away, or returns to England, and with him perishes all the memory of the exact spot, where the light of his life went out. We passed an open grave, so small, that only an infant's form could be enclosed in it: whose little treasure was it waiting to receive? As we lingered near, we saw the funeral coming towards the spot. Passing up between the Protestant tombs came a Roman Catholic priest, whose dalmatic and stole showed his creed; he was followed by four boys carrying the little white coffin of a baby, one woman in shabby black was the only mourner; a few boys, and two or three curious natives, made up the whole procession, for whose edification the priest read from a book Latin words, and sprinkled a few drops of holy water over the grave. We turned to leave the cemetery, and our look showed us the poor mother seated on the ground beside the fast filling grave, gazing into it with dry despairing eyes, too scorched with grief to weep, giving a last farewell to all that now remained of her once bright happy child. A few years will pass away; new scenes will be visited, new ties spring up, and the little grave, if not forgotten, will only be indistinctly remembered, one amongst the many that have vanished from the things that are.

Allahabad, 1867.

P.S. She, who accompanied me when I wrote this, within a few months was herself laid there, and my Indian career came to an end abruptly. *London, 1890.*

XIII.

ON THE SUBJECT OF PUNISHING WOMEN FOR CERTAIN OFFENCES.

LETTER OF THE CHIEF JUDGE OF THE PANJÁB PROVINCE (CALLED JUDICIAL COMMISSIONER), FORWARDING HIS OWN OPINION, AND THAT OF HIS SUBORDINATE JUDGES.

I BEG to forward an abstract of the opinions of Divisional and District Judges, with my own remarks.

It might be as well to remember, that this discussion is confined solely to the question of the "expediency of punishing women when convicted, for the offence of adultery." By the Indian Penal Code they cannot be punished. Section 497 contains the following words: "In such cases the wife shall not be punishable as an abettor." An abettor, who is present when the act abetted is committed, is by Section 114 deemed to have committed the act in all other offences but this. This is the only offence, for which the woman is not punishable; the reasons are given at large in the commentary; for every other offence, abduction, theft and criminal misappropriation, the woman is punishable.

We must also bear in mind, that the Panjáb officials are lightly spoken of on this subject. We are supposed to be too much influenced by sentiment, and to imagine, that the circumstances of this province are exceptional, when in fact this is one of the subjects, on which the whole human race ought to have similar feelings, and, if we go to the Legislative Council with a request to have the law altered, we must show in what particular the people of this province differ from those of other provinces.

We may narrow the field of discussion: it would be idle to pretend, that the people of Dehli and Hissar Divisions, which have been fifty years under our rule, have any particular feeling on the subject. There remain, therefore, the three regions of

- I. Sikh-land.
- II. Pathán-land.
- III. Balúch-land.

The former is generally occupied by a Hindu population; the two latter by a Mahometan.

We have to look at this subject from an equitable and far-seeing point of view. We must not legislate for one class and one sex. We must not legislate so as only to meet the wishes and pander to the vices and bad habits, and mistaken notions of the present generation. Legislation is social education. Good laws should be a little in advance of public feeling, and correct the errors of the old, and improve the ideas of the new generation. Admitting for the sake of argument, that the representatives of the Panjáb proper, if they could make their own laws, would at once pass a law to

render women liable to punishment, it would occur to me, that such a hasty departure from equitable principles of legislation would be the most convincing proof of the unfitness of the present generation at least to be vested with legislative powers. They would at once pass a Lion's law for the benefit of the Lion, in this as well as other matters. Such is the tendency of all aristocracies.

Those, who argue that the woman ought on general grounds to be punished because she committed an offence, I refer to the commentator, page 438, where the reasons of the Indian Law Commissioners are given at full length. I have nothing to add to those reasons, and it is hopeless to combat them on general grounds. What right has a husband to come to Court against his wife, when his own hands are not clean? Have they not themselves lived in profligacy, sensuality and adultery, either licensed in the form of bigamy, tolerated in the form of concubinage, or sanctioned by custom in the form of prostitution? By Section 177 of the Procedure Code the husband alone can prosecute an adulterer; all things are presumed by law against the spoiler of another's honour; and the Court will as against the adulterer presume, that the husband was chaste, and benevolent, but as against the wife the law cannot presume any such thing, and how many of the husbands, who prosecute their wives, could clear themselves of post-nuptial frailty? Will husbands agree to their wives prosecuting them for adultery?

The objection to the law must then proceed on special grounds, that it is in the interest of women, that the law should sanction a regulated punishment, to save the offender from a species of lynch law at the hands of their husbands. Do the statistics of the last twelve years bear out this argument? Should we be acting honestly, and bravely, in punishing parties for an offence, for which we admit that they do not deserve punishment, merely because we cannot protect them from violent personal outrage? Remember, that the same man, actuated by the same motives, who would kill his wedded wife for adultery, would kill his concubine, his mistress, his sister-in-law, his daughter-in law, and, I add, his own mother. I have during this month sentenced a man to death for this offence, who defended himself on the sentimental ground of honour: no doubt that in this last case it was mistaken honour, but in many cases there is a large admixture, with the so-called honour, of disappointed lust, and furious jealousy. Is it not rather our duty to stamp out crime by the severest sentences, to carry into every house, every chamber, and every bosom, a conviction, that the hand of our law is not shortened, and write a new lesson of Morality in the annals of the country side? I call the Panjáb-cry on this matter a sentimental cry, a class-cry; one raised in the interests, in the respectable interests, of husbands; the questionable interests of polygamists; the disreputable interests of unfaithful

sensualists, who are pleased, from father to son, to treat woman as a chattel, and who find her a curse. How uncertain is the cry, how entirely the creation of hasty and immature feeling, may be judged from a perusal of the enclosed mass of discordant opinions. The Deputy Commissioner of Goojranwala gives a strong opinion in favour of maintaining the law, as it stands; his locum tenens, for the few months during absence, has addressed to his Commissioner a demi-official letter, wondering that the law of God is set aside by human laws. By this periphrasis I conclude, that he meant the Decalogue, and alluded to the seventh Commandment; but such an argument might be used to make covetousness and neglect of the Sabbath, and the duties to parents, criminally punishable. In truth there are two parties among the officers of Government, and the difference of opinion arises more from difference of individual characters than divergence of official experiences. On the frontier, where violent crime is more rampant, the feeling in favour of a change of law is more intensified. The population of the frontier is more exclusively Mahometan. This opens out another subdivision of the subject; the Mahometan looks upon woman as an object of lust, shuts her up in his houses, and indulges in polygamy; the Hindu of the poorer classes looks on woman as a useful household drudge, a two-legged beast of burden, an article of domestic furniture, the absence of which he regrets rather than the misuse and desecration. He is generally content with one wife, because he cannot afford to get and keep two. With the Hindu the removal of the person and services of this wife is the grievance, and he will generally take her back, and instances have been known of his claiming possession of the issue of an adulterous intimacy, as the calf of his cow. The Mahometan regards the subject from an entirely different point of view, and the people of the better classes, both Hindu and Mahometan, who get access to European officials, entertain the same views; they are generally polygamists, often profligates, and of course are in favour of penal sanctions to an unequal and left-handed contract. So skin-deep is the civilization, which we have introduced, that some of our most respectable and esteemed native officials are avowedly living in polygamy, or indulging in concubinage, and post-nuptial profligacy. I only mention this, as an argument that in such matters as the penal liabilities of women, we must not seek their opinion.

Moreover, native feeling would not be satisfied, if the wife alone were punished, and the widow remained unpunished. The views of the men of this country are too large and comprehensive to allow liberty of action to a woman, even when she has discharged her duties as daughter and wife; they positively prohibit her re-marriage in some families and religions, and in all they assert for the relatives of the deceased husband a species of remainder, an

estate in fee tail, in the person of the widow, and will consider any measure lamentably incomplete, which does not ensure the punishment of widows, for an act, which they are pleased to call adultery, but which the law will only describe as immorality.

Again, what kind of punishment does the law provide for the offence? Fine and imprisonment. Fine would be only an additional infliction on the injured husband. Personal chastisement, or whipping is, no doubt, what would suggest itself to the mind of native legislators; and for a sensuous offence a sensuous punishment is, no doubt, most suitable; and the mediæval institution of the "cutty stool" might, with advantage, be re-established, if a patriarchal or a municipal system of government were possible, and women only were employed to inflict the chastisement; but such a suggestion is utterly inadmissible. The question is not susceptible of argument as even possible with our institutions and system of Government.

There remains, therefore, the gaol only as the receptacle of erring women. The unfaithful wife will there find associates in thieves, murderesses of their children, perhaps of their husbands. Such association does not improve men; it simply ruins women. The utmost term can only be five years; and, although sentimentalists forget it, the woman has a future beyond the prison walls. She must on release go somewhere. Will her husband receive her, and will she be more fitted for domestic duties by her incarceration? Will her children profit by her gaol-experiences? Will her own family receive her? Will she be obliged to take refuge in the bazaar, or, being undivorced from her husband, take up with a paramour? It is difficult, without passing under review a great number of decided cases, to arrive at a safe analysis of the precise motive of an injured husband in bringing his wife into Court on a charge of simple "adultery." She has not ordinarily left his protection, for in that case he could prosecute under a distinct charge, section 498, and I have ruled, that the woman can under that charge be punished, which may induce her to return to her husband's protection. He has punished the adulterer, and succeeded in locking him up in the gaol out of harm's way. His wife, therefore, is in his house and removed from temptation; and, if she is disagreeable, quarrelsome, and a bad housewife, that is a social evil, which no law can reach, and which no gaol can improve. One significant fact we have occurring constantly, that no sooner has a husband got his wife under sentence, than he often petitioned the court to get her out of prison. He found that he had invoked an evil spirit, which had rendered his home desolate, left his children untended, and his dinner uncooked. He wished to frighten his wife by hauling her into Court, but the two-edged weapon of the law had destroyed him in its sweep. The unfortunate man no more wished to be deprived of his wife's society on account of her frail morals, than he wished to be deprived of the

use of his riding mare on account of her weak knees. What the native man really wishes is, that the house of the husband should be a prison to the native woman, and that he should have as much right under any circumstances, to the person of his wife, as of his riding mare. Strike away all the sentiment, that surrounds the subject, and it will be found, that that is the real object, and no British Christian legislature will ever concede such an object.

What was the practice under the native dynasty which preceded us? What under the native States that surround us? Ask them. They at least have no prisons. What then is the preventive of adultery, which the introduction of our penal system has withdrawn? It is simply this: we have taken the whip, and the rope, and the knife, out of the hand of the husband, father-in-law, and brother-in-law; we have more by implication than actual legislation extended the to them objectionable law of the liberty of the subject to the weaker sex, and we have by significant punishments put down the Lynch-law of the Indian wife-slayers.

But it is stated that the dread of punishment will deter women. It is difficult to attach a precise meaning to this phrase. We cannot continue the native practice, as a kind of "*brutum fulmen*," never to be enforced but only quoted "*in terrorem*." Fear of a few months in prison, which is all that our law could possibly inflict, will not deter. If any fear will deter, it will be personal fear of their husbands and relatives, and the knowledge, that however sure will be the vengeance of the law upon the murderer-husband, it will not restore the murdered wife to life. This "*argumentum ad fœminam*" is the only remedy that I know of.

Lahôr, 1860.

XIV.

PROTEST AGAINST PUBLIC EXECUTION OF CRIMINALS.

ATTENTION is drawn to the mode, in which the extreme penalty of the Law is carried out, hoping that it may lead to an alteration in the practice throughout Northern India.

The executions in the City are very numerous, as the same Judge decides the cases of two other Districts. My assistant has superintended a greater number of these melancholy operations than he has been months in the Service.

It is notorious, that the unfortunate offenders have committed crimes, for which they justly suffer, but these crimes were committed from motives of jealousy, uncontrolled passion, and a mistaken feeling of honour. The sympathy of the people is with them, and no good is gained by the offensive and disgusting

exhibition, to which the children, and, I regret to say, the female population, are periodically treated. If the parties suffering were highway robbers, or professional assassins, it would be better, that they should suffer on the spot, or in the neighbourhood, where their crime was committed, but what good example can arise from hanging a poor fellow, who killed his wife in a distant town, in the presence of the boys and women of this City?

Outside the walls on a rising eminence on one side of the highway are two masonry pillars of considerable size, and striking for their whiteness. Some active magistrate in former days erected a permanent gallows, as if he were living in a country, where atrocious crime was rampant, or where it was necessary to terrorize our subjects. I beg to suggest the demolishing of this odious building, and further that all future executions take place within the outer walls of the Prison on a temporary gallows prepared after a proper model to prevent painful accidents: there in the presence of the Authorities, or any person applying for permission, the poor wretch must pay the penalty of the law, which he or she may have outraged. I cannot imagine a more painful duty for an English gentleman than to have to hang a poor trembling woman in the presence of a gaping unfeeling crowd: yet this happened a few weeks ago: owing to the distance of the permanent gallows from the Gaol a melancholy procession has to be formed on the old Tyburn-tree fashion and the Public Officials and the people of the City become hardened and debased by the periodical exhibition of violent death conducted by authority.

Add to this a sickening contention at the foot of the gallows about the clothes of the deceased: complaints are made by the Hangman about the reduction of his fee by a late order: details of prisoners are then told off to carry back the ladder and ropes: the body is then claimed and carried away as a sort of martyr, by relatives and co-religionists. In one instance within the last year an unclaimed body was made over to the Civil Surgeon, who in a neighbouring ditch separated the head from the body for surgical purposes. These are painful details: something of the same kind must happen in every District: they are much to be deprecated by every humane officer of Government, and the only effectual cure is to order, that Executions in future only take place within the walls: the body and clothes should be made over to such friends as come forward, or be decently interred: the hangman to have his fee only.

Letter to Government, Banda, North India, December 16th, 1853.

XV.

**SENTENCE OF DEATH ON THE MURDERER OF
THE FIRST VICTIMS OF THE MUTINY OF 1857.**

**CHARGE: MURDER OF MR. FRASER, CAPT. DOUGLAS, MISS JENNINGS,
AND MISS CLIFFORD.**

THE CROWN VERSUS MOGHAL BEG.

THE trial was conducted entirely in the English language. The Indian Penal Code did not apply, as the offence was committed in 1857. The trial took place under the old procedure.

There is no medical evidence, but the fact, that Mr. Fraser, Capt. Douglas, Miss Jennings, and Miss Clifford, were put to death in the City of Dehli on the 11th of May, 1857, is of sufficient notoriety to be accepted without further proof. The deceased Mr. Fraser was Commissioner of Dehli. Capt. Douglas commanded the King of Dehli's Guard, and Miss Jennings and Miss Clifford were unfortunately guests in his house on the day of the mutiny of the Mirat Garrison. It is unnecessary to go over the whole evidence taken before the Commissioner, but it may be remarked, that the witnesses were eye-witnesses: that their presence on the spot is explained by the fact, that their duties took them there: there is sufficient discrepancy in the petty details of their statements to show, that there has been no conspiracy, and yet these discrepancies do not invalidate the general effect of their testimony.

After the lapse of so many years all the excited feelings of the time have cooled down. The prisoner was named by witnesses, who gave testimony before the Court held for the trial of the King in 1858: he has been hunted down, and at length in 1862 has been confronted with, and recognized by, witnesses, who knew him well, and saw him strike Mr. Fraser, strike Capt. Douglas, and stand with sword drawn over the bodies of the two young ladies; heard him boasting of what he had done, and giving orders as to the disposal of the plundered property. The prisoner had opportunity to cross-examine: he alleges, but does not prove, ill-will betwixt himself and the witnesses: nor is it apparent, what they would gain by swearing away the life of an obscure person, with whom they had had no dealings for the last four years. The rest of his defence amounts to a simple denial. The Commissioner finds a verdict of Guilty, and I entirely agree with him.

The Commissioner proposes a sentence of death, and that the execution take place in the front of the Palace of Dehli. I have no hesitation in passing this sentence, and forward all the papers for the concurrence of the Lieutenant-Governor.

Sad as are the details disclosed in this trial, still as regards the young ladies it is a comfort to be able to believe firmly, (as the evidence here recorded warrants us in doing,) that they were murdered *then and there* in the first confusion of the outbreak: the Prisoner was seen standing with his drawn sword over their bodies.

It is also consolatory to the friends of the deceased public officers to know, that they fell at their posts, doing their best to stem the outbreak, of the extent of which they had no conception.

It is suggested, that an abstract of this trial and decision be sent to the Local Press.

Lahór, Feb: 1, 1862.

XVI.

ON THE SUBJECT OF VIOLENT CRIME, AND ITS PUNISHMENT, ON THE AFGHÁN FRONTIER, BEYOND THE INDUS.

WITH all due deference to the Commander-in-Chief (Lord Strathnairn), His Excellency has opened out in an indirect way a subject of the highest importance. He has touched upon matters, for which we, the chief judicial authorities of the Panjáb, will have to account to a higher than an Earthly Tribunal.

In such countries as Turkey and Syria, with which His Excellency and I myself are acquainted, human life is very cheap. There is no systematic and regular hunting down of crime. If the authorities are roused to action, they content themselves with a signal rough and ready vengeance on the tract, the village, the family, *supposed* to be guilty of the outrage. The action of Justice is spasmodic, the punishments often vicarious, and consequently there has been, and there is, no improvement of the social state of the people, and there never will be, if the same want of system continues. I write from knowledge, having visited Turkey and Syria with my eyes open, and with experience of the annexation of the Panjáb, in which I had taken part.

Our policy on the Afghán Frontier has been different. Our aim has been to conquer the fierce passions of the tribe as well as their country: to read stern yet elevating lessons: to hunt down steadily and unflaggingly the offender in every outrage: to stamp out violent crime, but allow no vicarious punishment: to let it go forth to every village, and every homestead, that the arm of the law is not shortened, that the British Government will do its best to punish every one guilty of violent crime, but will not punish the

innocent just for the sake of appearing to punish crime by executing somebody.

Can there be any doubt, that our policy has been just as well as expedient? Of the 177 Criminals, whom the Commissioners after trial found guilty, and recommended for Capital Execution, ten only have been acquitted by this Court in seven years. Six were in one case in 1856. If in fifty-two cases a sentence of transportation for life has, by order of the Executive Government, been substituted for Death, the reason lies deeper, and I will proceed to explain it.

It is one thing after a smart ride down the frontier, and in total ignorance of the people and their language, to discuss crime and punishment in a general way: it is another to look carefully through the evidence recorded by the Superior Court, on which the life of a fellow-creature rests, and to know, that on your erring and feeble judgment depends the fate of one of God's creatures. It is one thing for a Commissioner, under the old system, to recommend a sentence of Death, knowing well, that with the higher Court rests the decision, and another, under the new Code of Criminal Procedure, to pass sentence as Sessions Judge, and be a sharer in the responsibility of an act of Justice, or of Judicial Murder.

Individually, I have no sentimental objection to the punishment of Death. Not only do I recognize its existence as part of the laws of my country, but I find it among the precepts of my religion. I admit its expediency and necessity. To hang a bad man is a bad use to put him to, but to let a bad man live, and commit more crimes, is to make still worse use of him than to hang him. The best part of my daily work is to wade through the records of crime, and to arrive at judgments, which affect the lives of my fellow creatures. On an average I sentence one to death every week, and yet I have now the painful duty thrust upon me to justify myself against the charge of Lord Strathnairn of not *hanging enough*.

On this frontier I have not hesitated to pass a sentence of Death, contrary to the opinion of two experienced Commissioners, who only recommended imprisonment for life: on this frontier I have sentenced three brothers to be hanged on the same gallows on the scene of their frightful crime, and their land to be confiscated. In more than one case, the Lieutenant-Governor has not concurred with the extreme sentence passed by me. In cases, in which influential friends of the condemned have interfered, I have never recommended modification of sentence.

There has been a condition precedent in all such cases; that the Judge has been satisfied that:

- (1) That an offence has been committed;
- (2) That the party charged is the offender.

Society may be satisfied, if a victim be offered up whether guilty or not, whether the *murdered* man is dead or not. The sight of bodies hanging in chains, as in Turkey, the account of the fierce vengeance poured out on an offending tribe by a ruthless stupid semibarbarous ruler, impresses the traveller with a great idea of executive vigour. It is, however, dangerous to form a judgment from what is thus seen or heard. If a traveller had happened to ride by the spot, where the three brothers were hanging for a share in an agrarian outrage of the Irish type in the valley of Pesháwar, or by the spot in the Deraját, where a woman and her paramour were expiating together their joint crime of assassination of a husband, he would perhaps have brought away an opinion, equally unfounded, of the bloody severity, with which we enforce the law.

What I should rather fear for the Panjáb would be a judicial visit from some great Crown Lawyer, who would patiently wade through the Records, and, like the recording angel, separate our just sentences from what may prove to have been judicial murders. The Commissioners, and Judicial Commissioners, have in all cases acted by their consciences, but the judgment of man is liable to error. The people of the frontier are notorious for perjury of the worst dye : the fiercest passions are roused, and we find the true evidence disguised, and defiled, by gross and false additions, for the purpose of tying the rope tighter round the victim's neck.

Has the offence been committed? Is the accused guilty? These are the questions : this is decided by evidence. That evidence is, or *ought* to be, and, as long as I have anything to do with the subject, *shall* be controlled by those laws of evidence, which the consent of the English people, and the wisdom of English judges, have stamped upon English Courts, wherever they exist.

The subject narrows itself to the correct apportioning of the two offences, which the law allows for the offence of murder,

- (1) Death.
- (2) Transportation for life.

The question is one of revocable, or irrevocable, sentences.

My own views are expressed in my Criminal Report of the whole Province of the Panjáb for 1861, which I quote :

"The number of capital sentences during the year amount to 45, or 19 in excess of last year. Some cases have been of peculiar atrocity. In some instances I have sentenced to Death, when the Commissioner only recommended transportation for life : but in many cases I have given the minor penalty contrary to the recommendation of the Commissioner. Under the new Criminal Code the Commissioner in his capacity of Session Judge will record his own sentence, and send for confirmation only. On him will devolve a much heavier responsibility than before. When-

“ever it has been established beyond doubt, that the crime was committed, that the sufferer was a woman, or the offender a habitual criminal, or the case marked with peculiar deliberation and atrocity, I have never hesitated to pass the extreme sentence: but whenever in the absence of direct evidence there was not such a complete coincidence of circumstantial proof as to shut out the possibility of another hypothesis but that of the guilt of the accused, I have hesitated to pass an irrevocable sentence on facts not entirely conclusive. I have not yet succeeded in my proposition to remove execution of capital sentences from the popular gaze, but all standing gallows, the remnants of the Great Mutiny-Year, 1857, have been removed.”

I stand by these opinions so long as I have the honour to be Chief Judge of the Panjáb. I will not confirm the sentence of death, when there is an unexplained hypothesis, which admits of the innocence of the accused. Still less will I do so, when there is a possibility, that the party alleged to be murdered is not dead. It would cause a scandal to Justice to hang a man, whom the neighbourhood knows to be innocent. The moral influence of our Courts would be impaired, if the murdered man reappeared, and asked why we had sentenced to death his murderer. Here I see my way clearly, and intend to follow it. The Judge, who tries or reviews the case, and whose time is employed in such duties, is the only person, who knows the narrow margin, which separates proof from doubt. How easily an injudicial mind jumps to conclusions! How slowly the judicial mind arrives at a conviction! It is a matter, on which the Judge's training, intellect, and above all his conscience, are concerned, and we must leave it to him, if we wish our Courts to be respected and to work a reformation among the people. Careful and conscientious investigations cannot but work a moral effect upon the rude tribes of the Afghan frontier. During our brief occupation of Afghanistan in 1839-40 stories were current of the wrong men being hanged by our young untrained officers. Such stories may have been false. We have none such in the Frontier Divisions of the Panjáb. If I mistake not, the slow, uncompromising, but certain, progress of Judicial investigation must work a more lasting effect on the moral conscience of the people than the spasmodic severity of a Turkish Pasha in his Diván, accompanied by habitual languor of a corrupt Police, and lethargic Magistrate in the field. We seem to have kept the just medium, and I trust may continue to keep it, viz. systematic hunting down of the offenders in every case of violent crime: full investigation: fair and open trial: neither indecent haste, nor unwarrantable delay: clearly recorded judgment of the Judge who tried the case: submission of that judgment to the sifting and criticism of the Chief Judge of the Province: no respect of persons, and a long rope when the necessity occurs.

I have not attempted to justify the proceedings of this Court on technical grounds: we must regard the subject from a higher point of view.

Letter to Government, Lahór, Sept. 16, 1862.

XVII.

ON UNDUE DEFERENCE TO HINDU IDOL-WORSHIP.

PARAGRAPHS are going the round of the Indian Press, that one of the Judges of the High Court indulged in tokens of undue respect to a heathen Idol in Bangál, on the occasion of his being present at an entertainment during the autumn-festival.

We leave it to the learned Judge to set the public right as to what he really did, and the motive which actuated him. We can neither condemn, nor defend, until we know the action, and the spirit of the action. It is presumed, that the Judge was the guest of some native gentleman, and being conducted in the course of the evening's entertainment in the front of the Idol, in whose honour the feast was given, he allowed himself out of courtesy to his host to take cognizance of an object, which all around him were unmistakeably worshipping, and were assembled for that purpose. Here, if we mistake not, was the error of the Judge. He had not felt the ground before he walked upon it. If he had seated himself at an upper window to see a procession go by, merely as an object of curiosity, he would have been liable to no more imputation than that which attaches to any visitor to Rome: but if without his knowledge he was suddenly led by his host into the presence of an Idol richly decorated, and the object of devotion to all around, he should have been on the alert, and have been guarded in action and words, and remembered, that his position was an embarrassing one. A man of the world, ready for any contingency, would have turned to his host and admired the architecture of the room, or the brilliancy of the decorations, and ignored the Idol in a civil but decided way: in fact, given it the "cut-dead."

The English in India greatly err, both official and non-official, from want of circumspection in these matters. The great "shoe"-question is sometimes mixed up in the matter. It is manifestly improper for any person to enter a private dwelling, or a place set apart for public worship, without some instinctive act of courtesy and respect. The Oriental removes his shoes on such occasions: the Occidental takes off his hat, and with regard to those amphibious animals, who hover betwixt the two great divisions of Society, black and white, it is obvious that they must do one or the other: the Parsi must take off his helmet, or his boots: the Anglicized

native of Bangál must take off his shoes or his turban. No Court of Justice, and no English gentleman, should tolerate any infraction of this rule. So also, when visits are paid by English Gentlemen to Natives of rank, they instinctively take off their hats: and as regards places of public worship they had better abstain from going to them: but if from motives of curiosity they persist on going, they are in duty bound to uncover the head or the feet. In most cases it is quite sufficient to uncover the head, as the educated natives of India have the instinct of gentlemen. But there are some places of peculiar sanctity, or with pavements of rich mosaic work, that entry is not permitted without removing the European shoe, or putting on a stocking, which is drawn over the shoe, and there need be no scruple of conscience in making this concession, for all visitors to the Seraglio of Constantinople are called upon to make the same, to preserve the marble floor from injury.

Some of our countrymen go further, and allow themselves to make offerings, and to be covered with ridiculous garlands and ornaments: they accept presents of flowers, and other objects of supposed sanctity, given at least with a feeling of idolatrous reverence, if not received in the same spirit. All this is highly to be condemned. If it be done thoughtlessly, let people think in future what they are doing: if done advisedly, let them be ashamed of what they have done. There is no difficulty in civilly declining to take any part in a mere ritual worship.

Pioneer, Allahabad, 1867.

XVIII.

THE DIRGE OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY.

SHE is dead, that good old lady, gone to her grave: let us tell of her works that will live after her. She ruled vast provinces; she governed people innumerable; she crushed mighty Kings; she terrified Royal houses; she rifled Palaces, and she rejoiced in their plunder: with a stroke of paper she raised up new dynasties, in a moment of petulance her fingers rubbed out Empires from the map of the world.

She died a good old age, nor did she wish to go: she was overlain by the mighty infant, which she had produced. She was strangled by her jealous mother Britannia: she was a vast anomaly, and a living miracle: European nations stood gazing in astonishment: Asiatic thrones toppled over before her.

She may now sleep soundly, that good old lady: no wordy petitions of her people, no refractory remonstrances of her Governors will disturb her: no thunderings of Parliament will arouse her: still she has left a great name behind her: she has avenged the

insult of centuries at Ghazni; she has snuffed out sovereigns at Lahor; she has restored quiet to vast regions; she has crushed the indigenous manufactures of India; gallantly she stood out for every abuse, and fought to the last for every monopoly. Kings' daughters were among her honourable women: the crumbs from her table were eaten by descendants of one hundred ancestors: Kings and Potentates fed on her bounty, and her daily dole amounted to a Royal ransom. She had feasted Royal guests, and stuffed old Corporations. She raised statues of marble to her servants, her medals were worn proudly by Heroes and Princes.

For in war she was invincible: in England she wore the mask of peace and moderation, in Asia she was the greatest tyrant and greatest oppressor. Her cannon were counted by thousands, her armies by tens of thousands: she has cradled mighty Generals, and suckled heaven-born Ministers. Many a triumph has she celebrated over nations unknown to the Romans, to which the phalanx of Alexander never reached: many a virgin fortress has she violated: many an unstained banner has she trampled upon. For one hundred years she was never in peace, her sword was always drawn: she rejoiced in the sound of the trumpet, and neighed like a war horse to the battle: when she marched, nations trembled: for she slew her thousands, and captured her tens of thousands.

Did she neglect the arts of peace? If there was anything new, if anything wonderful, if the Genius of Moderns had added aught to the wisdom of Ancients, she was the first to adopt it. She bridled vast rivers: she compelled the torrent to change the course, which it had followed for centuries: she paved her roads in iron: she made the lightning her mouthpiece, and ploughed the sea with her kools: she gathered in annual millions: her store-houses, her treasuries, were never empty: she took up royal loans: her credit never failed in the exchange: she was not born great, but she achieved greatness; she started as a spinner and weaver, and became a great Warrior: her flag was seen everywhere: she became the Queen of the East: her ships had once borne manufactures, but now cannon: her writers became soldiers: her clerks were turned into Generals: her store-houses into Castles. She made laws, such as were never made before: she fed the feasts of Baal, and worshipped hideous idols: she suppressed odious crimes, and put a stop to abominable practices: she levied taxes on bathers in rivers, and went snags with the Priest in the Temple: she ate of meats offered to idols: she persecuted Missionaries, and placed the Word of God under a ban: and not all the wealth of Ind will gild that stain, not all the pearls of Cathay will efface that blot.

She possessed many ancient cities, but she built vast new ones: the loftiest ranges of mountains could not bound her dominions: the most gigantic streams drained, but could not span, her limits: her ambassadors ruled like a Government: her servants were as

crowned heads : she paid tribute in shawls of Kashmír, she made presents of diamonds to Queens, and heedlessly flung away strings of pearls and emeralds : her servants bore sceptres, and her subjects sat on thrones : she founded colleges, she built hospitals : she cast cannon : she launched ships of war : her observatories raked the heavens, her cotton once clothed the world : nought in past days came near her : nought in future can surpass her.

And did she show signs of decay ? In her last breath she puffed out a principality : in her dying agonies she squeezed in half a kingdom. Her plains were white with tents : she was mapping her kingdom : she was counting her people : she was making her codes. She was felling immemorial forests, and bridging mighty streams : her morning was spoken out by the brazen voices of a thousand trumpets : the midday gun boomed heavily through her far and wide cantonments : the drums of a hundred Regiments welcomed her sunset : she was suspending her Judges, she was dismissing her Majors : she was cutting her Apothecaries : she was planting her tea-gardens : she was feeding millions in Asia with the salt of Cheshire : she was clothing her people with the cotton of America : she was cramming her students with the new-fangled philosophy of Europe. She was jobbing in the city : she was electing sons-in-law : she was caressing old women, and talking nonsense in council with old men. Her elephants were without number, her camels beyond calculation : she said, "I will be the Lady of Asia for ever : " she was paying her idle and dissolute pensioners with the lakh : she rewarded her old servants with the cowrie : sometimes so stingy, that she saved a rupee, sometimes so extravagant, that she threw away a crore. She was killing by persecution and death those, who dared to speak unpleasant truths : she was promoting to office the flattering liar.

And when she fell, every hand was raised against her : he that wished well to India thought he did good service in insulting her : she had unassisted built up an empire mightier than that of Rome, but she herself was swept away like a cobweb : vested with such mighty powers, the paymaster of so many millions, the pension giver of so many hundreds, whose liberality had ennobled families, and whose gifts had embellished princely houses, who had made treaties with Sovereigns, and trodden under foot empires, who had poured the wealth of Ormuz and Cathay into England, who had wedded the seas of India and China : in the hour of calamity she had no friends : like the bridegroom of the Adriatic she fell in a day, because she knew not the wisdom of the time, and was incapable of self-reform, and it was not the enemy, that did her this disgrace, for then she might have borne it : it was from hands, into which she had placed a sceptre, that she received deadly insult : it was from those mouths, which she had filled with good things, that she was called " Cheese Monger and Rascal " : yea, it was her own,

her familiar friends, who had taken sweet counsel with her, that did her this injury: those, who had driven her on into unjust aggression, now railed at her lust for conquest: those, who had wasted her money in idle shows, now cried Shame on her for her extravagance: those, who had saddled her statute book with incomprehensible laws, now denounced her as incapable. When she traded mightily and her ships returned laden with cotton, then they cried, "Behold one, who has plundered the East, and exacts from the West." When she pulled down her store-houses, and broke up her fleets, and left the cotton-fields of India free to the merchants of England, they cried: "Behold one regardless of the interests of her country." The Briton raved about the want of privileges, the Indian demanded the expulsion of the Briton. The frothy Bábu declaimed in the Town Hall such treasons, as would have cost him his head under any Government of Europe.

But she died not silently: bristling like the wild Hog on her own plains, she fought gallantly to the last: it was a compound of mixtures; it was a confiction of prescriptions that destroyed her. Cotton of Manchester was thrust down her throat with the codification of laws. Knives of Sheffield were mixed up with the preaching of the Gospel. Salt of Droitwich was compounded with the mild virtues of the Hindu, and the lawn sleeves of the Bishop: there was much talking and little legislation: there was a humming about justice, and a summing about Revenue; and there was a chattering about the Hindu, and a clattering about the Mahometan, and a smattering about everything. Old squires scratched old heads, read up old histories, and thumbed old maps: hard words were spoken by soft, very soft, speakers: clever lies were told by stupid orators: there was a sounding of brass in the Commons, and a tinkling of cymbals in the Lords: there was a chattering of parrots in the Committee room, and a braying of asses in the Town Hall: everybody talked of what nobody knew about: some with six sons to become judges, others with ten nephews to be soldiers: they forgot her, who did the great work; they forgot the Empire, which she raised; they forgot the people, whom she governed: of frothy sentiment there was much, of ribaldry not a little; of wisdom not a pennyweight, of real benevolence not a barley corn. Judge of their words, and they meant Justice, Freedom, and Education: look at their actions, it was Cotton, and Salt, and Pottery: it was Patronage, Place, and Jobbery. The Provinces were bleeding, the Directors were feasting, the great people were debating, no thought of the vast, heathen, ignorant, wild, but gentle, submissive, intelligent people. The question was one between Whig and Conservative in power, and Radical and Tory out: a struggle between Leadenhall Street and Manchester: the chartered merchants, who founded, and the chartered libertines, who wished to share the commerce of the East. It was a war between

Woollen Jackonets, and lawn Bishops, between sharp cutting knives made to sell, and sharper cutting Attorneys to be bought: the Cheshire lords wished to salivate India with salt, the West India Merchants to surfeit her with sugar: the thoughtful tallow-chandler wished to supply the Bangáli hut with dips, the enterprising muffin-seller wished to feed the poor Madrasi with crumpets. The lawyer, who had sucked the Presidency orange dry, was anxious to be let loose on the fat gardens of the Mófasil. Bankrupt Merchants, who had robbed widows' houses in the city, were anxious to flesh the steel of their maiden firms on the orphans of India: Stocking Merchants of Lancaster wished to protect the legs of the mild Hindu from the cold: potterers of Derby wished to supply goblets for the wine quaffing of the Mahometan: "nothing like leather," cried the saddler, "nothing like newspapers," cried the Editor. French *modistes* were arranging to clothe the Indian girl in lace and chip bonnets: the warming-pan seller wished to supply his wares for the comfort of the aged: the maker of skates proposed a cargo for the amusement of the young: a wonderful and disinterested show of patriotism seized all classes, but amidst such abundance of sack not one pennyworth of bread, not one word for the interest of millions. It was a spectacle for angels to weep at, for foreign nations to exult in, for Great Britain to hang her head in shame: for India to howl at and execrate.

Lay the sheet reverently over her face, the poor old lady. Scatter some laurels, for she has well deserved them. Scatter over her some leaves of Bohea, some grains of the somnolent poppy, for her teas lost England the empire of America, her poppies have opened the way to dominion in China. She had a larger grasp than Semiramis: was more magnificent than Cleopatra, more stubborn than Elizabeth, more shameless than Catherine. Search the history of the world, and there will be found no parallel of the wonder of her empire, and the ingratitude under which she fell.

Dehli Sketch-Book, May 1st, 1859.

XIX.

A TREATY TO SUBDIVIDE BRITISH INDIA.

THE Roman Catholic organ at Lyons has published a map of British India, divided into dioceses by the Church of Rome under a treaty betwixt the Pope, and the King of Portugal. The dominions of this petty Kingling are so small in India, that there is a current story that, on one occasion, when owing to European complications, the idea of annexing them to British India was under discussion, the Magistrate of the adjacent district was asked what increase of establishment would be necessary for the additional charge, and

his reply was that a few additional scavengers, and water carriers, would suffice. Yet this potentate, who amidst the millions of British India ranks on a level with the chief of the Maldive Islands, unites with the prisoner of the Vatican and publishes a Map, which they are pleased to call "*Les Indes Evangeliques.*"

A perusal of the Annual Reports of the British and Foreign Bible Society reminds me, that the Pope has not struck out a new idea, but is only following the example of his great antagonist in the strife on his part to enslave souls, and on the part of the Bible Society to set them free. The whole world has been mapped out without the permission of their Earthly rulers as part of the coming Kingdom. France appears not in Departments or Provinces, but in Colporteur-divisions. The City of Rome and the reserved little city of St. Peter are not forgotten: both the Vatican, and the Propaganda are within the regular beat of the Italian Bible-distributor. Provision has been made for the Pope's spiritual welfare, if he found leisure to turn from his Breviaries, and Bulls, and Syllabus, to read in the Vernacular the Word of God.

The Viceroy of British India can look upon the erection of these dioceses of the Roman Catholic Church in India, as a matter of entire indifference: perhaps his Secretary points out to His Excellency, that a fly has walked across the Map of British India. The Khalif of the Mahometans, the Chief Lama of the Buddhists, the Chief Rabbi of the Jews, the Patriarch of the old Syriac Church, or the General of the Salvation Army, may some day publish maps of the same description, parcelling out India from their own point of view. The divisional arrangements of the British and Foreign Bible Society are much more important and real, and the impression produced by a judicious distribution of the Scriptures to each man in his own Vernacular, cannot fail to be abiding and blessed, when Pope, King, Khalif, Lama, Rabbi, Patriarch, and General Booth, have passed away.

Bible Society Reporter, London, 1887.

XX.

THE CENSUS OF BRITISH INDIA.

UNDERSTANDING, that there will be a Census of British India in the course of next year, I take the liberty of asking you to submit to the consideration of H. E. the Viceroy in Council the following remarks.

It is most desirable, that this Census should exhibit the remarkable social phenomena of British India, represented by Religion,

Caste or Tribe, and Language in the fullest and most uniform detail. No other country in the world can exhibit such a remarkable picture, and no Government, save that of British India, would have the power, or will, to delineate it with photographic accuracy.

A careful study of the last Census shows, that the distinguished and meritorious officers, who conducted it, were not acting in concord, or communication with each other, nor did they adopt the same terminology, or exhibit their labours in the same form.

Religion. The Government of India ought to decide, after consulting local authorities, how many recognized *cults* there are, and not allow *sects* of one great Religion to be entered separately, nor on the other hand allow persons of totally distinct religions to be grouped together: nor again is it sufficient to add a non-descript group of "other religions." A little consideration will show, that in addition to the three great Book-Religions, the Brahmanical, Buddhist, and Mahometan, there are separate distinct Religious Communities, odious to, and hating the Brahmanical Religion, and yet carelessly classed among the adherents of the latter. Such are the Chumars, numbering three Millions in the North-Western Provinces, the Lingaites, very numerous in Southern India, the Non-Arian Nature-Worshippers of the slopes of the Himaláya, Central India, and Southern India, amounting to many Millions: to class such under the dominant Brahmanical Religion is as grimly ironical as to class an Anabaptist as a Roman Catholic. On the other hand, I read in despatches of *Sikh*, *Jew*, and *Parsi*. Now Sikhs are essentially only Sectarians of the Brahmanical Religion, and, unless it be determined to enter Sects, as well as Religions, which would be a task of great and useless labour, they need not appear in the Census at all, as a separate class.

The enumeration of such classes as Prostitutes, Eunuchs, or Catamites, should not be tolerated, they must disappear in the general population.

Caste. I trust that the Government of India will adhere steadfastly to the conviction, that Caste is a social, and not a religious, phenomenon. It is true, that among the lower classes all practical religious conceptions have dwindled down to the necessity of not breaking Caste-Rules: yet, on the other hand, the great Rajpút Caste is divided into two equally powerful and haughty branches, the Mahometan Rajpút, and the Hindu Rajpút. In the North of India we find the same division of other great Castes: and the analogue of Caste among the Hindu is the Tribe among the Mahometan, which obviously has no relation to Religion. There are features also in the classification of Caste, which should be borne in mind: two great Subdivisions should be made: I. Ancestral or Historical, II. Commercial. Taking the extremes of each Subdivision, the Brahmin on the one hand, and the Sweet-meat Seller, or Carpenter, on the other, there can be no difficulty, but

intermediately there will be difficulty. It will greatly facilitate the ultimate dealing by legislation with Caste (if ever such a necessity were forced upon the State), to separate from the really peculiar phenomenon of Indian Society, the Ancestral Caste, the pseudo-Caste of the lower classes, which exists in the form of Trade-Unions and Guilds all over the world. Care should be taken to show, that Caste does not exist among the fifty Millions of Mahometans, or among the many Millions of Non-Arian Aborigines, or the Christian, Jew, Buddhist, and Parsi population. The offensive word *out-caste* should not be allowed to appear on any State Document, nor should any excuse be given to a Court of Justice to record a Christian convert by the name of the Caste, which he has solemnly abjured. If the Government of India in their official Census assumes, that Caste is the rule, and the absence of Caste the exception, a great act of injustice is done to many Millions, who are described in the form of a Negation, and in a Court of Justice are exposed to what amounts to insult. Many of the great Ancestral Castes have Subdivisions *ad infinitum*; these are termed *Góth* (*gotra*): the enumeration of such would be waste of time, and yet in the case of the great Castes, Brahman, Rajpút, and Khátri, this may be found necessary: but, if found necessary, the name of the *Góth* should be subjoined to the name of the Caste, and the lax and confusing description of persons by the name of their *Góth*, calling it their Caste, should be avoided. This will require a careful tabulating of the recognized Castes and Subdivisions of Castes, before the enumeration commences, and care should be taken, that the same Caste is not described by a different name in different Provinces of the Empire, such as a Brahmin being called Pandit, or Misr, or Pujári, or Puróhit, etc.

Language. I trust that this important subject will be attended to: it is important both to the Administrative and Educational Department. It is suggestive of great existing injustice, if the Courts of Justice are not supplied with officials, capable of speaking the vernaculars of the people: the forced use of Hindi, or other dominant Vernacular, is to be deprecated. The Central Provinces contain more than a million of Gond-speaking people, yet not one Gond-school exists. There must be many cases in the Courts of Justice, where language is used totally unintelligible to the Judicial or Executive Officer, and yet there are no paid Interpreters. What is required is a Language-Map on a fixed scale of each province, coloured to show the fields, where particular languages are spoken by the bulk of the lower classes, and where two or more languages are spoken in the same field, or where a compound of two adjoining languages is spoken on the debateable frontier. With such information the Governor could appreciate the linguistic requirements of his province.

It may seem presumptuous on my part, but I lay before His

Excellency in Council my own *provisional* classification of the languages, and *subordinate* dialects of Languages in British India. If any one produce anything better, or correct this crude attempt, let it be done: but under any circumstances let the Census of the Languages of British India be prepared upon one principle.

The greatest care should be taken in enforcing the use of the same terminology, the absolute exclusion of Vernacular terms, as well as technical and official phraseology, and the maintenance of the same orthography for Proper names throughout the Empire. There is no reason why English terms should not be adopted to describe the subdivisions of Jurisdiction, the Courts of Justice, the rank of officials, and the operations of Commerce, Manufacture, and Agriculture. Very stringent rules should be laid down, as to what Vernacular words *only*, such as Rupee, etc., may be admitted. Weights, measurements, and distances must be expressed in English terms, if they are to be of any statistical value.

When I look at the ugly unwieldy volumes, in which many of the Provincial Reports were prepared, I am tempted to ask, why they cannot be all prepared, like the report of the Province of Mysore in octavo size, with the Maps, and the larger statistical sheets in a separate folio volume: and there should be uniformity in the mode of printing, the paper used, and even the binding: these seem small matters, but they are all matters of importance both to the English and Continental Statisticians, who wish to consult them, but are repelled by the mode of preparation, and the absence of indices, or any guide as to the manner, in which particular information is to be obtained. Each Report should have a separate Religion and Language-Map, and all Maps should be on uniform scale.

And from the material supplied by the Provinces a general brief Report of British India should be prepared by some competent official of scholarly tastes. Such a report is now prepared by one of the officials of the India Office, Westminster, and, as far as correctness goes, well prepared: but in England everything Indian is seen, as it were, through the small end of a telescope, or through a glass darkly: the points of resemblance and difference are not appreciated: there is no power of obtaining explanation to clear up discrepancies. There is in consequence a certain vagueness of expression, of which an official writing in an Indian atmosphere would be incapable.

I trust that I may be pardoned for intruding upon a subject, to which I have given, and continue to give, much attention. I wish to devote my talents and experience to the service of British India to the end.

Letter to the Viceroy of British India, London, May 12, 1880.

XXI.

ON THE SUBJECT OF THE EMENDATION OF
THE LAW.

I would add to my specific recommendations a few remarks on the general subject. It seems to me that the duty of an Oriental Ruler to a people of a different race and religion is to

- (1) Maintain peace and order,
- (2) Repress violent or fraudulent crimes,
- (3) Leave the people alone, encouraging self-government in all municipal and domestic matters.

I am aware, that the tendency of the age flows in directly contrary current, but my experience leads to the above opinion. Codes of Law must be made for the people: the people must not be trimmed down to suit an alien Code: the less Law, the better.

A great deal may be done indirectly by encouraging the higher classes to set the example. The alien Rulers must be content to rule the people with the rod of justice, carrying the sentiments of the higher classes with them, and try to hold them in the fetters of contentment, as love is impossible.

It is indeed difficult to draw the line of interference and abstention: take the case of the human body: the higher the civilization, the more entirely the human body is left in its natural completeness: the more entire the absence of culture, the more shamefully the body is treated: Law can justly interfere to prevent voluntary, or involuntary, mutilation of the body by amputation of limb (except surgically), castration, womb cutting, squeezing of the top and side of the head, etc.; but Law could hardly interfere to prevent the voluntary operations of circumcision, piercing of the ears, nose, and lips, bandaging of the feet, unnecessary drawing out of the teeth, tattooing and painting of the skin, piercing the hands and feet with nails: all and each of these indicate a low state of culture, but the wise Ruler trusts to Education, intercourse with other nations, and time.

Similarly as regards professions, and trades, and occupations, none can be forbidden, which do not involve the commission of a punishable crime. There is one profession, which has exercised my thoughts: it is that of the Dancing-girl, who is necessarily a prostitute. In Egypt, and throughout the Mahometan world, this blot upon social life is forced upon the notice: the phenomenon is

totally different from the sad shame of European cities. We read of the Asiatic phenomenon in the Book of Proverbs: we see its unblushing appearance in the windows of houses in our great Indian towns: the profession is a recognized one, and in our Courts of Justice a woman without shame records her position as such: in the Census of the Province their number is recorded just as much as the number of Jewellers, and Grain-dealers. In the old days, when the population turned out to welcome, or take leave of a District Officer, this class swelled the assembly, and made their bow to the Ruler without prejudice or favour. I remember reading a Report on the progress made by the town of Ferozpúr on the River Satlaj under the fostering care of Captain (afterwards Sir Henry) Lawrence: he showed in figured statements how the population had increased, stating each trade, and the Dancing-girls were recorded as having risen from a very low to a respectable figure: there was no sarcasm intended: the compilers of the statistics had recorded the fact as a matter of business. The Maharája of Pateála had at one time forbidden in his dominions Dancing-girls, Post-offices, and Liquor-shops, but the weaknesses of human nature were too strong for him: these unfortunates worship in the Temple, if Hindu, and go to the Mosque, if Mahometan, without scruple: if a necessity arises for correspondence, they sign their name and profession, unblushingly.

Their ranks are not recruited, as in Europe, from their fallen sisters, but being as it were a Caste under the Indian system, the female children follow the profession of their mothers, or orphan female children are adopted, and in old days they were purchased. These poor little things seem to deserve our attention much more than the child-wife given in honourable marriage, or the child-widow, who at least is not driven to evil courses: but these poor little girls, who generation after generation fill up the gaps of the infamous sisterhood, never had a chance of a better life, never knew of a profession other than the one which they follow: their bodies have developed before their intellect: any conscience of right, or wrong, they never had: they have grown up to maturity without the chance given them of being honest women: they pass on to old age, and infirmity, as the corruptors of their own daughters, and of others, and descend into the grave, or mount the funeral pyre, without any incitement to, any opportunity of, any felt necessity for, Repentance.

Let those, who think the Governing of a great country, the healing of all its gaping sores, and the smoothing down of all its rough exteriors, an easy matter, ponder on these things.

Letter to Government, Lahór, 1858, with additions, 1890.

XXII.

WARNING DURING A REBELLION.

I expect, and am fully confident, that you are in your own villages, and have kept clear of any rebellion. If any of your relations have joined the rebels, write to them to come back before blood is shed: if they do so, their fault will be forgiven. Consider, that I have in person visited every one of your villages, and I know the position of every one of you: what is your injury I consider mine: what is gain to you I consider my gain. The rule of the British is in favour of the agriculturist. If your lands are heavily assessed, tell me so, and I will relieve you: if you have any grievance, let me know it, and I will try to remove it: if you have any plans, let me know them, and I will give you my advice: *if you will excite rebellion, as I live, I will severely punish you.* I have ruled this district three years by the sole agency of the pen, and if necessary, I will rule it by the sword. God forbid that matters should come to that. This trouble affects your families and your prosperity. The Nobles of the country get up the disturbance, but it is the landholders, whose lands are plundered. Consider what I have said, and talk it over with your relations, and bring all back from rebellion, and when my camp comes in your neighbourhood, attend at once in person, and tell those, who have joined the rebellion, to return to me, as children, who have committed a fault, return to their fathers, and their faults will be forgiven them. Let this be known in the valley of Jeswán, and be of good cheer. In two days I shall be in the midst of you with a force, which you will be unable to resist.

Camp, District of Hoshiárpúr, Panjáb, Nov. 28, 1848.

XXIII.

PROPOSAL TO DRAFT A CODE OF REVENUE LAW
FOR NORTH-INDIA.

THE Extension of the Code of Civil Procedure to the Panjáb Province marks an era in the judicial history of India. For the first time the whole of British India has been brought under the same Code of Penal Law, and of Civil and Criminal Procedure. The Non-Regulation system may now be said to have received its death-blow.

This system came into existence as a kind of reaction against the intolerable yoke of confused Regulations and constructions of Law, which had grown up in the first fifty years of our rule in the Presidency of Fort William. When, in the year 1846, the Empire began to expand in a marvellous way by the absorption of whole kingdoms, it was determined to constitute a new organization of tribunals, and place before them as a rule of guidance, the spirit, and not the letter, of the Regulations.

But in course of time a second reaction took place. Under the able men, who started the system, and in newly-conquered provinces, it worked well; but after their departure, and when order was fully established, the Non-Regulation system became merely a veil, behind which high-handed men could do just what they liked; create new offences, pass new laws (as if they were vested with legislative powers), and override the independence of the Judicature.

After a protracted struggle of the patriarchal party the system has fallen, though the exceptional organization of tribunals still remains, and still calls for reform. The object of this memorandum is to suggest one of the steps required to be taken to complete the new order of affairs, and efface even the name of "Non-Regulation" by getting rid of the Regulations themselves.

In the course of the last ten years the volume of old Regulations has been annually thinned, as on the enactment of each Code and organic law the particular Regulations superseded were rescinded. The three great Codes alluded to above, the Rent Act, Stamp Act, Registration Act, and other enactments, have swept away much, that had lost its value by efflux of time, for no one can deny the exceeding merit and excellence of these old Regulations.

But the law relating to the collection of the Land-Revenue still remains in a state of lamentable, and, except to those, who are trained to its study, unintelligible confusion. Regulation upon Regulation, Act upon Act, have been passed upon this most important subject between the years 1793 and the present time, rescinding parts or whole, modifying, contradicting, or reiterating. It has come to this in Upper India, that no one pretends to study the law on the subject, but each man contents himself with a knowledge of the Text-books and Circulars of the Executive.

Mr. James Thomason many years ago proposed to draft a Revenue Code for the North-Western Provinces, and his conception of what was required is to be found in the second volume of his published despatches, and will be a valuable contribution to the work.

In the absence of any one willing or able to carry out this measure, I propose to realize a long-cherished wish to compile a Revenue Code, which, with special chapters devoted to each Province, might be applicable to the North-Western Provinces, the Panjáb, Oudh, and the Central Provinces. The opportunity seems

favourable, since the two greatest authorities on Revenue-matters in these provinces, Lord Lawrence and Sir William Muir, are both in the Council of India.

To excuse my presumption, I must plead that I am intimately acquainted with the Revenue administration, both of the Panjáb and the North-Western Provinces, having held the post of Financial Commissioner, and published at the desire of the Local Government a *Revenue Manual* for the one province, and finding myself unexpectedly a Member of the Board of Revenue of the other. I believe, also, that the province of Oudh might come under the same Code, as it certainly will before long come under the same Administration. With regard to two divisions of the Central Provinces, it is a fact, that for many years they were under the same system as the North-Western Provinces, and it may be presumed, that the divergence of the systems adopted in the other two divisions is not material.

To enable the work to proceed with certainty, and independently of the health, life, or fancy of any one individual, I have commenced to collect the following materials :

The earliest Regulation which has force in this Province is dated 1795. I have gone over the Statute-Book since that date, and excerpted all Regulations and Acts, and all portions of Regulations and Acts, hitherto unrepealed, and grouped them under certain heads, after rejecting all, that are obsolete from efflux of time, or merely of a declaratory or temporary character, determining geographical jurisdiction or such like. The whole of this material, thus arranged, will be printed : and thus the existing law will be brought in a corrected and intelligible, though not scientifically codified, form before the student, the parties concerned, or the legislator ; and even if nothing comes of the Code, the plea of inability to ascertain the Law will not hereafter be sustainable. This portion of my task, undertaken last year in compliance with the wishes of the Local Government, is in a very forward state.

But in addition to, and often modifying, this *lex scripta*, there has sprung up around the executive details of our Revenue Administration a vast number of Circular Orders. Up to the year 1848 these have been consolidated into the Thomason Treatise, the *Directions to Revenue Officers*, and during the last year I have gone over all of a date subsequent up to the present time, and, after the removal of all that are obsolete or rescinded, have grouped those still in force under several heads, and printed them. The *Panjáb Revenue Manual*, alluded to above, embraces all Circulars up to 1863 : and those of a subsequent date will have to be collated. I have asked the Chief Commissioners of Oudh and the Central Provinces to be favoured with a collection of unrepealed Revenue Circulars of those Provinces.

Another portion of the *lex non scripta* of these Provinces is to be

found scattered in the decisions of the Courts of Judicature. I propose this year to go carefully through them, and extract all decisions, which relate to points of Revenue law, and print them. It is probable that no decisions have been passed by the highest Courts of Judicature of the other Provinces, for this simple reason, that up to this time no actual Revenue law exists, the administration being conducted in the spirit of the Law having force in the North-Western Provinces, which is a term too vague to admit of legal constructions.

The materials collected will thus consist of :

- I. Regulations and Acts.
- II. Circular Orders of the highest authority.
- III. Decisions of the chief Courts of Judicature.

It is proposed that the Code relate solely to the Settlement and Collection of the Land-Revenue, and the subjects necessarily connected therewith. No allusion will therefore be made to judicial powers conferred upon Collectors for the decisions of special classes of cases.

The materials being thus collected, the actual work of codification will commence; but at the same time certain suggestions for emendation will have to be considered. This will be a work of time, thought, and intimate Revenue experience, and it is feared, that no one with the heavy weight of official duties upon his shoulders will be able to carry through this additional task.

A list of the Regulations and Acts, which will have to be repealed when the new enactment comes into force will have to be prepared.

The greatest publicity, the amplest time and opportunity for suggestion, and the utmost freedom of discussion on the different points ruled in the new Code, will have to be allowed, and the most independent comments solicited. There are some points, upon which the different schools of Revenue-Officers will never agree.

It will satisfy the desires of the undersigned, if he is permitted by health and opportunity to collect the materials, suggest and render possible the undertaking, leaving to others the credit of completing the design. The reward to him will be in the work itself, and the anticipation of advantage to the people and the public service derived therefrom.

As the matter relates to four Governments, and Administrations, and more especially to the Legislative branch of the Home-Department, the liberty is taken of laying the subject before the Government of India direct.

It is further suggested that the same measure might be carried out for the Province of Lower Bangál, but separately.

And when the Revenue Regulations have been removed from the Statute Book, there will still be a residue of old Regulations, which might be examined, and something done to reduce to a more convenient form those which are worth retaining.

For instance, an organic law for the North-Western Provinces and Lower Bangál is required, similar to those for British Bárma, the Panjáb, and Central Provinces, declaring the constitution of Offices, Judicial and Executive. It should be an object so to re-enact the scattered provisions of the old Bangál Code that no further reference to Regulations would ever be necessary.

Allahabád, January 29th, 1867.

XXIV.

THE STRANGERS' HOME FOR ASIATICS, AFRICANS, AND SOUTH SEA ISLANDERS.

No lot in life is so sad as that of the man cast upon the shore of a strange land. If he has any valuables about him, he becomes generally an object of plunder: if he be penniless, he has the chance of starving. The danger is aggravated, when the poor fellow is ignorant of the language, and customs of the people, in whose midst he has fallen: perhaps a mariner, who has been paid off, and turned out of his vessel: perhaps a domestic servant, who has been paid up his wages, and suddenly discharged by a thoughtless, and heartless, employer.

To the Port of London come vessels from every part of the world, and many hundred poor fellows land at the Docks under most unfavourable circumstances. Dissipation and profligacy, robbery, and murder, have been the features of many a sad case.

Twenty-five years ago it was determined to start a Home for such strangers in the West India Dock Road, Limehouse, a very long way from civilized London, but there was no choice as to situation. It must necessarily be situated near the Port, where the crews were shipped, and unshipped. Large sums were contributed, and a comfortable house erected. One worthy old soldier, the late Colonel R. M. Hughes, devoted himself for twenty years to this particular work, and it is mainly to his unselfish and untiring labours, that the Institute owes its success. The total number registered in 1882 amounted to 525, of whom 160 were natives of India, and 25 of the Malay Archipelago.

It must be remembered, that the inmates of this house are not supported gratuitously: on the contrary, they are too happy to pay for the accommodation afforded. The advantage, which they obtain, is respectability, comfort, and security from their own inherent weaknesses, and the predatory attacks of the neighbourhood. Sometimes in bad seasons a loss is incurred, but, when the inmates are shipped, they readily from their advances pay up all arrears. Some arrive quite destitute, having been cleared out by crimps.

Good order is maintained. Many old boarders appear year after year, and they know the rules of the house, and exercise a controlling power over new comers. The Home has an educational, and moralizing, influence over its inmates. Cases of intemperance are fewer than before. One excellent feature is the "Deposit Account." Inmates are invited to trust to the Manager their cash, and valuables, and it is startling to read that £2000 passes through the Deposit account in the course of a year. We can measure the blessing conferred by this statement. The strangers feel that they have an honest friend, to whom they can entrust their savings, and having nothing about their persons to be robbed, they are safer from violence and fraud in a very indifferent neighbourhood. The deposit is drawn upon week by week for their decent support, and the surplus made over to them when they leave.

The number of languages spoken by the inmates was at one time twenty-five. There are great varieties of colour, religion, customs, and appearance, but there are no distinctions of rank, and, as a general rule, women are not admitted. Special arrangements are made for Indian Nurses, and female Servants, at another Home. The class, for which the Home which I describe is designed, is not likely to travel with female relations. Perhaps one reason for the harmony, which prevails in the motley crew of males, is the absence of that sex, which either intentionally or not, generally gets men into trouble: "Well called Wo-man, who bring woe to man!"

The Institution is managed by an Honorary Secretary, and a resident Salaried Superintendent. The Committee of Management consists to a great degree of retired servants, civil or military, of Her Majesty in British India. There is not much to do, as the machine works smoothly, and just pays its way. Once a year an Annual Meeting of Subscribers is held, and a detachment of this Committee start on the long journey to Limchouse to inspect the buildings, eat curry properly prepared, hear the report, and make speeches.

The income of 1882 was £2305, and the expenditure £2158. Of this amount £400 was received in donations, £448 in subscriptions, and more than £1000 was paid by the inmates for their board and lodging. It is obvious, that the expense of the management must be paid from other sources, and so far the Institution is a Charity. God helps those who help themselves.

At one of the Annual gatherings I remarked in the presence of the good man, who had done so much for the Institution:

"Colonel Hughes seems to me to present the type of the Good Samaritan in looking after, and receiving the strangers of humble degree, who flock to London, without reference to their nation or language. If I were an Artist, and wished to paint a picture, illustrating the truth of that great parable, I should not draw a

"man with a turban standing under a Palm tree with a Mule by his side, but I should represent this Institution with the good Colonel standing on the steps drawing in the Asiatics, and Africans, and other races, out of the great ocean of London's streets, and instead of depicting a Priest and Levite in fancy garments on the opposite pavement, I should sketch the unsympathizing figure of the Policeman, and the rather hostile figure of the Parish Relieving-Officer."

This is a Charity, which Natives of India, who visit England under more favourable circumstances, for pleasure, or education, should take an interest in, and I write these lines to bring the subject to their notice. The people of India have at all times been famous for their kindness and consideration to their poorer brethren. Their methods of Charity differ from those of the European, but still it is Charity. Doles of rice, or scattering of handfuls of Rupees, would be condemned in a European City. This provision for their poor countrymen in a strange land is worthy of their support. A beginning has been made this year, as two Natives of India took part in, and spoke at the Annual Meeting, and it may be hoped, that a larger number will attend.

If the Natives of India desire to rank on an equality with their fellow-subjects of Queen Victoria (and they have a full right to do so), they must come forward, and take part in associations to alleviate suffering, such as Hospitals, and to protect the unwary and friendless, such as this Home for Strangers.

Journal of East India Association, 1884.

XXV.

ON THE MARRIAGE OF NATIVE CONVERTS.

SPEECH IN THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, 1869.

No one can doubt the benevolent motive, which has led to the introduction of this Bill, and it must be admitted, that it has been introduced in a most fair and liberal manner. I understand, that the Bill will be published and circulated for opinion, and no further action before this Council will be taken until replies come, when the principle will be open to discussion. Such being the case, there is no room for opposition at this stage. And I have no amendment to propose, as what I should have proposed is concealed by the Mover of the Bill.

I should be most unwilling to appear as an opponent of any measure in favour of Native Converts, and it would be presumptuous in me to assert, on my own authority, that this measure is

opposed to Scripture: but this is the view apparently adopted by the numerous clergy and laymen, who met two years ago at the Panjáb Conference, and this is the opinion apparently expressed in a petition signed last week by nearly all the Clergy of the Church of England in Calcutta, the Clergy of Bishop's College, Native Missionaries, and Missionaries the husbands of native wives, who have called upon the Government of India to hold back from legislation in the direction of this measure. I am aware, that the Church of Rome and many of the Evangelical Clergy, men for whom I have the greatest respect and esteem, have adopted a contrary opinion, whether from unbiassed conviction or motives of expediency I cannot say: anyhow it behoves this Council to pause before it proceeds to legislation.

I am myself opposed to this measure on secular as well as religious grounds. To the conciliation-clauses, with some amendments there may be in principle no objection, though it is doubtful how they can be worked in practice, and how Native ladies of respectable family will be induced to appear in Court, and be closeted with Native Converts; but the other clauses of the Bill do nothing less than legalize bigamy among Native Converts, and inflict penalties on innocent parties. I am assured that, in many cases, if the Converts would but have the grace to wait, they might persuade their wives to come round: but, when once they have formed new alliances, the door to reconciliation is closed for ever.

I do not wish to say anything, which could possibly appear to be harsh, but it must occur to all that the convictions of a Convert from heathenism to Christianity must be slight, if he requires legislation to secure his morality: that is the real object of the Bill. I do not admit that celibacy and asceticism are unknown in India: these practices had their origin in the East, and are adopted by numerous professors of the Hindú and Buddhist religions. It is with the greatest diffidence, that I approach in this Council, even from a historical point of view, the very serious subject of the interpretation of passages of Scripture; but it is forced upon me by the argument adopted by Mr. Maine when he asked leave to introduce this Bill. I cannot bring myself to believe that St. Paul, a native of Cilicia, in Asia Minor, in a letter to his flock at Corinth in Greece, used the words "Let her depart," in the technical sense of the Roman forum, as tantamount to a divorce. I lean more to those, who maintain that he could not have done so without inculcating a rule contrary to the precepts in the Gospel, which make adultery the sole ground of divorce. These difficult points will no doubt be cleared up by those, who are best able to do so, and whose special province it is to do so before the Bill comes up in Council again, and I shall be glad if arguments are adduced sufficient to convince me, that the measure is not opposed to the real interests of the Convert.

XXVI.

ON THE MARRIAGE OF NATIVE CONVERTS.

SPEECH AT THE MISSIONARY CONFERENCE IN THE PANJÁB, 1861.

DURING past years more than once missionaries have applied to me on subjects of this kind, and my invariable reply has been, that the Native Christian could not be allowed to break his contract. Both polygamy and divorce turned on the law of contracts. Contracts again depended on the civil law of the country. It would be a bad beginning, for a convert to be allowed to repudiate all his contracts. If allowed to repudiate his previous contracts of marriage, he might be tempted to repudiate his debts also. If a man has, in good faith, and according to the custom of his country, married a plurality of wives, he cannot be called upon to put any of them away, when he becomes a Christian. The Missionary must accept him as he is. The proposal to put away all but the first wife will not meet the difficulty: the second wife may be the mother of his children; the third wife may be willing to become a Christian with him: they must accompany him, if willing, wherever he goes; and he cannot be called upon to put any away: though of course no Christian can be allowed to enter into any *new* contracts of this kind.

So also when a convert has been married, and his wife refuses, or is prevented by relations from coming to him, he cannot divorce her, and marry again. Missionaries bring to our notice this kind of case: A young man, actually married according to non-Christian custom, is represented as anxious to obtain possession of the person of his wife; but is unable to do so. This at first seems a hard case; but is it so really? Marriage is honourable in all, but not necessary to all. Many among us never marry at all: others are separated many years from their wives by circumstances: some, once happily married, but losing their wives, go mourning the rest of their days in voluntary celibacy: some may have insane, or hopelessly invalid, wives; but they do not think of putting them away. The Native convert must be kept to his contracts. If his wife will live with him, well and good; if not, he must accept this as his cross. Our Saviour distinctly tells his disciples, that they must not love husband or wife more than Him. Until the wife is dead, or commits adultery, the Native convert is not at liberty to marry again.

Polygamy, though a most objectionable custom, does not constitute an immoral contract, such as, under any law, would be voidable on account of its immorality. However much to be deplored, polygamy is the admitted custom of a great nation, and has been so for more than two thousand years; and is recognized by the law of the land.

PART III.
MISSIONARY.

I.

PAPERS CONNECTED WITH THE MISSIONARY
CONGRESS IN LONDON, 1888.THE SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CONDITION OF THE WORLD
A HUNDRED YEARS AGO AND NOW.

BROTHER WRIGHT has shown you the progress of the Bible-work in a Century. Brother George Smith has exhibited the progress of Christian Missions in that period. I wish to show how the Almighty has ordered the affairs of men so as to advance the coming of His Son's Kingdom.

My friend James Johnston, our Secretary, has just put forth a small volume as a "Century of Social Progress," which I recommend to your notice.

Every political change has worked in the same direction: the independence of the great North American Republic, the world-wide expansion of British Colonies, the consolidation of the German Empire, the Constitutional Kingdom of Italy, the break-up of Turkey, the Conquest of India, the opening up of China and Japan, the rediscovery of Africa, and the revelation of the Islands of the South Seas.

The spread of Education and Science have subserved to our purpose: Geography, Philology, Electricity, and Steam, have been our handmaids. Commerce has accompanied us, very often however, owing to the perverseness of men, as an accompanying evil.

Still more wonderful has been the century's change in the Moral World: how the hearts of men have been softened! how their sympathies have been enlarged! how deeper far is our insight into the meaning of Scripture! We wonder, how our Grandmothers sat unmoved by the cries of the Slave, how our Grandsires read and talked about the destruction of the aborigines like vermin, and no one to cry out to God in their behalf. Did the Clergy of that period believe, that God had made all men in His own likeness, that Christ died for all; how could they read to their flocks the parting injunction of the Saviour to preach His Gospel and yet never practically apply it? We do not judge them: their eyes were blinded: we rather the more thank God that He has opened our eyes to see our duty, and that He has given us the Grace of the will and means to serve Him.

To the Anglo-Saxon Race has been given to lead in this great Movement. Honour be to the Danes of Scandinavia, and the dear Moravians of Germany for setting us the example. Honour be to the dear brethren of those great countries who now work with us. But of the great Anglo-Saxon Race it can be said, that to them in this Century have been entrusted the oracles of God, and that they have been chosen to be the Ambassadors of Christ.

We have learnt many lessons in this Century. (1.) That Freedom always accompanies the Gospel. (2.) That the State has nothing to do with Evangelization. We ask not the protection of pious Queens, or bloody-minded Kings: "Not by might, not by power, but by my Spirit, says the Lord of Hosts."

No longer is it sought to drive ignorant thousands to Baptism: our progress is made by individual conversions: we do not point to holy deaths, but consistent lives. We have learnt to look over the human fences of Churches, and Denominations, and see nothing but the awful face of Christ; we have learnt to listen to nothing but the unhappy one calling to us. We have learnt to love each other first, and then to teach that Law of Love to the Heathen.

A great change has come over the feelings of the Laity. The Missionary is no longer an object of ridicule to the worldly, but an object of wonder, of admiration, and reverence, if he walks humbly and consistently, keeping to his own duties, minding the things of God, and not meddling with the things of Cæsar. Many a layman looks at a Missionary with a sigh, and wishes, that he had the qualification, and the holiness, and the steadfastness, to share his lot.

We have called the other sex to our assistance, and Women are forward in fighting the Lord's battle. With them have come the Medical men, to minister to both soul and body, and the Teacher of Human knowledge sanctified by Divine Grace: with them are all the appliances of Art and Science, of accumulated Wisdom, and stored-up experience.

When the Lord has given such opportunities, such openings, such helps, such supplies, what shall His poor Creatures render in return? More self-consecration, more entire abnegation of self, more sacrifice of pride, prejudice and personal comforts, more casting down of cherished Idols, more laying of ourselves on His altar, more submission to His Will. The Lord has not failed in His promises: He is with us: but His servants have failed by rendering only half service, and lukewarm love. I do not ask you to go back to the Roman Calendar of Saints for examples; do not go beyond the limits of these little Islands. Let each Missionary read the lives of Columba of Iona, of Aidan of the Holy Island of Lindisfarne, of Columbanus of Bangor, of Boniface of Exeter. He will know what Britons did more than one thousand years ago to spread the Gospel, in poverty, in labour, in persecution, in celibacy, in self-

denial, without complaint, and without boasting, and always rejoicing, up to the last hours of their lives. We have the same blood in our veins: it is the same Gospel: let us do likewise.

Speech at Missionary Congress in Exeter Hall, June, 1888.

A SYNOPSIS OF PROTESTANT MISSIONS.

With the reception-ceremony of Saturday begins one of the most remarkable gatherings in the recent history of Protestant missions. For more than a week Exeter Hall will be given up to the exhaustive treatment, in private conference, and public meeting, of nearly every main problem, and field of labour, associated with foreign missionary enterprise as conducted by Protestant agencies. There is, perhaps, some ground for fear, that the extraordinary fulness of the programme may in a sense distract the public attention; nor are we quite certain, that the Conference has made its coming known quite as fully as could be wished. But the opportunity is so remarkable, and so full of promise, that I sincerely hope it will be widely accepted amongst Churchmen and Non-conformists alike. Little, perhaps, is known in many quarters as to the Protestant organizations already at work. I have done my best to make the extent of the field and its divisions more apparent. During the last year I have given from week to week, under the title of the "Mission Field and its Workers," a brief account of foreign missionary agencies, compiled upon one principle by the same hand, with a careful abstinence from all denominational bias, but with a free distribution of praise or blame on particular methods. I present to-day a conspectus of all the Missionary enterprises of the Christian world, excluding those of the Church of Rome, which may be separately considered upon some future occasion. Those only have found a place, which are directed, entirely or in part, against non-Christian populations, Jews, Mahometans, idolators, or nature-worshippers. Every association formed solely for the purpose of proselytism, or the benefit of Christians, is rigidly excluded. The material collected is grouped according to nationality and denomination, and in a special column the character of the enterprise is described, according as it is formed for evangelizing or for medical, woman's work, educational, publishing, or training, or whether it is a substantive Society, or an auxiliary Home or Foreign Aid Society. An attempt, subject to correction, has been made to indicate the fields occupied by each Society; but all allusion to income, number of agents, converts, or adherents, is omitted, as this must be the subject of a careful separate study after it has been ascertained whether each Society prepares its statistics upon the same principles. Until this is known, all comparison is profitless.

Missionary operations are conducted either by "lay associations," specially formed for this particular purpose, or by the collective body of a particular denomination, which is conventionally styled a "Church." A good many fallacies surround this distinction. In the case of a small denomination, such as the Seventh Day Baptists, the Primitive Methodists, the original Secession Presbyterians, the Church is the association, and the association is the Church. In the case of a National Church, such as that of England, with some millions of members, the conduct of missionary operations by the collective Church would be impossible, and the dream of its realization is only a mischievous delusion. The wily Church of Rome has avoided falling into such a snare, and distributes her missionary operations among independent congregations with their assigned fields of labour. Where a moderately-sized denomination, such as the Church of Sweden, or the Free Church of Scotland, conduct missionary operations, it is a matter of internal convenience only, whether the control should rest with an independent Lay Board, or a Committee of the General Assembly. The shoe pinches when within one Church there are two shades of theological thought, in which case there will certainly come into existence an association outside the Church as in Sweden, Holland, Norway, and Germany.

There is, however, a distinct danger in too much subdivision. If the battle of the Lord is to be won, it must be fought in battalions, not in corporals' detachments. It is a cruel thing to settle down amidst a heathen people, open schools, make converts, and then, owing to sickness or death, to abandon the poor sheep to any chance wolf, possibly to the mercies of a Roman Catholic mission party. Again, it is sheer folly to talk of "self-supporting" Missions in a non-Christian country. And yet the work ought to be conducted with much greater economy than is practised now. Men and women with private means should be invited to come forward in much larger numbers. The native Church from the very first must be compelled to support also its own pastors and teachers, but not the alien missionaries. Home-contributions must supply their needs. To ask spiritually-minded men to support themselves by agriculture, keeping mercantile stores, maintaining secular schools, or any trade, is to degrade the missionary, and to withdraw him from his proper duty. Funds must be supplied by Christian churches; men and women should not be exposed to the perils of starvation, and unsuitable accommodation, which will only end in sickness, or the loss of valuable lives.

Of none of the enterprises now reported can it be said, that they are supported by the State for political purposes, or in any way privileged, or protected, or encouraged, for State-purposes. Individual missionaries may, perhaps, in a moment of weakness, bluster about their rights, as subjects of some or other great Power, but practically nothing comes of it, and the idea of avenging the

death of a missionary would be entertained neither by a Society, nor a Government. It would be a fatal policy for Missions, if this were not the case. Their independence would be jeopardized, and independence of the State is essential to the life of a missionary enterprise. Nor can Missionary Societies be mixed up in commercial, industrial, or agricultural speculations without a sure destruction of their spiritual life. On the other hand, a well-conducted Mission in a barbarous country is the certain advance guard of a prosperous commerce from the cessation of inter-tribal strife, and the advance of the populations in morals and civilization.

The Record, London, June, 1888.

THE PROCEEDINGS SUMMED UP.

With the Valedictory Meeting on Tuesday evening the programme of the Congress was worked out; all subsequent Meetings were accretions to meet the idiosyncrasies of particular persons. On the whole it was a great success, at least as far as the numbers of persons present, and of Meetings, indicate success. It cannot be said that any new suggestions, methods, or ideas, are the result, at least to the experienced members. No doubt a large number of persons have received their first ideas of a missionary gathering, and we must trust that the impressions will be permanent. We can recollect the particular period, when the tongue of fire sat upon each of us, and our hearts spake within us, marking a new departure.

One thing has been made evident without doubt, the solidarity of the Evangelical Churches. Between us and our Continental friends the barrier of language is no longer an impediment; between us and our friends from America the Atlantic no longer exists. That ocean can no longer appear in the *Missionary Atlas*. We are one army of the living God, differentiated in separate regiments, but under the same Captain of our Salvation, the same banner of the Cross, marching on, marching on to the conflict, and to victory. This is no mere flight of rhetoric; it is the deliberate outcome of our judgment. Talk no longer of the unity of the Church of Rome under one Pope. The Protestant Churches have a more enduring unity, though *not uniformity*, under the Headship of Christ. Over and over again in the different Meetings this great fact was proved by the incidental remarks, and the bearings of the speakers.

A second feature was the entire disappearance of the offensive manifestation of denominational differences. It, indeed, was difficult to find out whether the sweet and intelligent Christian in our company was a Congregationalist, or a Baptist, or a Methodist, or an Episcopalian, or a good Plymouth-Brother; not that any one

was lax in his convictions, or unsettled in his church-views; but that each and all looked over the barriers of human and historical difference, and saw nothing but the face of Christ, and heard nothing but His parting words on Mount Olivet. And surely there is more real Christianity in this than in the Papal or Mediæval High Church, arrogance of a monopoly of preaching the Gospel of Salvation based on a doubtful Apostolical succession.

A third feature, and a remarkable one, though confessedly on a lower platform than the preceding, was the wondrous fact, that within the walls of Exeter Hall were collected men and women, who spoke a greater variety of languages than had ever been collected under one roof in ancient or modern times. And the object of acquiring those forms of speech, and the use of those forms of speech, was solely and entirely to spread the Gospel of Salvation. The philologist might well bow his head in reverence; the ethnologist might well reflect on the passage in Holy Writ, "Seek ye first His kingdom and His righteousness, and *all these things shall be added unto you*;" the statesman may well ponder upon the appearance of a new factor in politics, a Republic of enthusiasts, who will not be diverted from their object; a Parliament of men of diverse nationalities, but recognizing one Law, one King, and one hope of everlasting life; a federation of the greatest benefactors of mankind.

A fourth feature was the sweet forming, and the still sweeter renewal, of friendships. There is something in the personality, the expression of countenance, the utterance of words of an American, that attracts and conciliates friendships. They are not as we are in Great Britain, but there rests in their choice of words, and formation of sentences, something of the archaic peculiarities of our common ancestors, and a nobility of presence, and an independence of bearing, which in good, holy men (and we had in this Congress no others) is peculiarly fascinating; their eloquence is all their own, and, in spite of the obvious peculiarities of expressions and tones, goes to the heart. Some of their speeches, such as those of Dr. Pierson of New York, Dr. F. W. Taylor of the same city, and Dr. Ellinwood, were simply magnificent, and can never be forgotten by those who heard them.

There is no doubt, therefore, in the opinion of those, who took part in the management of the Congress of 1878 at Mildmay, and in Exeter Hall in 1888, that there has been an advance along the line; indeed, the Conspectus of existing missionary enterprises, which the *Record* most opportunely published on June 8, and which was much appreciated, marks the advance and the high-water line of 1888. On the whole, great praise is due to the Executive Committee, and to the indefatigable Secretary, the Rev. James Johnston, for the conception and the arrangements. Many men, who were mere dummies, were put forward to make speeches and

held a prominent position, who had really done nothing; but it is well known, that to a small body of determined men who worked well and continuously for more than a year, the success must be attributed, and they have in that success their full reward.

In all human affairs there is a certain amount of failure, and this Congress was essentially human; there were many weary, ill-chosen, ill-conceived, papers read, and good men were totally forgotten; that miserable period of five minutes, which Egotism desires, but which Common Sense rejects, wasted half the time of each of the Meetings in the Lower Hall and Annexe. Men, who came long distances, desired to have their voices heard in the assembly; any one can speak for twenty minutes; it requires a wise and collected man to utter anything worth hearing in five minutes. The inexorable bell paralyzed the intellect. A great deal of inept nonsense was spoken in those miserable periods, quite irrelevant to the subject of discussion, garnished with Scripture-quotations, as vague and unprofitable as a summer shower of rain-drops. What was desired was totally absent: when a serious question was discussed, such as the baptism of polygamists, we desire to hear sound and solid reasons for or against by selected speakers, who had experience; as it was, no one single subject was thrashed out. As a Congress of Experts, collected to arrive at approximate agreement on certain moot subjects, this Congress was an entire failure.

Missionary Societies have entirely failed in obtaining the confidence, or even the toleration, of the ruling classes, the nobles, the scientists, the aristocrats, the demagogues, the men of undemonstrative piety, the ordinary good citizens, and the general public. Whole families, of whom the writer of this paper is a member, both wealthy and powerful, give not one shilling. Those, who heart and soul have given themselves up to this service, this best of services for more than forty years, feel this neglect keenly, but do not wonder at it. For why is it so? The foolishness of a section, only of a section, of the missionary party causes this disfavour. In the great gatherings, with the exception of those members of the House of Lords and Commons, who have avowedly thrown in their lot with us, all were absent. Yet it is a subject of the deepest regret, and is caused by the folly of a minority, who neglect the noble work of preaching the Gospel to the heathen, and alleviating the burden of the suffering, to take up fads, miserable crazes, about subjects totally out of the orbit of pure missionary work. They might as well call for a blue moon as suppose that their miserable penny trumpets will influence the counsels of the Parliament of Great Britain, or the Government of British India.

It was distressing to hear the crudity of some remarks, yet all spake with the air of Prophets just descended from the mountain with a new revelation. It seemed as if each man had a peculiar subject on his brain, and the whole world was to be altered to meet

his wishes. There was often a want of sobriety, a want of humility, a want of self-distrust and self-abnegation. What can a man, who has been for years in Japan and China, understand of the wonderful mechanism, which controls the revolution of European feelings, and the policy of European Governments? And yet an American born in the State of Ohio, or a German from Westphalia, and twelve years residing in China, undertook to tell an assembly of miscellaneous men and women what the British Parliament ought to do, and the foolish assembly clapped and stamped in token of approbation of what it is obvious they could not understand.

As regards the missionary, many things came out which saddened the heart; the want of entire consecration to the cause of the conversion of the heathen, the forgetting of their first love; the early marriages, perhaps at the age of twenty-three (when no young lawyer, doctor, or professional man, would think of such things), the heavy charges to the Society for passage-money and maintenance, the crowding of the Home for Missionary Children, the diverting of the sacred funds contributed to evangelize the heathen to the lower objects of maintaining schools for missionary children and pensions for widows, when neither widow nor child ought to have come into existence, as the missionary ought in his youth, in his strength, to have had no thought but the necessity laid upon him to convert the heathen. He cannot have read the Epistle of St. Paul rightly, if he could think of earthly love with the cry of the heathen ringing in his ears. As a reaction against such things come the Brotherhood and Sisterhood of the High Church party, the hap-hazard system of Mr. Hudson Taylor sending out men to take their chance of a sufficiency, and the extraordinary system of Bishop William Taylor sending out men, women and children to live on nothing. All these things make a thoughtful student of the missionary problem very very anxious for the future. The only course is to bring it to the Lord. Lord Radstock rightly remarked, that in these matters we too often forget the Lord.

The Report of the great Congress will be published, and mark an epoch in our missionary annals. Some may live to be present at the next great gathering at the end of the nineteenth century. Some words of this Congress are not to be forgotten. Dr. Ellinwood, of the United States, in his great valedictory address spoke of gratitude, fellowship, kinship, and love to the British people; he said that he had almost forgotten his country, and that to-night we were all Englishmen, *because we were all Christians*. These precious words should live in our memory. Dr. Sutherland, of the Dominion of Canada, spoke of the essential oneness of Protestant Christianity. Oh, let us cherish this! all the world over Christ is all! The Church is prepared to enter on a new work with new enthusiasm, for the love of Christ constraineth us. M. Rappart, of St. Chrischona, remarked, that the Holy Spirit still

clings to its work. Canon Fleming remarked that all the members of the Congress would go back to their home, distinct indeed as the billows, but one as the sea. These are but samples of the noble expressions uttered by noble men, in the presence of vast assemblies of men and women, who desired holiness, even if they did not attain to it. It was well for each one of us to hear such sentiments, and better still to feel the heart beat high, and to appropriate such sentiments as our own. Many of those present will never meet again, but they have looked into each other's faces, they have heard each other's words, they have recognized each other's graces, and the contact has not been in vain. Such Congresses are the direct replies to the Ecumenical Councils of Rome. The Protestant Churches are in evidence, one in Christ, differing in Church-government; one in essentials, divided in matters of less moment. If the increase of volume, and weight, and influence is as great in the next decade as it has been in the last, the ill-judging High Church section of the English Church will feel, that they have made a mistake in abstaining from taking a part in a great movement, which has united the holiest aspirations of the British, American, and Continental nations to advance the kingdom of Christ. If they have stood aside, they will not share the blessings.

The Record, June 20, 1888.

II.

CIVILIZATION WITHOUT THE GOSPEL IS PROFITLESS.

A DISTINGUISHED African traveller, now a British Consul, has lately written a jaunty, patronizing essay of nine pages in the *Fortnightly Review* (April, 1889), in which he says a good word for missionaries in Africa, of whom he may know something, and of missionaries in North America, Oceania, and Asia, of whom he knows absolutely nothing. He clearly knows little of saving Christian Truth himself, and thinks that the non-Christian races can do very well without it. He hazards the idea, that, had Charles Martel *not* conquered at Tours, and had Great Britain accepted the Mahometan religion, the result in the nineteenth century as to the social condition and development of society amidst the British people would have been very much the same. It is sad to read such opinions from the pen of a young and accomplished servant of the State, for the privilege of having been born a Christian is generally considered the very

greatest blessing of the British people. He would allow the missionaries to continue their work of instruction of the Natives in "*their duty towards man*": he would let them dogmatize about the things of God in return for the education and civilization which they introduce. If the great missionary-propaganda of Great Britain would confine itself to being a kind of school-board to the Heathen and Mahometan, it would save time and money in unprofitable preaching of the Gospel of Christ.

It is worthy of an answer, because the ring of the argument indicates either a mind hostile to divine truth, or ignorant of the ways of God with man, as evidenced by History in the past, and by what we see around us at present. I believe, from my knowledge of the author, and I hope, that the latter is the cause. I am not thin-skinned or straight-laced in my religious views, but I freely admit, that I prefer the open and avowed enemy of Missions to this insidious friend.

St. Clement, in the first century after Christ, wrote as follows: "*Ἡ ἀσύνετος, καὶ ἐσκοτημένη διάνοια ἡμῶν ἀναθάλλει εἰς τὸ θαύμαστον Αὐτοῦ φῶς.*" Our understanding is indeed like a flower in a sunless cavern, till the Light of God falls on it. It is almost as vain to seek for the divine elements in the constitution of the human mind, as it would be for the chemist to try by analysis to find the sunbeams, that are locked up in the tissue of the gourd. *We know that it is there*: the understanding must be very darkened, or the survey of mankind must have been very superficial, if signs of the excellency of even the unregenerate human race had not been discovered; but it requires the Grace of God, acting by his own multi-form methods on the hearts of the most careless, the most wicked, the most savage, the most insensate, the most supercilious, the most alienated from the divine light, to give it a chance to develope.

There is a seed of good in all men, a divine Word and Spirit, striving with the hearts of all men, a Christ knocking at the doors of all men, and ready to enter, if the Minister of the Gospel would but preach a true Gospel, a full Gospel, a Gospel unstained by poor human stupid misconceptions, and not dried up by symbolical mediæval Ritual.

A powerful writer has thus expressed himself:

"When we limit our view to the field of nature, and see how many of us are handicapped in the race of life, and are called to bear in their vitiated organizations the sins of long lines of evil ancestors, we must not forget the inner compensations that come down to them from the imported grace of Jesus Christ: the sin of Adam is more than outweighed in its influence over us by the righteousness of Jesus Christ: the new pulse of life from the Cross is mightier than the tainted life, that comes to us from the fruit of the forbidden tree."

If it be objected, and with much force, that the white, red, black and yellow man with different skulls, and physical features, could not have descended from the primeval pair, we need not stop to

argue this out, but reply that just as Christ is but a vicarious and symbolical blessing to us, so we may humbly conceive, that Adam or "Red Earth" is but the vicarious and symbolical representation of the hypothetical common ancestors of the four races.

"Let it never be forgotten," the same writer remarks, "that we inherit a great deal more good than evil, that all things are created in Christ, that the capacity of Man for righteousness transcends the innate temptation to falsehood and guile, and that to the unholy bias in every life there is an offset of latent Grace and benediction."

I lay stress on this, as it accounts for the latent and easily developed goodness of so many savage heathen men and women, as soon as the Ithuriel-spear of the Gospel touches their intellects, consciences and hearts. The word *ἀνθρώπος* is rightly derived from "*ἀνῶθεν ὤψ*," "Eye turned upwards."

I read a great many missionary reports, and many statements depreciating the Native races greatly offend my sense of natural equity. I hear from some pulpits what, with all due deference to the preacher, seems to me mere nonsense, and which must considerably tend to the hardening of hearts of those, who are hostile to evangelization, but certain facts are brought home with irresistible conviction to the careful observer and reader, that in these last days the Gospel is *the best, and indeed the only*, instrument of civilization. I quite admit, that in the long centuries preceding the Christian era many nations attained to a great external civilization as regards Arts and Science, and Commerce and Manufacture, but enough is known of the interior life of those nations to prove, that there was a contempt of human life, a contempt of the liberty of both sexes, a disrespect for the chastity of the female sex, a degree of ferocity, and unscrupulous cruelty, to which even savage races never attained. Take for instance the civilization of the Roman Empire from the time of Tiberius to Antoninus Pius, the period of the martyrdom of St. Peter and St. Paul, and of the culmination of pre-Christian civilization amidst a population speaking Arian languages. Could the annals of any savage race produce such characters as Messalina and Faustina?

I quite admit the moral excellence of the precepts of the Hindu and Buddhist sacred books. I have been familiar with them from my youth; but they are deficient in practical purpose, nor have they ever exercised a motive power on their readers, or rather hearers. In fact, neither the Hindu nor Buddhist religions are elements of civilization in modern times. Of Mahometanism I wish to speak with fairness. It is not the same thing in its written tenets and its daily practice. In past centuries it has effected marvels in the advance of civilization of Asiatic and African races. Under a compact, central, powerful Mahometan organization it might do so still; but the religion itself is in its decadence, and no Mahometan State exists, which is independent of its powerful

Christian neighbours, and the life of the modern Mahometan differs widely from its Arabian ideal. We might as well expect the germ of civilization from professors of the fallen Christian Churches of Abyssinia, Egypt, Syria, Georgia, and Armenia.

The savage races of mankind in North and South America, Oceania, Africa and Asia, in former years stood apart from the fierce light of European civilization; if not entirely inaccessible, still they went their own way. Intercourse by way of commerce was uncertain; it had not entered into the hearts of European Churches to desire to civilize them. If the curse of slave-dealing existed, the more deadly curse of the liquor-traffic had not come into existence. The explorer, the emigrant, the miner, the man of commerce, were not yet on the war-path, which has led to the extinction of so many tribes, and an amount of human misery far exceeding the butchers' bills of the Assyrian, the Babylonian, the Roman, the Vandal, and the Ural-Altaic hordes.

Some would recommend, and some practise, extermination of the weaker races. Let the Confiscation-Laws, the Colonial Land-Acts, the liquor-traffic, the sale of arms, work their *civilizing* process, and clear the land of the red, the black, the yellow, and the brown, vermin-races, which stand in the way of the land-hunger of the white man. God forbid that we should affirm this wicked policy! If they are poor, ignorant, fetish-worshippers, they are still what *their* God, and *our* God, allowed them to be; they are still children of the first man, and our brothers. They deserve all the more pity at our hands; we do not kill our halt, and blind, and idiots, because little use can be made of them. God has just sent us this problem to solve. Men are made good by the work assigned to them; God has no need of their work to aid Him in His work. A Nemesis will surely come on the Anglo-Saxon race for their conduct to the inhabitants of North America, Africa, and Oceania.

Since the beginning of this century the uttermost parts of the round world have been discovered and visited; it is quite impossible for any nation, like China or Japan in old times, to sit apart, and keep foreigners out of their land. It is equally impossible for barbarous tribes in Central Africa, the South Seas, or North and South America, to escape the contact of the European and American. He is ubiquitous; he is mischievous; for trading purposes he forces himself upon shy and unwilling savages, and by his presence disturbs the secluded quiet of centuries.

As regards countries like India, China, and Japan, possessing an ancient Oriental civilization, the touch of the European is deadly. Somehow or other, a certain state of incomplete morality, supported by religious sanctions, had been attained. Had they lived up to the level of their written precepts, it would have been a good morality, but there was no latent power in the religious sanctions

to enforce the morality, and, as Occidental ideas crept in, the buttress of religious sanction disappeared; men became a law to themselves. Such is the position of the modern student of the great State-Colleges of British India. All the old false notions are swept away; nothing remains. The Municipal Law forbids crime and criminal offences, some of which were tolerated by the old religious sanctions, but does not interfere with the private life. In the mean time, European luxuries, liquors, warlike arms, and customs, creep in: this is called civilization. However such nations can, and no doubt will, take care of themselves, and would resent alien dictation. I must leave them alone, as outside the scope of my present argument.

The effect upon barbarous races, or tribes in a lower state of culture, who have not reached to the stage of having a book-religion, *i.e.* a form of worship reduced to writing, like Brahmanism, Buddhism, and Mahometanism, is different. All travellers testify with surprise to the unexpected discovery of flashes of goodness among such low types of human creatures; nobility of the males, kindness of the females, docility of all. With rare exceptions, however much their vision was obscured by the clouds of ignorance and the environments of outward circumstances, still they had arrived at a central truth, that God, or at least some Power greater than themselves, encompassed them. It was forced upon them, that in some mysterious way they were subject to the guidance of some one greater than man. They saw their fellows perish by disease, or by the powers of the elements, and they could not help them. Personal life seemed to be a mere game of chance, and they played it to the last card, heedless of the future, forgetful of the past. This is particularly manifest in the characteristics of the Red Indians of North America; they had dignity, and patience, and fortitude, and stoicism. The powers of Nature, which they worshipped, were not unchangeable: they were peculiarly capricious; there was the hurricane, the volcano, the drought, the pestilence, the invasion of hostile tribes, the fire, the insect-world, and the attacks of wild animals. They could not measure the extent of these forces. They ate, they drank, they fought, and they died; they grew old, and became infirm, they did not know why or how; they were like the beasts that perish, without remorse for frightful crimes, without pity for the sufferings of their victims under horrible torture, without hope for the future, or regret for the past.

These poor people had no proof, or conception, of the existence of a kind Controller of human events beyond the indefinable elements of Nature; yet it was forced upon their convictions, that He or It was kind and merciful to them, and they were grateful. Each felt that, somehow or other, he had got what he desired, or, in other words, what was suitable to his limited wants. The process

of their education was not rapid, but it still existed, for they were so far above the beasts and birds, that they could improve upon the habits and ways of their ancestors; they could manufacture and barter; they had learnt to forbid some things as sins, and to praise some things as excellences. Hume, who was a very free writer, remarks: "Look out for a people entirely destitute of Religion: if 'you find such a one, be assured, that it is but a few degrees 'removed from brutes.'" Essay II. 425. They had been used to little contact with their neighbours which was not hostile. When the European came among them, and did not seek their destruction, they were surprised. The touch of the unscrupulous trader was ruinous to them. They had not had the discipline of a gradually increasing civilization; they had formed no idea of *malum per se*, of what was wrong at all times and in all circumstances; their unbridled appetites led them on to their ruin. Of all human curses, conveyed by one race to another, of all sins which the history of the human race has recorded, perhaps the importation of arms, gunpowder, and intoxicating liquors by so-called Christian men for the purpose of gain is the greatest. Future generations, when they read the history of the last half-century, will shudder, when they find, that the destroyers and debasers of these simple, unsophisticated races were men, who called themselves Christians, and who came from Great Britain, Germany, France, and the United States. Attila and his Huns, Genseric and his Vandals, Gengis Khan and his Mongols, could not have done worse. They at least did not put forth the pretence of civilization, for they had it not. They burnt cities and destroyed the bodies of the citizens. To the European and American export-dealers of arms, gunpowder, and liquors was reserved the more shameful superiority of destroying both body and soul of races, whom they were pleased to call savages, and yet who never had done injury to their ruthless invaders. The last state of the savage man became worse than the first.

Nor have Christian Governments behaved better than Christian traders. American writers describe the hundred years of the existence of the Republic as a "century of dishonour," on account of the unjust treatment of the Red Indian tribes within the limits of their territory. Their lands have been seized, and they have been pushed back to restricted reservations, and many tribes have been totally extinguished. The British Government has done the same in many parts of the world, Canada, South Africa, Australia, New Zealand, the South Sea Islands. The indigenous races have been improved off the soil; they have been cut down, exterminated, and their lands occupied by immigrants. This also is a form of civilization in the mouth of the Anglo-Saxon.

The conclusions of the Parliamentary Committee, of which the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone is the only surviving member, were

thus summed up in the lengthy report which, supported by voluminous evidence, it issued in June, 1837:

"It is not too much to say that the intercourse of Europeans in general, without any exemption in favour of the subjects of Great Britain, has been, unless when attended by missionary exertions, a source of many calamities to uncivilized nations.

"Too often their territory has been usurped, their property seized, their numbers diminished, their character debased, the spread of civilization impeded. European vices and diseases have been introduced amongst them, and they have been familiarized with the use of our most potent instruments for the subtle or the violent destruction of human life, viz. brandy and gunpowder. . . .

"It might be presumed, that the native inhabitants of any land have an incontrovertible right to their own soil; a plain and sacred right, however, which seems not to have been understood. Europeans have entered their borders uninvited, and, when there, have not only acted as if they were undoubted lords of the soil, but have punished the natives as aggressors, if they have evinced a disposition to live in their own country. . . . From very large tracts we have, it appears, succeeded in eradicating them; and, through from some parts their ejection has not been so apparently violent as from others, it has been equally complete, through our taking possession of their hunting grounds, whereby we have despoiled them of the means of existence. . . .

"The result to ourselves has been as contrary to our interests as to our duty; our system has not only incurred a vast load of crime, but a vast expenditure of money and amount of loss. On the other hand, we trust it will not be difficult to show that, setting aside all considerations of duty, a line of policy more friendly and just towards the natives would materially contribute to promote the civil and commercial interests of Great Britain."

Would it then be better, if it were possible to do so, to leave the savage races in their savagery? It would be neither possible nor better. It is not possible to control or restrict the movement, which impels the white man to spread himself, any more than it was possible in past ages to stop the advance of Alaric, Attila, and the swarms of Central Asia. Whether it is better depends upon the opinion formed upon a faithful picture of savage life. The Rev. James Chalmers, in *Life in New Guinea*, writes:

"A savage seldom sleeps well at night: he is in constant fear of attacks from neighbouring tribes, as well as the more insidious foes created by his superstitious mind. If midnight is the favourite time for spirits, there is another hour, when he has good cause to fear the attacking enemy. Men, women, and children are killed in such attacks, which are produced by the most trivial offence."

However wild and barbarous the tribes may be, they are capable of committing acts of hideous cruelty, tortures, human sacrifices, burning alive, cannibalism, taking away human life without respect of person, or any compunction, poisoning or drowning on the imputed charge of witchcraft, infanticide, and parricide. All the accounts that come, whether from the East, or West, or North, or South, in whatever language they are reported, tell the same sad tale of unregenerate man, fallen in some respects to a state lower than that of the wild beast, which does not prey upon its own species, and is so far nobler than man.

I have thus presented to view the three alternatives :

- (1) Extermination by the white immigrant.
- (2) Extinction by the trade-goods brought to them by the white trader.
- (3) Permanence of the savage state in all its cruelty.

If I have not stated the problem correctly, let any omission or inexactness be pointed out. Are there any other alternatives possible to the unassisted wisdom of man? Can History point out any single instance, in the time of the ancient monarchies of Asia and Egypt, at the time of the empire of Greek wisdom or Roman strength, at any subsequent time through the darkness of the middle ages, or in the new birth of modern civilization, of a man, or company of men, going forth with the sole object of civilizing uncivilized races from honourable and benevolent, though entirely *secular*, motives? Worldly men have been found at all times ready to die for the liberty of their own country, or to maintain, or to enlarge, its imaginary greatness. Men have been found, from motives of pure benevolence, to feed the hungry, and visit the sick of their own or kindred people, and in many other ways to shed lustre upon the human race; but has there ever been found the will, the power, the wisdom, the patience, to control uncivilized races without destroying them, and introduce among them a civilization, which shall not prove in the long run a more formidable devil than the devils, which it is proposed to drive out?

In my systematic survey of the languages of the world, I have read books relating to the less well-known races of Asia, Africa, America, and Oceania. I have seen much to love, much to honour, much to marvel at. I have everywhere recognized the excellences even of the natural man, if they had a chance of development, and the longing of the human race to worship, if it can find an object for its worship; but I have failed to trace any attempt of a superior race to benefit an inferior one, to make a sacrifice of wealth, a career, and of life, and to do so *on the human ground of benevolence*. The motive, the power, the command, the high ideal of self-sacrifice and self-consecration, the unworldliness, the sublime folly, as the worldling may call it, that looks over the near horizon of earthly advantages, and fixes its vision on the further horizon, on power given by One that is powerful, on rewards that follow obedience, on fulfilment that follows precious promises, on life following death, have been wanting.

Man's weakness is God's opportunity. In these last days, when all things are weighed and tested, some additional, and unexpected, and palpable, evidence of the truth of the Christian Idea was required, and it has been found. This brings me to close quarters with the author of the *Essay*, with which I commenced. He tells us what the missionaries have done, but he has either not inquired,

or not understood, what sent them there; who supplied the heavy expenditure; why they left their quiet homes to run the risk of disease and death, with the certainty of exile, narrow means, uncongenial society, a noxious climate; why in their old age many clung to the land of their adoption; why men and women were always found ready to go out and fill vacant places; what it was, that supplied the incentives which other men found in honour, rank, wealth, and distinction. Paul tells us one motive:

“The love of Christ constraineth us.”

John supplies the other:

“God so loved the world, that He gave His only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in Him should not perish, but have everlasting life.”

Matthew makes the practical application, quoting the last words of the risen Saviour:

“Go ye, therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost:

“Teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you: and, lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world.”

The question is thus narrowed to the one simple fact: Are we followers of Christ, or are we not?

The writer in the *Fortnightly* has not inquired, how it came to pass, that these simple men, not highly educated, not greatly gifted, not superior men, as men are counted, have found *power* to do what they have done, and which is described by one older and wiser and more experienced than the writer, “as the work of the enchanter’s wand.” In another of his Essays our author has good-humouredly, though not very gratefully, caricatured his missionary hosts, male and female, who received him, nursed him in his sickness, and cared for him. I accept his description of the workmen as truthful; but the Power of God, which sent them out, which sustains them, has enabled them to perform a work, which it is not easy to describe, but one side of which our author has done justice to:

“The missionaries constitute themselves the tribunes and advocates of the Natives: they interpose themselves as buffers between the rude onslaught of the unscrupulous trader and miner, and the scared, bewildered savage; by their fearless clamour they compel the reluctant intervention of higher authorities; they educate the savage, safeguard his rights, perform an important service to humanity at large, and for this end alone are deserving of support and sympathy.”

This is but one segment of the great circle of blessings, which the preacher of the Gospel has brought to these poor races, yet how great it seems, and how little it has been appreciated!

Miss Gordon-Cumming, in her work, *At Home in Fiji*, describes the terrible state of things in that island group before the Wesleyan missionaries arrived, intertribal war, slaughter, cannibalism, portions of the body of the victim being cooked and eaten before the eyes of the still living victim, sick buried alive, widows strangled,

living victims buried under each part of a chief's new house, living bodies laid on the ground as rollers to launch a new canoe; and now in each village the traveller receives a cordial welcome from kindly men and women; in each village is a tiny church, and a pastor paid by his flock. This has not been accomplished without loss of life and great devotion; two missionaries' wives, at the risk of their own lives, rushed into the banquet-hall of a great chief, and by sheer Christian audacity saved the lives of five women from the very hands of the butcher. The touch of the missionary on the soft clay of the savage was permanent and beneficial. A strong Government like that of British India would have stamped out crime by the execution of the offender: the Christian minister in Fiji brought it gently home to the ignorant barbarian, that it was wrong, and evoked the dormant feelings of human nature to his assistance. The Grace of God blessed his faithful endeavours. Such anecdotes in Oceania can be multiplied indefinitely.

Let me turn to North America. No greater proof is found of the unity of the human race, than the fact that, when we deal with a man's understanding, heart, and soul, we can use all over the world the same influences with equal success. He may use different language, tattoo-marks, or clothes, colour of skin, antecedents and environment, but man is the same man for all that, made in the same divine image, endowed with the same human and divine faculties and conceptions, if they only can be called into action. In the Reports of the United States Government, I read that

"Wild savage Red Indian tribes, as fierce as lawless, as intractable as many that are still in their rude state, have been taught the arts and ways of peace, have subjected themselves to law, and are now living in orderly, peaceable, industrious communities. The savages have been changed. How was the transformation wrought? Where the Government wholly failed, the voluntary efforts of the Churches have been crowned with success. *The preaching of the Gospel has done the work, and it alone.*"

When Thomas Chalkley of the Society of Friends visited the Native Americans in 1706 A.D. near Susquehanna, he met the Council, and conversed with them by the aid of an interpreter; they all spoke in turn; one of them was a woman; the men remarked, that some women were wiser than some men, and that their tribe for many years had done nothing without the counsel of the ancient grave women, who spoke much on this occasion. She remarked, that she looked on the Friends' coming to be more than natural, because they did not come to trade, or make gain, but only out of love and respect to the natives, and from a desire to promote their well-being here and hereafter.

It has been well said by one writer that the Red Indian of North America has passed in one century through stages of culture,

achieved by the Anglo-Saxon in more than one thousand years, and this blessed result has come from the personal labour of missionaries, and not from secular institutions, wealth, and benevolence. We read how the Red Indians will halt on Sunday on their travels, and have family prayers morning and evening, and in one instance a Red Indian family effected the conversion of a nominal European Christian.

The story of Africa is well known; it has become the glory of all the Churches of Christendom; it took a long time before the Moravian Schmidt made an impression on the Hottentots, and Moffat on the Be-Chuana, it would have been a much simpler process to exterminate them like vermin, as in Van Diemen's Land; but Christian love triumphed, and they remain as monuments of Christian benevolence. The Christianity may indeed be an imperfect one: we must not expect too much; in our highly civilized and wealthy communities we are apt to do so. We must think of the villages in Palestine, in India, Africa, Oceania, and Arctic America, and not expect too much in the first and second generations. But of one thing we may be certain, that it is wrong to expect, that culture and civilization should precede Christianity. It may accompany it; it may, or may not, be the result of it; the terms are not convertible. The Greenlander may still wear skins, and drink train-oil, and yet have accepted Christ as his Salvation. The civilization, as we know it in Europe, is *not* the object, or method, of the true missionary. Christianity can adapt itself to every phase and stage of human culture: civilization, pressed with undue haste and zeal, may choke the good seed; the worldly side of the new creature may be developed at the expense of the spiritual. The manifest transformation of the personal character of an entire community is one of the gracious signs of God's presence in answer to the prayers and labours of His servants.

Now let me quote the opinion of competent persons as to civilization without the Gospel. The Rev. James Chalmers has had experience of the Natives of Oceania in their raw state, and when passing into higher and better things; but he states emphatically that

"He never met with a single man or woman, whom civilization without Christianity has civilized. The Gospel must precede commerce. Wherever in the Southern Seas there has been the slightest spark of civilization, it has been where the Gospel was preached; and whenever you find in New Guinea a people, that will welcome you, it is where the missionaries of the Cross have been preaching Christ. Civilization! The rampart can only be stormed by those who carry the Cross."

From other quarters I gather testimony to the same effect. I have arrived at the firm conviction, that it is better to leave the poor races to die out in their congenital ignorance than to supply them with a bright weapon without the Grace to know how to use it.

"No hindrance was so great to the success of the early missionary as the notion of beginning with civilization, instead of heart-conversion; our first and constant business must be to tell the people of sin, and of a Saviour from sin."

And again :

"Missionary Societies had not then (1806) the experience, which we now possess, and had not yet so fully learnt that, however valuable civilization is as a hand-maid to evangelization, it is in itself but of little value as a forerunner, and that the simple preaching of the Gospel is the power of God unto Salvation."

And again :

"It was the increasing conviction of all the missionaries, that the plan of gradual approaches by means of civilization had been tried long enough, and that the citadel must be stormed at once with the weapons of God's own armoury; in short, that *evangelization must take precedence of any attempt to improve the social condition of the people*; they were much hindered by their secular employment."

And again :

"It was his impression, as he drew near the close of his life, that he had given an *undue proportion of time and strength to merely civilizing influences, and the material prosperity of the people*. This may account in part for their spiritual weakness, when the supporting hand of their pastor has been withdrawn. How slow we are to learn that *civilization is a blessing to a barbarous people only as it is permeated by the spirit and power of the Gospel!*"

We are apt to ask for too much of the externals of civilization, as well as religion, from these weak races. Our ancestors in the British Islands had them not in the early days of their emerging from barbarism and paganism. Under the slow discipline of centuries we have attained to our present standard. The minimum to be desired would be as follows: A decent man, living in decency, comfort, and security, supporting his children, keeping to one wife, and bearing himself bravely, honestly, and yet humbly before his fellow-men, living in a community, where the persons of both sexes are decently covered, where age, and sex, and childhood, are respected, where the poor and weak are not oppressed, and human life is regarded as a precious treasure, for which the whole neighbourhood is responsible. It was not *primâ facie* impossible, that such a moderate state of culture could have been obtained without the intervention of the Christian Idea; but a careful examination of the records of the Past, and the actual state of the Present, has not supplied me with the power of quoting a single island or tribe, which has been elevated by purely *secular* agencies since the time of our Lord's appearing on earth. Such a man, as I have above described, would walk *humbly*, because the Holy Spirit has convinced him of his past, present, and tendency to future sin: and yet he will walk *hopefully*, because he has realized, that he also is a child of God by adoption and Grace, and that Christ died on the Cross for him and his also.

Even were an expedition of Unitarians, Brahmoists, and Agnostics, to attempt in these last days a benevolent crusade among barbarous

tribes to introduce civilization without the Christian Idea, they might probably succeed, because, though denying Christ in name, their practice would be that of Christian people, and they would unconsciously be carrying with them the outcome of the teachings of Him, whose Divine person they to their own grievous peril denied. Let me illustrate my position by referring to what happens in the material world. In North India a new irrigation-canal has the unexpected result of filling with water wells, which had been dry since the memory of man, rendering sweet wells of bitter water, and pouring into wells, previously scantily supplied, an abundant store. This takes place by an underground percolation over an area beyond the sphere of proposed irrigation, and no payment can be demanded for an unsolicited blessing. So is it with regard to those, who live in the midst of a Christian people, and yet deny their Lord: they partake of the children's bread without thankfulness, and drink of the wells of Salvation, and convey it to their own little ones, and yet their eyes are blind as to the great Fount, from which the waters flow. They may be the instruments of saving others, and yet themselves refuse to be saved.

What shall be said of the kind of civilization, which the lust for expansion of trade of the higher races among the inferior races is supposed to bring with it; which may be described as firearms, gunpowder, and European liquor, with a small fill up of clothing for the body? Such things were totally unknown by these unhappy races previously, and they had not, like the Empires of India, China, and Japan, the power of excluding them. In the Day of Judgment each of us will have our sins to answer for; but when the Australian and the Maori of Oceania, the Hottentot and Zulu and Negro of Africa, the Red Indian of America, rise up and bear witness against the great Teutonic races of Germany, Great Britain, and North America, their persecutors, plunderers, and poisoners, and so-called civilizers, what reply will the distillers and liquor-exporters, and manufacturers of firearms and gunpowder have to make? They did it in the way of trade, so as to have the means of decorating their houses, and heaping up portions for their children, according to the rules of civilized commerce; but they have carried ruin and death to helpless millions. "Inasmuch as ye did it to these little ones, ye did it unto Me." In the eyes of the savage and barbarous races they represent the so-called civilizers, and so-called Christianity. Instead of the bread of life they have given a stone; and by the same measure in the day of reckoning it shall be measured to them. It is impossible, when the subject is considered, to express oneself otherwise than I have done, and I repeat the words, with which I commenced, that civilization without the Gospel is profitless, and worse than profitless.

It is a comfort to think what an additional testimony to the truth, and power of the Divine Revelation, is afforded by the con-

temporary history of the Christian civilization of the barbarous races. Critics are always attacking the genuineness and authenticity of the Book, and another class of unbelievers assail the whole theory of Tradition, and between the two the credibility of any history of events, that took place beyond the memory of living men, is placed in jeopardy. Somehow or other several distinct sets of religious books of antiquity, the most modern dating back only twelve centuries, have come down to our generation, and all can be read and understood, and are exceedingly interesting, with a great deal of good in them; and the reader may well pause from time to time, and thank God, that it was put into the heart of men to conceive such good thoughts, teach them orally to others, and leave them in writing. With the exception of one set of books, all are only interesting archæological treasures: they were not intended for all time, and all the world, and, being shrouded in a language unknown to the people, have ceased to be of any practical use, are no longer the law of life, the guide of the conscience, the standard of morality.

But the books of the Old and New Testament live a life, that never can end, in all the languages of the world. The law of life therein laid down is still a living law to millions: it is found to be adapted to the wants and weakness of all humanity, however different in culture and environment, and it brings with it a *power*, which lasts through life, and to the border of the grave. Call it a beautiful legend, if you like, or a doubtful Tradition, the personality of Jesus, when brought home to the understanding, hearts, and consciences, of uncivilized tribes, has exercised an influence which it would be sheer folly to deny. "By their works ye shall know them." The Greek and Roman sages had developed the idea of a Nemesis following crime, and of a high morality; but it had been beyond their experiences to conceive the Idea of Faith in One powerful to save, repentance, pardon, peace, and holiness. Under the Greek and Roman Idea, Thakombau, the cannibal king of Fiji, would have been driven by a Nemesis following his frightful crimes to a violent end: under Christian teaching this same cannibal was brought to a sense of the nature of his abominable acts, convinced of sin, led to a Saviour, repentance, and baptism; so that he became a new man through Faith in Christ, and an example to his people, and the beloved friend of the missionary, who saved him as a brand from the burning.

Church Missionary Society Intelligencer, July, 1889.

III.

CLOUDS ON THE HORIZON.

ESSAY.

"On the various forms of Error, which stand in the way of the acceptance of
"real Christian Faith by the *educated* Natives of Asia, Africa, America,
"and Oceania."

TEXT.

"But the unclean spirit, when it is gone out of the man,

- (1) passeth through *waterless* places, seeking rest, and findeth it not.
- (2) then he saith : ' I will return into my house, whence I came out.'
- (3) and when he is come, he findeth it *empty, swept, and garnished* (σχολάζοντα, σεσαρωμένον, καὶ κεκοσμημένον).

(N.B. : Luke omits "empty.")

- (4) then goeth he, and taketh with himself seven other spirits more evil than himself, and they enter in and dwell there.

- (5) and the *last state of that man becometh worse than the first.*

- (6) Even so shall it be to *this generation.*"

(N.B. : Luke omits the last clause.)

Revised Version of Matthew xii. 43.

CHAPTER 1. PREFATORY REMARKS.

CHAPTER 2. THE OLD SYSTEMS PURIFIED, REFINED, AND ADAPTED TO THE ENVIRONMENT OF A CIVILIZED SOCIETY.

CHAPTER 3. MODERN CONCEPTIONS FOUND IN THE BLENDING OF THE OLD SYSTEMS WITH CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE, EITHER CONSCIOUSLY OR UNCONSCIOUSLY.

CHAPTER 4. DEPARTURES FROM THE TYPE OF CHRISTIAN FAITH ACCEPTED BY PROTESTANT CHURCHES.

CHAPTER 5. CLOSING REMARKS.

APPENDIX. SCHEDULE OF REFERENCES.

CHAPTER I.—PREFATORY REMARKS.

THE work of the nineteenth century is nearly done : at the close of another half century we shall be able to say, that the Gospel has been preached in some form or another in nearly every part of the world. In the company of, or following, the Gospel, has come a certain amount of religious or secular Education ; of Instruction, moral, material, or spiritual ; of Commerce, and so-called Civilization. By the end of the twentieth century, idolatry, and local forms of worship, will be entirely discredited, and the

second stage of Missions will be entered upon. It is not likely, that any race or nation, touched however lightly with the electric current of Civilization, will linger in the prison of old-world ideas. The heart of man, made after God's image, turns Godwards; but the mode, in which it feels after God, varies according to its environment, opportunity, and elevation of thought. The wonderful conceptions of Greek and Roman mythology expired unregretted in a sunset of their own beauty. Homer ennobled, but did not, except in the case of the Goddess Athéné, spiritualize his Divinities; Virgil lowered them in their moral standard below the level of self-controlled mortals; Horace, following Lucretius, laughed at them; a century later they had disappeared. The Gods of Greece and Rome went, as it were, into exile, and some of them returned, in the eyes of Christians degraded into evil spirits, or promoted under new names to be Roman Catholic Saints. In Southern Europe the same temples, and the same statues, have done duty on both occasions. Here we have an instance of the house empty, swept, and garnished. The young Hindu or Mahometan, fresh from the State-Colleges of British India, is passing through a similar transformation of ideas. We have in the case of Justin Martyr, who lived 100-120 A.D., an exact parallel. He was a Greek, who lived at Nablús (the ancient Sichem) in Palestine; he found his neighbours under the evil influence of Simon Magus little better than idolaters; he himself sought truth in the schools of Greek philosophy, Stoic, Peripatetic, Pythagorean, all *waterless* places, where he did not find what he desired. A better hope was dawning upon him in the teaching of Socrates and Plato, when by a mere chance he met an aged Christian, who summed up his advice in the following words: "The truths, which you seek, "are not comprehensible to the eye or mind of man, unless God "and His Christ give him understanding." Justin Martyr took the advice, and found Christianity the only true philosophy.

In trustworthy reports we read, that Paganism in its old insensate form is gone. Great Pan is dead; if among the aged, or the inhabitants of remote districts, some trace of the old poison remains, it is but the flickering of an expiring lamp. But the same reports tell us, that the connection of the people with Christianity is to a large extent of the most nominal kind even in settled congregations: the idols are abandoned, but the Neo-Christians are in gross ignorance, and a very low state of morality. If any one dreams, that we are approaching within reach of a Christian euthanasia, he is mistaken. Here again the state of the Christian Church in the second and third centuries supplies analogies, for human tendencies have not changed with the lapse of centuries. My object is to review one by one the phantoms, which in the guise of religion get power over the awakening human soul, and come between it and what the Protestant Christians of Europe and

North America feel to be "Christianity," based upon the dogma of an incarnate, crucified, and risen Saviour. As far as I know, it is a new study from my point of view. I have weighed in the balance, and cast out all forms of religion, in which I found no signs of future vitality, such as Taouism, Shintoism, Shamanism, and all old-world forms of so-called "animistic" beliefs. I have quoted freely, and without acknowledgment, from the scores of authors, whom I have consulted. Let not any reader be anxious as to my personal convictions, but I do not consider that the fact of having accepted Christ "ex animo" would justify the absence of a judicial mind in the consideration of the wonderful phenomena, which it is proposed to exhibit. Having lived a quarter of a century with the Hindu and Mahometan in closest friendship, I cannot restrict human moral excellence to members of Christian Churches, and a wide study of the history of religion at all times, and in all parts of the world, has confirmed to me the truth of Peter's words, Acts x. 34-35. The eyes of many missionaries in the field, and many of their supporters at home, are darkened by an imperfect grasp of the subject, and by prejudice: they cannot appreciate the phenomena at their proper values; they can only abuse and misrepresent. It seems to us, who were born Christians, so easy to accept the doctrine, but it is not so. We have, by the slow discipline of centuries, had our intellects cleared of such fogs as (1) the existence of ghosts, fairies, witches, and spirits; (2) the presence of the voice of the Creator in thunder, or the elements; (3) the idea of temporal punishment of sins, or reward of virtue; (4) the possibility of miracles in the present day, or of prophetic utterances; (5) the belief in dreams of the night, or visions of the day. On the other hand, our reasoning powers have been disciplined by logic and criticism. The people, whom we have to deal with in our Missions, are still subject to the five above-described weaknesses, and totally devoid of the intellectual discipline alluded to.

There is another consideration: Europe was blessed by an early, and uninterrupted, Christianity. We have no knowledge of the feelings of our ancestors, who were not Christians; we do not even know for certain what they were, before they became Christians. But if we could imagine, that the Gospel preached in Palestine had never incorporated the wisdom of the Greek, and the strength of the Latin races, had never found its way into Europe, and had been stamped out of Asia by the Mahometans, and suddenly in these days, under the spade of the excavator, the Old and New Testaments had been revealed to us, it would have been just as true under those circumstances as it is now, but we should have been brought face to face with the mighty Revelation without preparation, and the message would have had to work its way by its own innate force, and those, who were constitutionally slow of heart to believe, would have cried out, "Why have we been left so many

"centuries in darkness? If this doctrine is the only way of Salvation, why have our ancestors been debarred of a knowledge, which actually existed, but which was mysteriously shrouded from us?"

This is just what the poor non-Christian races do feel, though incapable of expressing their sense of the deep injury done to their ancestors, and yet some of them do say: the power of the Holy Spirit does indeed fall on them, but they are totally unprepared to receive it, or make a good use of it, and are exposed to the risk of errors, of which we can have no conception. What we call "heresy," or "*aïpeais*," in fact "choice of principles," is produced by the contact of the new belief, directly, or by indirect reflexion, with the remnants, the decaying and fading elements, of the old. How much controlling Grace is required to keep alive the flame in an ignorant, poor, despised Church in the midst of hostile Paganism, or persecuting Islam! It is a marvel how the Coptic, Abyssinian, Syrian, and Nestorian, Churches kept themselves alive during the dreary centuries of neglect and oppression. But the newly-formed Churches are liable to the influence of more powerful and subtle enemies, an infidel Press worked with all the science and daring of Europe, and in every language; false missionaries sent out for the purpose of seducing; conflicting offers of rival Churches, some bound in the chains of mediæval error, some led away by spirits, which they have never proved; the examples of evil men, calling themselves Christians; the attractions of cunningly devised systems; and in some countries, like India and China, the solemn call of members of their own ancestral and venerable religion, which has cleared away the moss of centuries, and tries to present itself, as the divinely preserved and reformed representative of primeval Truth as communicated to their ancestors. Here Nationality is an important factor.

We must look at the subject from a philosophical point of view, and we then become aware, that all the ancient religions of the world sprang from the *fear* of something unknown, not necessarily a supernatural unknown, for the savage knows no difference between the natural and supernatural, but in the fear of some unexpected event, which will result in evil.

"*Primus in orbe Deos fecit timor.*"

Hence spring the early cults of gods, evil gods, for the only formula, which men knew, was that "God is the evil." Thus the first form of religion is Fetishism, the cult of elements and objects. This leads on to the cult of spirits, and of the manes of ancestors, supposed still to haunt the place of their earthly sojourn, and the dim belief of a future life beyond the grave, something of the type of their life on this side, with the same wants, pleasures, and sufferings.

"They deem admitted to that equal sky

"Their faithful dogs will bear them company."

Then Polytheism comes into existence, or natural objects, such as the sun, the mountain, the river, become fancifully personified, and illustrious men become deified. As the education of the world advances, a process of elimination takes place, with the result of Monotheism, or blank Atheism. Unless at this epoch of human advancement a divine revelation operates on the hearts and understandings of men, the proud human intellect sets itself free of all theological and eschatological conceptions, and arrives at Materialism, and the assertion, that beyond the actual body, and the surrounding elements, and the ordinary environment of that body, space and time, life and death, nothing exists. In this sad and hopeless snare many great intellects and noble natures in modern times in Europe have been entrapped, and nothing, but the Grace of God, can save the young and proud educated heirs of all the ages, and of all the accumulated wisdom of Asia, now supplemented by the Science of Europe, who are floating down the fatal rapid. They may from time to time be arrested, as for a moment, by a rock in the stream, representing one or other of the forms of illusion described in this Essay; but such a poor device as Theosophism, or Agnosticism, or Positivism, would hardly arrest the downgrade impetus beyond a few short hours.

It is of no use denying, that the Religions of the Heathen world were evolved by unassisted men out of their own imaginations, and by their own natural faculties, and that the existence of a constant struggle betwixt Good and Evil, Right and Wrong, Truth and Error, Knowledge and Ignorance, is recognized in all Religious Systems, and is no speciality of Christian Doctrine, as some narrow-minded Divines would have it. And as regards the existence of a Deity, there has been and always will be felt, by persons in a low state of culture, a necessity for some one to shelter them in time of trouble, guide them in doubt, console them in affliction: this feeling underlies the Egyptian Conceptions of the Divine, the Avatára of the Hindu, the Græco-Roman Pantheon, the Saint-worship of the Roman Catholic Church, the Genii of the Mahometan, the Bodhi Satwa of the Buddhist. False as they are all, they are true to the instincts of poor Humanity, an effort wrung out of man in the hour of fear, doubt, woe, and death. And with the good spirits, who were invoked, was begot the idea of evil ones to be appeased. The Small Pox and Cholera were great facts: could they be warded off by prayer and sacrifice?

There may be a new birth of feelers after God, like Mani and Mahomet; new great moral atheists, like Koun-fu-tse (Confucius) and Gautama (Buddha); new schools of philosophy, like those of Socrates and Plato, of the Vedánta, and Nyáya and Sánkya of the Hindu, wondering by whom man was made, whither men go after life's little struggle, what was the object of existence, for the human race are brothers for all time, and man, after all, is

a religious animal. Augustine has nobly said, "*Res ipsa, quæ nunc Religio Christiana nuncupatur, erat apud antiquos, nec defuit ab initio generis humani, quousque Christus veniret in carnem, unde vera Religio, quæ jam erat, cœpit appellari Christiana.*"

It is as well to recollect the elements of religion, which unconsciously operate on the intellect and soul of man, till choked by the self-sufficiency of human reason: (1) Intuition of God; (2) sense of human weakness and dependence; (3) belief in divine government of the world; (4) distinction between good and evil; (5) hope of a better life. And, if religion exists, it must be built, if it is to endure, upon foundations such as the following: (1) Belief in a divine power of some kind; (2) acknowledgment of sin in some way; (3) habit of prayer in some form; (4) desire to make some kind of atonement for sin, and thus escape from punishment; (5) something beyond the grave. But it is a tremendous error, though a common one, to measure other nations or races, who are in a different environment, on a different platform of civilization or barbarousness, by ourselves; to judge of past ages by contrasting them with the nineteenth century; to weigh other forms of civilization in the same scales with our own; to limit the varied aspect of a great truth by the capacity of our own narrow vision. The Old Testament gives us an illustration of the absence of such blemishes in a divine work, where there is unity, but not uniformity. The only difficulty, which presses on my mind, is this: It is so often stated by the apologists of the divine plan of dealing with "man," that it was progressive according to the ever-increasing capacity of man to receive the truth. But the "man" alluded to in the Old Testament is the small nation of the Jews only, a mere drop in the ocean of the great races of Asia; and in the New Testament, the subjects of the Roman Empire, a mere handful compared to the teeming inhabitants of the world. As regards the races, to whom the old and new covenant came, they had indeed passed through the different stages of man's civilization, and touched ground absolutely; but, when we come to deal with the barbarous races of Asia, Africa, Oceania, and America, we find that they are still in a lower stage of comparative civilization than that of Abraham, and that we are trying to apply to them in their intellectual childhood those rules of life, which had only been gradually enforced upon God's chosen people, and for which we, by the discipline of the growth of ages, have become fitted. If Israel was not fitted in the time of its kings and prophets to receive the full Gospel, how can the educated classes of Asia and the barbarous inhabitants of Africa, America, and Oceania be expected to be able to comprehend and to bear it? In weighing their shortcomings, and their tendency to go after other gods, such gods as the nineteenth century supplies, we must not judge them.

harshly. What should we ourselves have done under similar circumstances?

I now proceed to notice each form of religious development, briefly, but I hope faithfully, trying to see the good features, and unflinchingly pointing out the dangers, not from the point of view of abstract moral or Christian excellence, but with reference to the danger, to which the existence of such phenomena in the nineteenth century, a period of intellectual, material, and spiritual development, exposes individuals, who have cast off the fetters of their old religion, and weak and infant Churches.

CHAPTER II.—THE OLD SYSTEMS PURIFIED, REFINED AND ADAPTED TO THE ENVIRONMENT OF A CIVILIZED SOCIETY.

	(A. Neo-Islam (Súfi, Bábi).
Theist	B. Neo-Judaism.
	C. Neo-Hinduism (Jain, Sikh, Satnámi, Arya Samáj).
	D. Neo-Zoroastrianism.
Atheist	E. Neo-Buddhism.
	F. Neo-Confucianism.

(a) *Neo-Islam*, with its satellites: (1) Súfi-ism, (2) Bábi-ism. Unquestionably this is the most determined and dangerous foe; the youngest of all the great propagandist religions, with its roots deep in the Jewish and Christian Faiths. I have not placed it in Chapter III., as its contact with Christianity was neither with a pure form, nor with an open Bible. It is more dangerous, owing to its resemblance: *Corruptio optimi pessima*. It is of no use painting it with dark colours beyond its deserts. Slavery and slave-trade are no more necessary features of Islam than drunkenness and sexual profligacy are of Christianity. Of the fifty millions of Mahometans in British India not one has a slave; nor is polygamy either a peculiarity, or a necessity, of their system. In British India the practice is rare, though by the law it is legal. The great doctrines of one God, all-powerful, all-wise, and all-merciful; the immortality of the soul; the certainty of a day of judgment; the necessity of personal prayer; the absence of any priesthood; the abolition of all old-world practices, except circumcision, are such as must ever recommend it to favour. Mahomet's description of Paradise is false, because he was himself false, and knew nothing about the subject; but he knew what kind of Paradise would attract his countrymen. Had he been addressing a London Evangelical congregation, or converted Eskimó, he would have expressed himself differently, but would be equally far from the truth, which eye has not seen, ear heard, nor heart conceived. Islám wins its way by peaceful means everywhere; patronized by the Russians in

Siberia, by the Dutch in Batavia, tolerated by the English in British India and the Cape Colony, and commencing the work of propagandism by missionaries. All over Africa it is aggressive, and appears to advantage, as suppressing cannibalism and human sacrifices, and discouraging the import of liquors. It is still a living form of belief. Fatalism has a powerful effect upon the Oriental sluggish character, and the time is at hand, when translations of the Korán, and other religious books, will be widely circulated in the different vernaculars. At the Colleges of British India the Hindu learns to be ashamed of the religion of his family, but the Mahometan has nothing to be ashamed of. His dogma is superior to his practice. From our own point of view the Korán is false and worthless, and conversion to Islám means only formal profession of faith, the rite of circumcision, and certain practices, and nothing more. There is no conversion of the soul, no change, or even pretended change, of the heart, no confession of sin, no conviction of the need of a Saviour, no desire for holiness. But from the point of view of the idolatrous and barbarous tribes, it has another appearance; it does not demand too much of its neophytes, and it is indulgent to the vices of its followers. Under the influence of the contact of Christian civilization a silent reformation is going on among Mahometans. The moral impurities, which had been contracted by dwelling among idolaters and from ignorance, are being removed, not by the violent hands of Wahábi fanatics, but by the prudent counsels and example of educated leaders, and it is impossible to imagine what may be the results. The work of Saiyad Ahmad Khan in North India is a notable instance.

The character of the doctrine of Islám is too exact a reflector of the race, time, place, and climate of the people, among whom the Prophet lived, to admit of its adapting itself to the universal wants of mankind in every region.

It may, however, be questioned, whether it really is itself worthy of the name of a universal religion, for the pilgrimage to the black stone at Mecca localizes it to Arabia. The teaching of Christ and of Buddha appeal to the human soul, wherever it is. Islám has a want of power to develope, and thus satisfy the varying cravings of the whole human race, and is restricted by the initial rigidity of its central doctrine, and the narrow walls of the so-called "uncreated" Korán, which has stereotyped an unalterable and unsympathetic form of worship. One cannot imagine a European of the nineteenth century submitting to circumcision, as a test of belief and becoming a *bona fide* Mahometan, however much he may subscribe to the doctrines. One can, on the contrary, imagine a Mahometan becoming a Christian citizen of the world. Súfi-ism and Bábi-ism are popular, because they supply that spiritual warmth, which a worshipper seeks in vain in the cold formality of the Korán, where God is so very far off.

The Sûfi is a strange and persistent vagary of the human mind: the word is either derived from "*σοφός*," "wise," or "Sûf," "wool," in allusion to the dress of the order. It is probably a relic of Neo-Platonism, the union of the human intellect with universal reason, and treated as a mysticism. It is a revival of ancient habits of thought and feeling among a people, who have adopted Islâm by compulsion. We know by experience in India, that many thousands of Mahometan Rajputs are still Hîndu, except in a few outward ceremonials. Sûfi-ism developes itself in the form of an ardent Pantheism, a mystic apprehension of the unity and divinity of all things, generally narrowed down in literature to women and wine, though by a mystic interpretation, analogous to that applied to the Song of Solomon, the wine and the mistress are supposed to represent the Korân and the Deity, the harem is made to symbolize the oratory, and intoxication shadows forth the bewilderment of sense before the Divine vision. The desire of the soul to escape and rest with God is often clearly expressed in unequivocal Pantheistic terms. This strange heresy still exists within the Mahometan system in Persia, it is the especial tendency of dreamy and tender spirits, as the doctrine is simply the theory of Divine love. A woman is said to have led the way, and taught, that God must be loved above all things, because He alone is worthy of love, and everything here below is to be sacrificed in the hope of one day attaining unity with God. Under the colour of Sûfi-ism opinions entirely subversive of Islam can be entertained, for it began by expressing contempt of life, exclusive love of God, and asceticism, during which the soul could contemplate the Supreme Being face to face, and, as would be expected, such views led the devotee down an inclined plane into rank Pantheism, and hideous immorality under the guise of religion. This moral abyss is always open for the Oriental freethinker, and must be reckoned with as one of the most dangerous, because the most specious, of the seven devils, which wait for the soul of a man.

The sect known as the Bâbi is a new one, but it represents a very old tendency. In 1844, a young Mahometan Persian gave out, that God was manifested in his person, and drew men after him. His name was Mirza Ali Mohammed: he was put to death by order of the Shah in 1850. He had assumed the title of "Bâb," or the "Door," through which men must approach the Imam, and the channel, whereby the latter reveals to the faithful the true meaning of the Korân. His followers were men of learning, reasonable, and humane, with boundless devotion to their creed, and the spiritual chief of what they deemed to be a universal religion; they were always resting on Divine guidance, and have been cruelly persecuted. The teaching of the "Bâb" was that (1) God has existed from all eternity; (2) He had manifested Himself to man from time to time; (3) He spoke by Moses and the Prophets, by Jesus, and Mahomet,

and now by the "Báb"; (4) that His coming had been long expected, that the Christians blamed the Jews for not listening to Jesus, the Mahometans blamed the Christians for not listening to Mahomet, and that now they will not listen to the "Báb"; (5) that his book, the Beyán, was a greater miracle than, and would supersede, the Korán; (6) that the manifestation in him was not final, that he, whom God should manifest, would soon appear.

Even in the hour of his martyrdom, this simple, gentle young man wrote, that all men should know the degree of his patience, and contentment, and sacrifice in the way of God. He had an assurance of the ultimate triumph of his religion; he preached tolerance, and begged, that no one should be slain for unbelief, *for slaying of a soul is outside the religion of God*. On his death another manifestation was made evident in the person of Beka, who was alive at St. Jean d'Acre, in Palestine, 1889. His followers were numerous and devoted; by letter he reproved sovereigns. The literature of this sect in the Persian and Arabic languages is extensive. It is important as indicating a religious revival of an exalted stamp, and it tells against the character of our friend and ally the Shah of Persia, that he should have sentenced many of the sect, male and female, to cruel tortures and death, and slain by a cruel death the holy and harmless founder.

In the ninth chapter of the Gospel of John, the seventh verse is rendered in Arabic, "Ana hua al *bab*," and in Persian "manam al *báb*," "I am the door." At any rate these poor spiritual worshippers have trod the path of suffering, which must sooner or later lead them to Salvation: they have borne the Cross, may God in His own time grant them the Crown, and may they find a door ajar for them to enter! During 1890, news has come of another terrible persecution of these innocent sectaries at the hands of the Mahometan religious leaders; and the Protestant missionaries have extended their sympathy and protection to them. The diplomatic representative of Great Britain has successfully remonstrated with the Shah in their favour; their number is increasing greatly, they are crying out for copies of the Bible, and opportunities to get their children educated; and a greater step in consequence of this wicked persecution has been made towards religious toleration in Persia than by anything that ever happened before.

The letter of the Sultan of Turkey to a Mahometan Congregation in Liverpool, dated Dec. 7, 1890, illustrates in a marvellous manner the change, which has come over the professors of Islam, and and the so-called Khalif himself. His Majesty congratulates his fellow religionists on the successful efforts made to prevent the representation of the play of Mahomet on an English stage, so calculated to shock and outrage the feelings of all devout Mahometans. How about the centuries of carnage, and insult, and intolerant persecution of Jew, Christian, Pagan, and Sectarian! His

Majesty is grateful to the British Government for the perfect liberty and freedom accorded to the Mahometan Religion.

Quis tulerit Gracchos de seditione querentes!

Who can deny that the world is advancing?

Should not the ill-informed Ministers of the Protestant Churches accept the increased toleration, *not* laxity, of the beliefs of the time, and speak truth from the Pulpit even about their enemies, the Mahometan, and the Roman Catholic?

I quote Mr. Jephson, one of Henry Stanley's companions, as an important witness of the Faith, and constancy even unto death of some of the Dervish followers of the Mahdi, who were defeated and put to death by the troops of Emin Pasha.

"The Dervishes dragged out a miserable existence for several weeks, they were half-starved and constantly ill-used by the soldiers, but in spite of their long sufferings they could never be induced to give the smallest information against their comrades. Their Korán, the sole comfort they had, was taken from them, and I used often in passing to see them prostrate in prayer with a rapt expression on their faces, which showed that though their bodies were chained, lacerated, and starved, their faith in God and His Prophet enabled them to rise above their earthly sufferings. Finally, when the Mahdi's forces were before Dufflé, it was decided by the officers to kill them. They were taken down to the river and beaten to death with clubs, and their bodies were thrown to the crocodiles. Death must have come like a relief to them. In all our calendars of the men, who have suffered for their religion, no one could have better deserved to be called martyrs than these three brave Dervishes."

Let me add one more anecdote: In the Journal of the French Asiatic Society I read the translation of an Arabic tale of the time of the Crusades and Saladin. During the siege of Acre a Mahometan warrior saw the European wife of a Crusader, and in the fight on taking the city he killed the Crusader, and got possession of the woman. He then described how he treated his captive with the greatest respect and kindness, taught her the blessed truths of Islam, and, when she had been thoroughly convinced of the errors of the Religion of her nation, and had freely repeated the profession of the true Faith of Islam, he had the indescribable pleasure of making her his lawful wife. This from our point of view may seem ridiculous, but from their's it does not. We have to take facts and beliefs as they are, not as we choose to think them to be.

(b) *Neo-Judaism*. It would be impossible, while philosophically considering the spiritual prospects of the coming generation, to omit notice of the important factor represented by God's ancient people, the Hebrews. They number at the least seven millions, which is far in excess of the population of Palestine in the days of David and Solomon, who were merely petty Rajas, dependent upon Egypt and Assyria, and far beyond what the small province of Palestine could ever have supported, for the Promised Land, the whole of which I have surveyed from the height of Mount Gerizim, is not large enough to make up two good-sized districts in British

India. They are scattered everywhere in Europe and Asia, and the north of Africa, in some places in positions of wealth, dignity and power, in others in humiliation, and moral and material degradation, but clinging to the great central truths of their Covenant. From the earliest time they have avowedly admitted proselytes, and no doubt have absorbed inferior races. The Eunuch of Kandake must have belonged to a community of proselytes of an alien race. In Abyssinia the Jews at the present moment are of Hamitic race, and speak a Hamitic language, and still are Jews. In India some of the Beni-Israel are dark as Indians, and both white and black have a special ritual for the circumcision of strangers and slaves, indicating clearly how their numbers were recruited. In the pages of Philo of Alexandria, in the first century of the Christian era, we read how anxious he was to win over Gentile Greeks to his faith. The Jews supply soldiers to the Russian, French, and Anglo-Indian armies; they have the testimony of centuries to their being endowed with abilities far above the average of their times. We, at least, can throw no stones at the sacred book, which they reverently cherish, nor can they be charged with any attempt at any part of their history to alter the great features of their story, the promises, the sins, the denunciations of the Prophets, and the catastrophe. They have been cruelly treated by Christians in every country of Europe; if such unworthy conduct has ceased in some countries, like Great Britain and France, it continues still in Germany and Russia, to the disgrace of those nations. A portion of the Hebrew race are reported to have sunk into a cold atheistical form of ritualistic worship; but there is another side of the picture. I quote a portion of the address of Dr. Adler, delivered in 1890 in the Great Synagogue in Aldgate in the presence of the Lord Mayor, himself a Jew :

"A portion of the triumph that had been achieved was due to the benign influence exercised by the Great Synagogue and its managers. Many a soul-stirring service had been witnessed within its venerable walls. Whatever the event that moved the heart of England's sons (when a great victory evoked national rejoicing, when a sovereign had been stricken down by illness, and when it pleased the Lord to send him healing, when a joyous jubilee was kept, and when death had entered the palace), every event was commemorated in the Great Synagogue with the voice of prayer and supplication, of praise and thanksgiving, proving that the Israelite, then, as always, was 'steeped to the very lips' in loyalty. Nor were the administrators of the Synagogue unmindful of the needs of their fellow-men; though of another land and creed. Whether the appeal came to relieve a famine in Sweden or to diminish the sufferings of English prisoners in France, or a plaint reached these shores from the hunger-stricken children of Ireland, the authorities of the Great Synagogue were ever ready to aid and to succour." A fervent prayer for the continued prosperity of the Synagogue and for the welfare of the City and its Chief Magistrate concluded the sermon.

As a member of the Committee of the London Society for

Promoting Christianity amongst the Jews, and a reader of the Reports of other missionary societies to God's chosen people, I confess to a feeling of despair as to results, but not to any doubt as to the duty of Christians. "How can a man be justified in the sight of God?" that is the question. The great doctrines of the Divinity of Jesus, and the Trinity, are the stumbling-blocks. Still, there are devout Jews, like Zachariah, and Simeon, and Nicodemus, waiting for the consolation of Israel, full of purity, prayer, faith, hope, and charity. There is a hiding of power, an antiquity of history, a simplicity of doctrine, and, as far as it goes, a truthfulness, that seems to find a resting-place for the weary spirit of the Gentile, who cannot bear the scandal of the Cross. Up to a late date there was a difficulty for a Gentile in this country being introduced into the Jewish faith; they had to go to Holland, Belgium, and France for the purpose; but Dr. Adler has removed this difficulty, and, as in the United States, the ceremony is a public one. The Chief Rabbi declared from the pulpit, that his people had been the greatest proselyters in the world, and something like a Jewish Missionary Society was projected. In these days no form of religion can expect to maintain its hold on the hearts of man, unless it be propagandist, and in this wonderful age we may expect the appearance of some Hebrew prophet.

It must however be admitted, that the Talmud is distinctly opposed to Proselytism, considering it to be dangerous to the Commonweal, for there was no occasion to convert to Judaism, as long as men fulfilled the seven fundamental laws. Every man, who did so, was regarded as a believer to all intents and purposes. Every righteous man was an Israelite. Proselytes were to be discouraged, and warned off, and told, that the miseries, privations, and persecutions, which they would have to accept, were unnecessary, inasmuch as all men were God's children, and might inherit the Hereafter: but if they persisted, they were to be received, and ever after treated tenderly.

Another consideration suggests itself: in self-defence against ignorance and crime the Hebrew community must encourage education, and in self-defence against the argument of the Christian missionary they must study their Scriptures, and consider their position; and the surest form of self-defence, if convinced of the justice of a cause, is to carry the war into the enemy's camp, and not allow their flocks to be invaded. Propagandism is in the very air, when sects like Mormons, and Theosophists, send out missionaries and preachers of Atheism and Agnosticism send out supplies of pamphlets to find converts. The appearance of the promised Messiah is still expected. One Christian missionary reports, as illustrative of their condition: "Remove Christ's Divinity, and they will at once become Christians." As a proof, that Judaism had at one time, or was deemed to have, a propagandist force, I

allude to the legend, that at one time little was required to have induced the pagan Russians to accept the Jewish rather than the Christian faith. This may be legend, but laws are facts; and, A.D. 315, Constantine made conversion from Christianity to Judaism a penal offence, and prohibited Jews, under pain of death, from circumcising their Christian slaves. It is clear, that the Mahometans in their intolerance of later centuries only carried out the practice of Jew and Christian at an earlier date.

The careful and critical study of the Old Testament, to which so many Jews are now devoted; the annual reading of the Book of Psalms, which is their rule; the reading every Sabbath and explanation of portions of their Scriptures by intelligent men to intelligent hearers; the teaching in their Sabbath-schools; the din of controversy which surrounds them, cannot be without result. The Lord has not deserted His people; materially He has greatly blessed them. Their wealth far exceeds that of any Jewish monarch. The wisdom of their wise men has far exceeded the wisdom of Solomon. Their numbers, as a peculiar people, in race, customs, and religion, though scattered amidst the Gentiles, far exceeds the population of the Holy Land in its most prosperous period. They cannot stand still now, as they did in the days of their undeserved persecution, and their unenviable seclusion from their fellow-citizens. They must feel that, if they are inheritors of the Promises, which no Christian can deny, and if they cannot accept the Christian development, they must show cause why. If they are sincere Jews, they must expect a Messiah; if they are indifferentists, they are no longer Jews, but common Agnostics.

(c) *Neo-Hinduism.* The phenomena described here are restricted to those which arise from the spiritual energies of the people of India, *independent of Christian influence.* Throughout his long career the Hindu has always been tolerant of other religions, patient of the expression of the widest free-thought, doubts, and speculations, and always ready to absorb the lower non-Hindu races into its system on the easiest terms. An apostate Hindu can be restored to his former position by the prescribed atonement; and I have before me an advertisement, in the English language, in an Indian newspaper, notifying that "Chunder Mohun Tagore had, at Calcutta on September 26th, 1854, after baptism, re-embraced Hinduism by the ceremony known as *Práyaschitri*, *performed on Sunday last.*" Like the Roman Catholic, the educated Hindu denies, that he is an idolater, if by idolatry is meant a system of worship which confines the idea of Divinity to a mere image of clay or stone, and which prevents the heart's being elevated with lofty notions of the attributes of God. If this is what is called idolatry, he disclaims it, he abhors it, and deploras the ignorance and uncharitableness of those, who charge him with this grovelling sin. As a corollary to this, it may be recorded, that an image of

Bhaváni in a Hindu temple seemed to an English traveller to be very like, from an artistic point of view, an image of the Virgin in an adjacent Roman Catholic chapel, and, on inquiry, it transpired that *the same Hindu had carved both.*

There were three stages in the Hindu system: (1) Vedism, (2) Brahmanism, (3) Hinduism proper. Between the latter two developments, in chronological order, came Buddhism. Now Hinduism proper is not likely to survive the fierce light of education and civilization, though the wonderful spiritual conception of "bhakti," or faith towards Vishnu, may appear in ever-changing forms. The conservative Hindu, jealous of his nationality, must fall back upon the Veda, and the vast literature, that succeeded them, and he will be comforted in finding, that his ancestral religion has had, throughout all its history, the power of adapting itself to the needs of each age, by an internal process of incorporation and adjustment, or by an external process of throwing off new developments. By appealing from the later books to the Veda they obtain freedom from many ceremonial observances. The deep introspection of the Hindu intellect is always capable of evoking new spiritual conceptions, reasserting the unity of God, a kind of spiritual Pantheism, "one only being, no second;" for nothing really exists but the one Self-existent Spirit called Brahma; all else is Maya or deception. Nothing exists but God; and therefore everything existing is God. It has thrown off new sects, tilted against Caste century after century, and touched by the Ithuriel-spear of European education and civilization, it will do so again. And to many educated minds it will be sufficient, and the Neo-Hindu, purged of the grossness of the national worship, will maintain, that he in reality maintains the same views as the Christian. The Yogi devotee seeks a mystic union of his own spirit with the One eternal Soul. Is not this what is taught in such evangelical books as the *Imitation of Christ* or *Union with Christ*? The "Ocean of Love" of the Poet Keble is but the Prema Sâgara of the Hindu. He seeks to subdue all passions, all impurity of thought, all love of earthly things. Is not this part of the Christian system? He gives his mind to abstract meditations and his body to mortifications. What does the Christian do more? Patriotism and Conservatism, and hatred for things foreign and new, will induce him to dip into the editions and translations; now to be purchased in any shop, of his own sacred books, venerable, full of marvellous interest and some incontestable truth, and he will hesitate to throw them over. In different corners of the vast Empire he will hear of the spiritual writings of the Sikh, the Kabirpanthi, the Jain, the Satnâmi; and the Hindu intellect will not be true to itself, if new and enlightened forms of religion do not spring up, defended by argument in schools of philosophy, and spread broadcast in the vernacular press.

There is no doubt that uninspired religious, and eschatological, conceptions are the outcome of Race, Climate, and relative Social Environment. Giant Pagan in his gross form has received his Death-thrust: Jupiter, Odin, Siva, and Vishnu, have had their day: they were the vulgar outcome of a backward age. But there are worse things, infinitely worse, behind. An enemy has sown tares. The questions of human existence have been opened out, which will trouble the quiet of mankind, so long as the heart has passions, so long as the Soul has the fatal gift of introspection. Throughout the whole catena of Indian Wisdom there is a seeking after God, and a seeking for Personal Holiness. Nearly half a century ago, just when I left Eton, I read with surprise the characteristic of a great Indian hero, Nala, that he was 'jitendriya,' "one that had his passions in subjection:" this was spoken of as a virtue, a virtue not probably to be ascribed to a Russian, German, Italian, or British King, though nominally Christian. The Ancient Hindu sages sought after 'H *ἀγία Σοφία*; they did not find it, because nothing but the Grace of God can open the hearts of men to receive it: but they sought it from generation to generation.

Dayánanda Saráswati, of Bombay, who died at Ajmír, aged fifty-nine, in 1883, was the determined champion of the literal interpretation of the Veda, and he founded the Arya or orthodox Samáj. He never came under the influence of Christian written or oral teaching. He was a Brahman by birth, of the Province of Kathiawár, and from his earliest youth a profound Sanskrit and Vedic scholar. His father belonged to the Siva sect, and was in easy circumstances. The son left his father's home, and wandered to all the great religious resorts in India for the purpose of study, and he made use of the editions of the text and commentary of the Veda published in Europe. He was opposed to idol-worship, he repudiated Caste, advocated female education and re-marriage of widows, but he had an unwavering belief in the truth and inspiration of the Veda. To him they were not only inspired in the Christian sense of that word, but were prehistoric and prehuman, breathed by God, and conveyed to man without the intermediate aid of human acquirements by the ministration of angels. The Veda were not only to him truth, *but all knowledge, divine and human*, and in them could be found in the germ all subsequent discoveries of the human race. On his death, it was determined by his followers to establish an Anglo-Vedic College, with the object of the revival of the knowledge of the ancient Scriptures of the Hindu. The sharp contrast of this movement with that of Brahmoism, which will be described in Chapter IV., will not escape observation. This last does not fear contact with the West and Christianity; and maintains a constant controversy with these representatives of pure, undiluted Neo-Hinduism. Two remarkable

facts are recorded in 1890: (1) the Arya Samáj declares the Veda not to admit of accurate translation, but only of commentary; on the other hand, they declare their desire, that the Veda should be in the hands of the devout in the cheapest possible form. Here is a dilemma. If it be the Word of God, it is essential, that it should be intelligible to the human race, and it is incredible, that a revelation should have been made in a form which is not intelligible. It is remarked by one capable of forming an opinion, that a wave of philosophical discussion is passing over the educated Hindu classes; but, in his opinion, the more of philosophy the less of religion, for the great teachers of mankind were not philosophers. In India the danger is great, that metaphysics will take the place of religion in the minds of educated Natives, who stand aloof from Christian influences.

All the distinctive doctrines of the Arya Samáj consist in negatives, or oppositions to Hinduism, Mahometanism, and Christianity. The Hindu says, that it leads to Atheism and not to a reformed Hinduism. Their professed rejection of every authority but the Veda is yet accompanied by an eclecticism, especially in insisting upon the non-Vedic doctrine of transmigration, a doctrine which is due to the later influence of Buddhism, and is first found in the Upanishad. A collection of hymns compiled for the use of the London members of the Arya Samáj consists chiefly of Christian hymns, including, "O God, our Help in Ages past," "My God, my Father, while I Stray," "Death blights not," with the addition of a few poems like "The Boy stood on the Burning Deck."

The secret of the success of the Arya Samáj lies in its offering a specious way of rejecting many of the customs of the Hindu, which are felt by a large class to be a disgrace, without accepting a new religion from the foreigners: also in its being generally an agency for mutual help and self-improvement. One writer thinks that the Arya are not accessible to argument either from Christian, Hindu, or Mahometan, and that missionaries should content themselves with delivering their messages without attempting to destroy or uproot opinions, which are based on such extravagant assumptions, as scarcely to call for refutation.

A native correspondent of the "*True Light*" maintains, that the Arya Samáj movement was based from the first on hypocrisy, and not on really honest convictions. The secret belief of its founder, Pandit Dayánanda Saráswati, and his leading followers, was inconsistent with the claims made by the Samáj for the acceptance of the authority of the Veda. The movement might have been simply started for educational purposes, or for the reform of certain bad social customs in the Hindu community, without a profession of faith in the Veda: but by making this pretence, it has injured the religious and moral regeneration of India. The inconsistent

action of the leaders in regard to their declared principles about Caste and the marriage system show that they are utilitarians of the worst character, with no thought of the higher life of the soul or of the world to come.

The editor of the *True Light*, whilst deprecating the extreme severity of the strictures of the Pandit given above, calls attention to the arbitrary manner, in which the Arya have treated their Scriptures, rejecting the greater part, and making the Mantra, or hymns of the four Veda, the sole original depository of the Hindu revelation. But the Bráhmāna and the Upanishad have always been considered an integral part of the Vedic Scriptures, the writers asserting their own inspiration.

“Another ground for believing, that the Arya Samāj is not destined to keep “or strengthen its hold on the allegiance of educated Indians is the absence of “any recognition of the doctrine of sin and moral guilt in the writings of its “leaders. On the other hand there is in the earlier hymns of the Rig Veda a “profound consciousness of sin, and a longing desire to be freed from it. In “the treatise on Mukti in the Satyārtha Prakash, there is scarcely a single “reference to the word ‘sin’: and no hint of confession of sin is to be found in “their litanies, which are based on the Vedic texts.”

The *Bidhanbādi*, which has on several occasions severely criticized the Arya Samāj on account of its adhering to long-exploded doctrines, and its backwardness in solid reforms, has more recently spoken in high commendation of some of its members. The *Bidhanbādi* refers to their Theistic worship attended week after week by some 500 Arya disciples at their temple in Lahor: also to their exertions in promoting education, and putting down the evils of intemperance, superstition, priestcraft, and idolatry. The *Bidhanbādi* also notices a change in the attitude of Christian missionaries towards the Arya.

Here we see some analogy with what happened in the third Century of the Christian Era. Under the Emperor Julian, who at least had the merit of true Tolerance, an attempt was made to restore and reintroduce Paganism; but it was *not* the old Paganism of the degraded Roman, who only cared for orgies, theatrical display, revelries, and foul deeds of darkness; Julian was a philosopher, and he desired to re-introduce the worship of the Great Gods of Greece and Rome with something of the reality of Christian worship, and the purity of Christian life. He was killed in battle, and the experiment fell with him.

(d) *Neo-Zoroastrianism*. This ancient faith, under the influence of the great Mahometan revival in Asia, dwindled down to the narrow limits of the small Parsi congregation at Bombay, and elsewhere in India, numbering 100,000. It was once the dominant religion in Western Asia, in the time of Cyrus and Darius, and in later generations the Roman eagle fell before it. Whatever may have been the rule in the time of its greatness, in the time of its

decadence it is not a proselyting religion, and no one not born a Parsi can be a member of the community. However, many close corporations have opened their doors in this age. The Parsi community is eminently wealthy, respectable, and educated. There are two sections: the advanced party, who are ready to reform the abuses of centuries in their customs; and the conservative. The whole energy of a religious Parsi at the present day is concentrated on the endeavour to make himself (so to speak) demon-proof, and this can only be accomplished by absolute purity, symbolized by whiteness. He is on his guard against bodily defilement, and never goes out to his daily occupation without putting on a sacred white shirt and sacred white girdle. Though highly educated, onlightened, and Anglicized, he rigorously observes this custom. The real creed has probably little in common with the teaching of Zoroaster, now for the first time revealed to them in the translation of the Avesta and Pahlavi books by European scholars. As light from the outside burst upon them, they did not like to be told, that their ancient faith was dwindling, and moribund, and that this was owing to the absence of a missionary spirit. In 1874 there was a discussion among them, whether it was contrary to the now understood law of Zoroaster to seek converts, and whether it was not expedient to anticipate extinction by numerical addition to their persuasion.

The tenets of this religion are very clearly and completely explained in a lecture in the English language delivered in the Town Hall of Bombay, in the presence of the Governor, in 1885, by Jivanji Jamshédi Modi, an accomplished scholar and agreeable gentleman. I met him in 1889 at the Oriental Congress at Stockholm, to which he was a delegate from British India, and where he took his place on full equality with the scholars of Europe. I conversed with him on the subject of his customs and religious tenets, and found that, in spite of all his learning and enlightenment, he was proud of them, and on his return to Bombay he forwarded me a copy of his lecture. His religion is Monotheistic, and there never have been images, temples, or altars. Herodotus mentions this in the fifth century B.C., and it is true to this day. They reverence Fire, as the refulgent symbol of God; but are incorrectly called "*Fire-worshippers*." It is a mistake to suppose, that Zoroaster preached a dualism of two independent powers of Good and Evil. The Zoroastrian idea of the evil spirit is identical with the doctrine of Christians with regard to the Devil, neither more nor less. Zoroaster preached a life to come, the immortality of the soul, and a place of reward and punishment. This moral system is described in the following: "Good words, good thoughts, good deeds; think nothing but the truth, speak nothing but the truth, and do nothing but what is proper."

It is distinctly asserted by some writers, that the post-exile Judaism was more or less affected by the impress of the religion of

Zoroaster, with which they had come into contact during their captivity under a Persian sovereign, and that the Jewish conception of Cosmogony was modified by this contact, and later on a connexion is traced betwixt these ideas, and the Gnostic speculations, in the second century after Christ. Cyrus, Darius, and his descendants were all Zoroastrians, and their letters and words are recorded in the Books of Ezra, Nehemiah, and Daniel: they are presumed to be actual quotations of State-Documents, and faithful records, and have therefore distinct evidential value to the religious conceptions of those Monarchs. I only allude to this to show, that this form of faith, and the practice of this Belief, are free from idolatry, ritual, impurity, and ignorance, and try to be spiritual and holy, and the Parsi population has ever enjoyed the highest character for honesty and enlightenment. It may attract some poor wandering souls, seeking rest, and finding none.

(e) *Neo-Buddhism*. Hitherto I have alluded to ancient religions based upon the conception of a God. I now proceed to notice those, which are purely atheistical in principle, but have in practice, from contact with local Paganism, become as degraded as fetish-worship. Buddhism is defined as a system, which is not only free from the conception of a God, but from any belief in a soul or a future state. The duty of man is limited to this world, and all speculations as to the future are excluded. Again Buddhism adopts the pessimist view of life, and sums up the worth of life in the apophthegm: "Wherever there are conditions of individuality, there are the conditions of sorrow," and the refrain, "The noble eight-fold path leads to the destruction of sorrow." The precepts of Buddha were launched on the world in a fine missionary spirit, 600 B.C. Expelled from India, the place of birth, they have found an asylum in Ceylon, Barma, Siam, Tibet, Mongolia, China, and Japan; but it cannot be said, that in any one of these countries it is to the least degree propagandist at the present moment; but none the less there is a possibility of adherents joining them, of which we have a notable instance recorded in the *Times*, September 28th, 1889, of an American named Powell being received with due ceremony into the Buddhist community by the spiritual head at Colombo. It may with equal truth be said, that Buddhism has in practice been grossly degraded by idolatry and nature-worship. Such have been the features of all religions, even of Christianity; but the Reformer may be near at hand. The marked partiality for Buddhism exhibited in Europe and America cannot but react upon the Native communities, as education extends to them, and notices of revivals are chronicled in the newspapers. Buddhist associations are formed to counteract the Christian missionary; opposition-schools are opened. In Japan we hear of a reformed Buddhism being preached by a Japanese fresh from Oxford. But Buddhism has lost its hold almost altogether of the class of old warriors, who are to-day the

back-bone of that nation. Though it will die hard, and take a long time about it, in Japan it is doomed. Then we read of a reformed Buddhism in China, the followers of which exhibit more depth and reality in their convictions. They continue their ordinary avocations, wear the ordinary dress, but manifest their strong faith in their new creed.

What is Buddhism in reality, and in what light does the cult appear to the passing traveller? Here are two questions and two replies:

(1) True Buddhism is Humanitarianism, something very like the Gospel of Humanity, which I shall notice in Chapter III. under the head of Positivism, the essence of which is the elevation of Man by Human Intellect, Intuition, Teaching, Experience, and Effort, to the highest degree of Perfection: and yet something very different, for the Buddhist Ideal is the renunciation of all personal existence: the perfection of the Buddhist is Annihilation, and to the unchastened intellect the notion of Extinction by becoming Buddha has a weird attraction, and the Doctrine of Transmigration explains, and is the only intelligible explanation to minds not enlightened by the teaching of the Spirit, of the undeserved material prosperity of the Wicked, and the undeserved sufferings of the Good. I fear that the world has not got rid of either of these two Doctrines:

(2) In answer to the second question, I quote portions of a description made by a visitor to Barma in 1890:

“The worshippers were serious and intent enough; these were mostly women, and whatever the theory of the creed, which acknowledges no God or Superior Power, to whom to address prayers with a hope of hearing or response, it would certainly seem from the tearful eyes and earnest prayers of those poor creatures, that they had wants and wishes, which they had carried in foolish hope to the unsympathetic shrine: the dying child or faithless lover; some trouble or heartache, for the alleviation of which they sought a Power outside and beyond themselves. Humanity is always weaker than its creed, and one could not but reflect that, in spite of the inherent consistency of Buddhist theory, there was still in other creeds a better provision for the unhappy and desolate, who yearned for a belief in a Divine pity and beneficence. The images of Buddha Gautama, and his immediate followers, were in hundreds in the temples all around, of every size and material, plaster, wood, and alabaster, crowded together without artistic arrangement as they had been set up by the piety of individuals, hoping thus to obtain merit after death. The Golden Temple, which strikes the traveller's eye, when he first lands at Rangoon, and which dominates town and country, is the emblem of the creed. Everywhere rises a pagoda in memory of the great preacher, or his friends and disciples, containing some pretended relic of the Buddha, or the model of such a relic, or extracts from some of his works. In the silent forest, behind the tiny palisaded village, in elaborate groups near the larger towns, on every high hill, sometimes to be reached by a weary climb of 1000 steps, snow-white or blazing with gilding in the sunshine, stands the inevitable pagoda, the ever-present memorial of the master and his teaching. They are seen in every stage of disrepair, for the original merit of the construction having been acquired, and placed to the builder's spiritual account, no consideration of

"propriety or affection induces him to keep them in repair. He regards and treats his pagoda, as a child an old and discarded doll, and as these buildings are badly constructed of sun-dried bricks, and the work probably a good deal scamped, since no jealous deity hungry for praise and sacrifice is looking on, the life of a pagoda is ordinarily but a short one, and the country is covered with broken-down, mouldering expressions of past piety, which have no more relation to the builder's present religious state than a snake is concerned with its cast-off skin. One large shed amused me much. The ancient teak roof had fallen into decay, and in its place had been erected a brand-new corrugated iron roof, unpainted, and in the crude form suggestive of railway-stations, and the Department of Public Works. Beneath were assembled a crowd of gigantic stone and marble *Buddha*, impassive and impenetrable, sitting together like a tea-party of the gods. The incongruity of the corrugated iron from a Birmingham manufactory, protecting from the elements these august representatives of an ancient creed, had in it something whimsical and at the same time pathetic. It seemed, coupled with the steam-tramway running to the very steps of the pagoda, to suggest that conflict between the beliefs of the East and the West which in India is threatening a repetition of the Scandinavian Twilight of the gods. But this feeling is probably unfounded. A creed like *Buddhism*, which is purely ethical, and unweighted with impossible dogma, is not likely to yield to any attack from without."

We have only now to estimate whether this godless moral machine will form a nucleus for the reception of educated and thoughtful men, seeking to follow what to them seems the right way. We are hardly fair judges, for to our apprehension there exists in the human mind from the very beginning of consciousness, a something, whether we call it a suspicion or an innate idea, or an intuition, or a sense, of a Power greater than ourselves. The animal-creation, except man, feels it not; but we have an ineradicable and congenital feeling of dependence and reliance on a higher power, not necessarily a benevolent power, a consciousness of control by it, which our word "religion" suggests. "It is He, that hath made us, not we ourselves." *Buddhism* is the absolute negation of this feeling. The great founder of *Buddhism* under-estimated the power of this feeling in the human breast. Let me say a word on the other side. *Buddha* claimed only to be the ideal of that self-subjugation, which man *might* attain. This ideal is not far from Christian perfection. What did *Buddha* leave behind him when he died 600 years before the coming of Christ? No God, no heaven, no future state, but the spirit of universal charity and benevolence, mercy and pity, till then totally unknown; self-denial, self-consecration, simplicity of ceremonial, equality of all men, religious tolerance, and the absence of all the frightful disfigurements, which cling to the skirts of every other religion; priestcraft, ritual, formality, pride, self-hypocrisy.

There is another consideration: *Buddhism* has now come into such a contact with European Civilization and Christianity, as will never be relaxed. One or other must give way. *Buddhism* will never co-exist with Civilization: will it with pure Christianity? When MM. Gabet and Huc visited Tibet half a century ago, they

were struck by the form of worship and monastic life, which that secluded kingdom exhibited, and fondly fancied, that some Roman Catholic Priest must have penetrated here at some forgotten Epoch, and left the impress of Roman Ritual upon the Religion of the People of Tibet. They detected the likeness of their own to this Pagan worship, but it did not occur to Priests, trained up in Papist Seminaries, that the likeness was owing to their common Parentage, because both were streams from the same common fount of human tendency to Idolatrous Ritual-Worship, and Ascetic torture of the poor body : the Romish Church drew theirs from the Paganism of Europe : the Búddhist drew theirs from the Hinduism of India : Europe and India were inheritors of the heirlooms of their common Indo-European stock of language and religious conceptions, if not of race and blood. In a description which I wrote of the Monastery of Troitska near Moscow in 1876, I remarked, that in the worship, that was going on in this centre of the Russo-Greek Religion before our eyes, a good Hindu would be quite at home, because the symbols represented tendencies existing in both Religious conceptions, while a Protestant could not imagine what the Priest was doing.

I quote also a report of a Protestant Missionary in Japan, 1890 :

“ In 1579, Francis Xavier landed. He left in about two years. His successors came, saw, and conquered ; in thirty years they had 150,000 converts and 200 churches. Jesuit priests gave the Japanese all that the Búddhist priest had given them, gorgeous altars, imposing processions, dazzling vestments, and all the scenic display of a sensual worship ; but added to these a freshness and fervour, that quickly captivated the imaginative and impressionable people. There was little in the Búddhistic paraphernalia that needed to be changed, much less abandoned. The images of Búddha, with a slight application of the chisel, served for images of Christ. Each Búddhist saint found his counterpart in Romish Christianity, and the road-side shrines of Kuwan-on, the goddess of mercy, became centres of Mariolatry. Temples, altars, bells, holy-water vessels, censers, rosaries, all were ready, and were merely transferred from one religion to the other. Those, who have seen both rituals, marvel whether Búddhism is a child of Romanism, or Romanism of Búddhism, or whether both must not have some common origin. Rome in Japan took the sword and perished by the sword. The Christianity, which Rome had presented to the Japanese, did not leave the Bible behind. Christianity was banished, and for 230 years the following inscription appeared on the public notice-boards along with prohibitions against crimes and breaches of the law, at every roadside, at every city gate, in every village throughout the Empire : ‘ So long as the sun shall warm the earth let no Christian be so bold as to come to Japan ; and let all know that the King of Spain himself, or the Christian’s God, or the great god (i.e. the Pope) of all, if he violate this command, shall pay for it with his head.’ ”

Centuries have passed by, and Japan has recalled its Edicts, and granted Toleration, and exhibits a wonderful receptiveness of new ideas. In Barma different phenomena are exhibited : in Ireland the Religion of Rome is found in an unexpected alliance with municipal liberty : so in Barma, if we are to believe late reports, Búddhism under the most tolerant of tolerant Governments, that

of British India, is forming an alliance with Patriotism, and we find an analogy betwixt the Buddhist Monks, and Roman Catholic Clergy in France, in their taking the side of incapable, discredited, dethroned, and exiled Dynasties: the loaves and fishes, the Rent-free lands, and Church-Endowments are the motive power in both cases, and will probably meet the same amount of non-success.

"A general regilding and redecoration of pagodas is proceeding throughout Barma, and especially in the Upper Province, which is attracting much attention. It is not confined specially to sacred pagodas, and recognized places of pilgrimage, but extends to the minor pagodas. This undoubtedly shows, that some unusual influences are at work amongst the people, and that they are in a state of great excitement and ferment.

"The *Rangoon Times* states, that this movement indicates a general belief amongst the people that the Mingoön Prince, who is now the undoubted representative of Alompra, is about to invade the province. To whatever cause the movement is due, it is *actively encouraged by the Buddhist monks*. The journal adds that, in the event of any insurrectionary movement in favour of the Burmese Prince, the Buddhist priesthood would now be almost unanimously against the British."

(f) *Neo-Confucianism*. The nature of the teaching of Koungh-Fu-Tse is well known, or can be ascertained from numerous excellent works. The system is imposed by the State, and it must be recollected, that the Great Sage was chiefly a compiler of the ancient traditions of the Middle Kingdom, as well as an independent author. It may well be expected, that the contact with the foreigner, and the publicity of the press, and the advance of education, will clear away much, that has degraded the Confucian teachings in times, subsequent to the death of the founder.

The strange notion, which underlies ancestral worship is not peculiar to China, as in the system of Roman Pagan worship, the *lumiæ* and *lemures* were believed to wander about as ghosts, not having yet come to their rest, and at a later period were regarded definitely as evil spirits. Such antiquated delusions die hard, but they disappear under the influence of education.

The subject of Ancestral Worship was discussed at the Missionary Conference at Shang-Hai in 1890: the features of that worship are

- (1) Divine attributes are ascribed to the Dead.
- (2) The real motive is Fear of evil from evil Ghosts.
- (3) The Manes of those, who have no descendants, are propitiated out of mere abject Cowardice.
- (4) Every individual is supposed to have three souls: (1) the one, which goes to Heaven; (2) the one, which sticks to the Tablet in the House; (3) the one, which remains in the grave.

All this may be true, but the conception is so contrary to Reason, that it would appear possible to disentangle the Chinese mind: this however cannot be effected by mere abuse of the custom, but by calm reasoning. There were but few Missionaries at the

Conference of sufficiently enlarged views as to detect the good in the system, inasmuch it indicated filial piety, and tended to preserve purity and morality in the Family. Unfortunately Missionaries, as a class, have with many compensating excellent qualities very contracted visions, and, as on the Opium-Trade-Question, so on this they seem to have lost all power of forming an independent judgment: remarkable as this Chinese Cultus is, the inability of reasoning men to understand things reasonably is equally remarkable. Reckless abuse cures no evils.

It is not very long ago in Europe that bowls of milk and dishes of food were placed outside the houses of farmers to conciliate the mischievous spirits, who wandered about and hamstrung the cattle: how simple is the conception of religious duty thus evidenced is proved by the fact, that lamps are placed on the pavement round the tomb of Lord Cornwallis, the Governor-General of India, who is buried at Ghazipur: how ridiculous, painfully ridiculous, is the manifestation of this craven fear is shown by the fact, that on the grave of a certain drunken Military Officer, who in the paroxysms of his delirium tremens used to beat and illuse the natives, offerings were made for many years of brandy and cigars laid upon his grave, so as to appease his unquiet spirit, and induce him to leave the poor humble-minded natives alone. I doubt not that in Central Equatorial Africa on the track of some of our great Explorers, who passed with an army of fiends through an astonished country, the barbarous races by timely offerings try to anticipate another such bloody invasion, and soothe the Manes of the Europeans, who left their bodies in the soil. Education and Civilization alone will root out such ignorant delusions, and it must be recollected, that those, who in Europe provided food for the Robin Goodfellows, were Christians.

The doctrines of Confucius are based on the consciousness of right and wrong, either innate in man or bestowed by what is called "heaven" on man. Vague as may be the Chinese term translated "heaven," it is better than the avowed Atheism of the Buddhist, or the confused Polytheism of corrupted Taoism. The professor of the latter two forms of belief is indebted for his convictions of duty to his education in the teachings of Confucius, just as men of European culture, who deny the Divinity of Christ, have unconsciously, yet immutably, their sense of duty based on the Christian standard. The conversion of the Chinese thus presents a problem unequalled in difficulty and grandeur in any part of the world. I am informed by a missionary, labouring in the China field, that purified or Neo-Confucianism is a very possible danger, for baptized Chinese still seem to think, that Christianity is only an improved form of Confucian morality. Perhaps the use of the term Shang-Ti for God contributes to this idea.

CHAPTER III. — MODERN CONCEPTIONS FORMED FROM THE
BLENDING OF OLD SYSTEMS WITH CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE,
EITHER CONSCIOUSLY, OR UNCONSCIOUSLY.

- A. Brahmoism { Adi-Samáj.
 Brahmo-Samáj.
- B. Theosophy.
- C. Hau-Hau, Te-Whiti, Te-Kooti, of New Zealand.
- D. Mormonism.
- E. Positivism or Comtism.
- F. Christian Búddhism.
- G. Scepticism and Agnosticism.
- H. Unitarianism.

I PASS under review each phenomenon :

(a) *Brahmoism*. This is essentially different from Neo-Hinduism, as the influence of Christian books and practice is admitted. In past centuries a Romish priest, Roberto de Nobili, conceived the idea of an assimilation of Hindu and Christian elements ; but two things were clear, that the Church of Rome would not tolerate it, and that the great Indian people would not willingly accept a reform brought to them from Europe. In the course of time the Native development manifested itself. The Calcutta Brahmo-Samáj was founded by a Brahmin of learning and position, Raja Rámmohun Roy, who died in London in 1833. He drew attention to the fact, that there was a purer form of religion to be found in the Veda. He tried to lead a Reformation, and failed. No doubt there is much religious truth in the Veda, which in his time was imperfectly known ; but, when it became fully known, faith in its inspiration was shaken. He was succeeded by Debendranáth Tagór. When the disruption took place from the more radical reformers, the old assembly asserted to themselves the name of Adi Brahmo-Samáj, in 1840. In 1820 Rámmohun Roy had published the *Precepts of Jesus* and the *Guide to Peace and Happiness* : he had studied the New Testament.

Keshab Chander Sén broke away from the old conservative party, and went further in his zeal for religious purity ; he was ready to give up Caste, to select the best from all the sacred Codes of the world, and form a Sacred Code. Socially he condemned polygamy, and child-marriages. He laid down, that there was one true God, that we must love Him, and do the works which He loves ; that His only temple is in our hearts ; that the only ceremonies are good works, the only sacrifice self-renunciation, the only pilgrimage the company of the good, the only Veda Divine Knowledge ; the most sacred formula, "Do good and be good ;" the only true Brahmin was he who knew Brahma. All founders of religion thus

to speak with authority about the existence of God, and the spiritual truths, which are essential to human Salvation. There is plenty of Christianity also on the lips of professing Christians: the real interpretation of the New Testament can be offered by those alone, to whom it has come as a revelation. In one of his speeches he thus states his case:

“The Brahmo-Samáj was originally established for the propagation of Theistic worship, and, after a time, the movement spread through the length and breadth of Bangál. Wherever there was an English school, a Brahmo-Samáj was established, as a necessary consequence of English education. After twenty years it was found, that there was a defect in the foundation, for the Veda, upon which their faith was based, taught, along with some truth, many errors, such as Nature-Worship, Transmigration, and absurd rites and ceremonies. Abandoning the infallibility of the Veda, the Brahmo appealed to Humanity, to their own hearts, to their own religious intuitions, in order to establish themselves upon a purely Theistic basis. But the Society, though it attained doctrinal and devotional purity, was not practical. Hence lately there has been a secession of the progressive party, which protests against Caste and all social evils.”

In 1865 he started the Brahmo-Samáj of India, and proclaimed a New Dispensation in 1880. He had visited England in 1870, and he died in 1884. Now the real test of his sincerity was not the eloquent expounding of theistic opinions, as that is compatible with being a thorough-going Hindu, but the abandoning of idolatrous domestic ceremonies and Caste-customs. Any one, who does not do that, is not a real theistic reformer; and Keshab Chander actually permitted his daughter under fourteen to be betrothed to the Raja of Kúch Bahár, aged sixteen, who was not one of their Society; and the marriage was solemnized with idolatrous rites to make it legal. This led, in 1878, to a further disruption, and the founding of the Sadhárán (or Universal) Brahmo-Samáj by the dissentients.

It is clear from the above, that Brahmoism is a place of refuge, temporary or permanent, for the educated Hindu. The movement has lasted seventy years, has advanced in the right direction socially and spiritually, is in consonance with the spirit of the age, and with the tendency of the Hindu intellect to speculate on Monotheism, is free from all social defilement, and all spiritual transcendentalism, and is one of the most dangerous enemies of the Christian faith.

In Exeter Hall, 1890, in my presence, an ex-Lieutenant-Governor in Northern India, who had full knowledge of the subject, thus expressed himself:

“There was being rapidly raised up a class of men in India as educated and cultured as those, who left the schools and colleges of England. It was a small but very influential class, for they were the men of the press and of literature, and had the control of the destinies of the many in the future. They had no difficulty in procuring books to read, for all the resources of English literature were open to them; but the great question with them was

"that of choice: what should they read? He thought, that the Brahmo-Samáj was doing a splendid service in this direction. He regretted, that that system stopped short of Christianity, but it was opposed to infidelity, materialism, and immorality. He knew that differences of opinion existed amongst Christian people as to that system, many regarding it as a hindrance to the spread of Christianity; but he believed it to be a help, in that it was preparing the way for a great Christian work in India."

In 1882 P. C. Moozumdar published in Calcutta a book intended to give a tolerably complete idea of the principles of the movement, called the *Faith and Progress of the Brahmo-Samáj*. It appears that it sent out missionaries, who had travelled far and wide. In 1884 there were 150 branches all over India; and missionary work was a part of their system. They had prevailed on the Legislature of British India to pass an Act to legalize civil marriages, so as to save them from even a formal conformity to idolatrous ceremonies. There are two or three bookstalls, well furnished with vernacular literature, the only article of Western origin being a Buddhistic catechism of English and Burmese, by Colonel Olcott of Theosophical fame. There are other interesting features of this new development, recalling the so-called heresy of Gnosticism in the second century of the Christian era, which was, in fact, of purely Pagan origin, assimilating certain conceptions from Christianity. This gave it its vital force, and procured it an interest long after it had died away. We must not be surprised to witness similar combinations, where the life-giving touch of even imperfect Christian development comes into contact with the decaying embers of moribund Pagan ideas. A combination of Neo-Buddhism and the Romish degradation of Christian worship is not impossible, and the uncontrolled transcendentalism of the Salvation Army might possibly incorporate elements of Neo-Hinduism. The questions, on which the Gnostics speculated, were precisely those, which at all times, and in all ages, have agitated the hearts of men, viz. the origin of Life, the origin of Evil, and the hopeless corruption of the world, though created by a God perfectly wise, holy, and powerful. The Hindu intellect revels in such subtle and profitless questions.

(b) *Theosophism*. This phenomenon could not be passed by, yet in fact it seems to amount to nothing, and by some is called an imposture. It has no connection whatsoever, in its modern shape, with the Theosophy spoken of by early writers. It is an entirely modern development, and chiefly confined to India; the persons connected with it being an American, Colonel Olcott, and a Russian, Madame Blavatsky. Colonel Olcott defines the word Theosophy as "Divine wisdom," "an all-pervading eternal principle in Nature, with which the interior intuitive faculty in man is akin." The objects of the Society are:

(1) To form a nucleus of a universal brotherhood of humanity without distinction of race, creed, and colour.

(2) To promote the study of Eastern literature, religions, and sciences, and indicate their importance.

(3) To investigate the hidden mysteries of Nature, and the psychical power in man.

These are bold words. The Society has been in existence since 1875, and its headquarters are chiefly at Madras. It has a periodical literature of its own, and the whole of India, Ceylon, and Japan have been visited. I can only record, that the results are little or nothing, and that very hard judgments have been openly passed on those concerned with the movement. Truth, however, can only triumph after thoughts have been stirred. We may rejoice at any wind, which breaks the hopeless calm of ignorant Paganism.

One extraordinary feature is the introduction on the stage of Sages, supposed to be hidden away somewhere on the Slopes of the Himaláya, who have conquered all knowledge, and appear in visions to their votaries. This looks like an attempt to introduce the fairy stories of childhood, or the legends of Mediæval Saints, and at once covers the movement with ridicule. To those, who have lived many years in India, the Hindu Sage, whether appearing in the form of a naked Fakir, or a respectable well-dressed Mahant seated in his cozy temple, is a very realistic object: with the latter a visitor can have very pleasant conversation, and, if he cares to look into his Manuscript books, he can gather linguistic and religious information. To those who have lived many months in the summer-retreats of the Himaláya, about 7000 feet above the level of the sea, these Mountains become very realistic also, and all idea of finding white-bearded wise sages dwelling in caverns beyond the reach of men, fed somehow or other, and endowed with the accumulated wisdom of centuries, has to be abandoned: but the Theosophists conjure up the existence of Mahatma or Saints ("high-souled, magnanimous men" according to the Sanskrit Dictionary). In "Isis Unveiled," 1877, appears the following passage: "Instructors in the East have showed us, that by combining Science with Religion, the existence of God, and the immortality of man's spirit, may be demonstrated like a problem in Euclid." These accommodating Mahatma, to save the trouble of their disciples going to the Mountains, are able to transport themselves to the plains in a miraculous manner.

In the North American Review, August, 1890, Madame Blavatsky claims for the movement a success beyond the dreams of the originators. She tells us that it is based on three principles:

(1) The Brotherhood of Men.

(2) The Study of Oriental Theories.

(3) The investigation of hidden force in Nature and in Man.

She enumerates thirty-eight Chartered Branches in America, twelve in Great Britain, and one hundred and fifty elsewhere: there are seven centres of publication, with two Magazines in

France, one in America, and one in London : their aim and desire is to help in some degree the formation of correct scientific views of the nature of man, for for many a long year Humanity has been crying out in the dark for Light and Guidance : only the Masters of Eastern Wisdom (the Mahatma, the imaginary wise old men of the mountain) can set the foundation, on which the new edifice can be built, so as to satisfy the intellect and the spirit, and guide Humanity through the night into clearer day.

So long as Philosophers draw on the imaginary spirits coined by their own fertile and excited brains, I can bear with them : such was it ever : but, when I am called upon to look for Spiritual enlightenment to the utterance of Indian Sages, such as the Sanyási, the Vánaprastha, or the cave-dweller, whom no one ever met, or heard of, but are supposed to be lurking out of touch with humanity, living apparently upon nothing, a line must be drawn : and, when these worthies appear in a marvellous way, and reveal Truth to an American and a Russian, totally ignorant of any Indian language, I cannot suspend my judgment.

(c) *Hau-Hau, Te Whiti, Te Kooti*. This is a religious development among the Maori in New Zealand. In 1864 they rebelled against the British Government ; a party of the 57th Regiment fell into their hands, were killed, and their heads cut off. In their hatred to the British Government they invented a new religion, and made the head of the British officer, who commanded the party killed, the symbol and centre of the system. They had been nominal Christians. Their new religion was called *Pai Marire*, and a high priest was appointed, who professed to receive inspiration from the Angel Gabriel through the medium of the Captain's head. They believed themselves to be under the protection of this Angel, and of the Virgin Mary, that the Christian religion was false, that all Scriptures ought to be burnt, no Sundays to be kept, the sexes to live promiscuously so as to secure increase of population. Their priest claimed to have superhuman powers, and could secure victory by shouting "*Hau-Hau !*" Hence their name.

Te Whiti was a chief in the Northern Island at *Parihaka*, near Mount Egmont. He rebelled, and was defeated and imprisoned at Christ Church and Nelson, and has since been allowed to return to his home. He called himself a prophet, but was really only a patriot. He read the Bible, and no other book ; he pretended to have divine power, but his real object was to save his lands from the white settlers. He secured an influence over his countrymen in this way, preaching passive resistance ; but when things became extreme, he declared, that he had a divine message (*Atua*) put into his mouth, ordering his people to fight for their land.

Te Kooti was another of the insurgent chiefs, who, after rebellion and murder, assumed the rôle of a teacher, and founded a religious system, which attracted many followers, including Native Christians.

With an outward show of reverence for spiritual things, it served as a cloak for licentiousness. Most of the pervert Christians returned to their old faith. Of late years a change has come over Te Kooti's followers, and the cause of temperance has rapidly increased, and a few have become Christians. Mission-work is carried out among them; the majority still retain their separate position.

(d) *Mormonism*: "The Church of Jesus of Latter-day Saints." In all the reports from New Zealand I read of the Mormons being very active among the Maori. Their missionaries go about among the ignorant people, and the Book of Mormon has been translated into Maori, and printed and put into circulation. They have also appeared in India. The history of this sect is well known. It was only in 1830, that the prophet Joseph Smith produced the book, and made known the new dispensation, communicated to him by Angels. The Christian Scriptures are accepted, but the Book of Mormon was added. The Mormons cannot claim to be a Christian sect any more than the Mahometans. The form of government is a strict theocracy maintained by the elders. A kind of polytheism has come into existence, including Adam, Christ, Joseph Smith, and Brigham Young. They are total abstainers from the use of liquors or tobacco, and practise total immersion. They prosecute their missionary work with great zeal all over Europe, in America, and in Oceania. Their numbers are small, still they represent a disturbing agency, which has to be reckoned with. The custom of polygamy has been authoritatively abolished, and was not part of the original Revelation.

A Christian Minister, 1890, thus states the case of the Mormons: that the Mormon Missionaries are not wholly false-hearted, and deceitful, but possessed of a large measure of sincerity and zeal: that the Latter Day Saints send out more Missionaries, and make more converts in proportion to the number of their adherents than any other Church: that a world-wide dominion is their object: that they not only capture their prey, but they deliver it at the Church-door: 90,000 converts made the long journey from Europe to Utah.

Among their good features are

- (1) No Saint lives for himself, but for the Kingdom.
- (2) Salvation was longed for for the sake of Service.
- (3) All personal and family-considerations must be kept in strict subordination. (Oh! that Christian Missionaries would consider this and be wise!)

- (4) An adherent must go where the Church sends him.

- (5) They go without salary, and serve at their own charges, for in their opinion to pay salaries would be to imitate the ways of the false (i.e. Christian) Churches, and the hireling (Christian) clergy.

On the other side let us consider their folly, and falsehood.

(1) They pretend to heal their sick with prayer and oil: 416 suffering from smallpox were cured by simply laying on of hands.

(2) They cast out devils, 309 in Wales all in one day, the work of one elder, and in parties of from 3 to 37 at one time.

(3) If not received, they denounce woe and malediction. New York was well nigh destroyed by fire two years after one malediction.

(4) No Jesuit is more ready to lie for his Church than they are: they used to deny that Polygamy existed, though notoriously it was practised.

(5) Piety is not required of a Saint, nor even Morality.

It is asserted that the recent Circular (1890) forbidding Polygamy is merely a formal submission to the Law of the Land, not an *ex animo* condemnation of an immoral custom: in fact, Polygamy will be replaced by Profligacy.

This very year (Dec. 22) it is reported that John Young, eldest son of the late Brigham Young, has arranged for possession of more than a million acres of land in New Mexico: Mr. Young will conduct ten thousand Mormons to colonize this grant. Since the Gentiles have obtained practical control of Salt Lake City, the Mormons have been quietly seeking a new location, where they may practise their peculiar customs, Polygamy included.

(e) *Positivism*. Forty years ago Auguste Comte, a Frenchman, developed a system of Positive Philosophy, which, for a time, had a wide influence, as indeed there were certain incontestable truths in his method. He had a school which followed him, and Mr. Frederick Harrison is now the representative teacher, who propounds his views on the first day in each year, called the Day of Humanity. A few weeks ago there was a function of the Positivist community in London on the occasion of the death of a respected citizen. Before he was cremated his friends assembled round his coffin, covered with white flowers and surrounded by palms. Mr. Harrison reminded the mourners "that there was no open grave, no religious service of any kind, but merely an expression of personal affection and farewell, and he claimed for the deceased that immortality, which comes of well-doing and good example. Of immortality beyond this Mr. Harrison knew nothing and asserted nothing." This form of worship, accompanied by his familiar cremation, may be an acceptable retreat for the devout and educated Hindu. At any rate it has the great recommendation of tolerance, respect for the religious views of others, and morality.

(f) *Christian Buddhism*. This combination might be expected, and instances are reported in Barma among the Karén. The initiatory rite consists of swallowing a portion of rice, paying a fee to the spiritual chief, keeping the Christian Sabbath, and having a service in imitation of Christians. The adherents of this new form of worship are said to number thousands. No information is

given as to the doctrine taught, but the facts stated show the readiness of ignorant people to accept new teachings.

(g) *Scepticism and Agnosticism.* There is no necessity to do more than write the two words, which represent so much in the present age. Those, who profess them, have not concealed their light under a bushel, and their tenets are as old as the Book of Job, "Oh! that I knew where I might find Him!" They represent a resting-place, or rather a place of unrest, which must be taken account of in considering the subject, which I am now discussing. The enlightened ones, the Buddha of the school, know, or at least have tried to fathom, the depths of their system, as beautifully described by a modern English poet with regard to Lucretius:

"Who dropped his plummet down the broad
Deep universe, and said, 'No God,'
Finding no bottom, who denied
Divinely the Divine, and died
Chief poet by the Tiber's side."

But for the poor sheep, who have followed them in the wilderness, scientific Scepticism resolves itself into mere doubt, and intellectual Agnosticism into an ignorance as deep as that of the South Sea Islander. The last state of the Hindu and Chinese, when they have left their ancient moorings, which at least gave some guarantee to morality, will be worse than the first. The tendency of the works of one of the greatest of the school is to display Humanity passing through one after the other of the world's historic religions, the conception of the Deity, and of Divine Government, becoming at each step more and more abstract and indefinite. The ultimate goal is philosophic Atheism, for, though the existence of a First Cause is not denied, it is declared, and proved, to be unknowable. The Hindu is better off with his Brahma, the Buddhist with his Buddha, the Chinese with his Confucius, than the hapless heir of all the ages, who has followed the will of a wisp of a god, till it finally disappears.

(h) *Unitarianism.* A Unitarian magazine has been started in Japan. The Christian missionary thinks fondly, that by the end of the nineteenth century the progressive Japanese will have cast off their old faith, but what will they have adopted from Europe? Some think, that Unitarianism will do for the common people, and may meet the perplexity of the educated Asiatic mind. When Miss Carpenter visited India, no difficulty was found in securing her a platform. It is as well to know what Unitarianism is, and one distinguished leader has lately, at the age of eighty-five, after an honoured and holy life, put forth his final manifesto:

"A conclusion is forced upon me, on which I cannot dwell without pain and dismay, that Christianity, as defined and understood by *all* the Churches, which formulate it, has been mainly evolved from what is transient and perishable in its sources, from what is unhistorical in its traditions, mythological in its preconcep-

tions, and misapprehended in the oracles of its prophets. From the fable of Eden to the imagination of the last trumpet, the whole story of divine order of the world is dislocated and deformed. The blight of birth-sin, with its involuntary perdition; the scheme of expiatory redemption, with its vicarious salvation; the incarnation, with its low postulates of the relation between God and man; and its unworkable doctrine of two natures in one person; the official transmission of grace through material elements in the keeping of a consecrated corporation; the second coming of Christ to summon the dead, and part the sheep from the goats at the general judgment; *all* are the growth of a mythical literature, or Messianic dreams, or Pharisaic theology, or sacramental literature, or popular apotheosis. And so nearly do these vain imaginations pre-occupy the creeds, that not a moral or spiritual element finds entrance there except 'the forgiveness of sins.' To consecrate and diffuse, under the name of 'Christianity,' a theory of the world's economy thus made up of illusions from obsolete stages of civilization, immense resources, material and moral, are expended, with effects no less deplorable in the progress of religion than would be in that of Science's hierarchies, and missions for propagating the Ptolemaic astronomy, and inculcating the rules of necromancy and exorcism. The spreading alienation of the intellectual classes of European society from Christendom, and the detention of the rest in their spiritual culture at a level not much above that of the Salvation-Army, are social phenomena, which ought to bring home a very solemn appeal to the conscience of stationary Churches. For their long arrear of debt to the intelligence of mankind, they adroitly seek to make amends by *elaborate beauty of Ritual Art*. The apology soothes for a time, but it will not last for ever." (*Seat of Authority in Religion*, p. 650, Longmans, 1890.)

This will go out to India, Japan, China, Africa, and the Isles of the Sea, and be gladly circulated by an infidel press in all the languages of the world; it will do infinite mischief to the young and inquiring soul, just budding into a perception of Christian Truth. But what of the author? We dare not sit in judgment on a fellow-creature soon about to stand with this roll of writing in his hand before the white throne. Unless indeed the Gospel of our Salvation be really false, it will be better in the Day of Judgment for the ignorant Pagan, who felt after God, if haply he could find him, than for the great wise learned philosopher, who deliberately rejected Him.

CHAPTER IV.—DEPARTURES FROM THE TYPE OF CHRISTIAN FAITH ACCEPTED BY PROTESTANT CHURCHES.

- A. Conditional Immortality.
- B. Future Probation.
- C. Mistaken Views as to the Second Coming of Christ.
- D. Faith-healing.
- E. The Pagan Elements in the Papal System.
- F. Plymouthitism.
- G. Nominal Christianity and Indifference.

I now pass to "Departures from the type of Christian Faith" as accepted by the Protestant Churches of all denominations. I quote the words of others from printed matter before me.

(a) *Conditional Immortality*, called otherwise, "Life in Christ." We have the recorded opinions of (1) a missionary in Japan, who had the strength of his convictions; (2) a missionary in China; (3) a missionary in Calcutta; and (4) a missionary among the non-Hindu races of India. It so happens, that they all belong to different denominations of Protestant Churches. One of them writes, representing the opinion of all:

"It is astonishing, how the view of divine truth set forth in the 'Life in Christ' commends itself to the almost instant apprehension and appreciation of the unprejudiced Native Christian mind. I never thrust it to the front, but *nevertheless it is silently and rapidly spreading.*"

It is the last sentence on which I lay stress. I quote a passage from the writings of a most distinguished layman:

"Man was not *created* an immortal being, though designed for and endowed with powers adapting him for an endless existence. His actual possession of immortality was contingent on his obedience. When he fell from innocence, he fell from immortality. He was driven from the Tree of Life, lest he should be immortal, though a sinner. That there should be a future life at all does not depend on anything innate in man's original nature, but is part and parcel of the plan of redemption. Through the Incarnation, Atonement, and Resurrection, provision was made for man's ultimate restoration to a state of innocence, and a restitution to him of his forfeited immortality. Not to all will be a resurrection to eternal life. To the wicked the resurrection will only be to judgment; they will be punished *with everlasting destruction from the presence of the Lord.*"

This is the doctrine. It is supposed to be a comfort to nations, who have instilled in them an exaggerated reverence for parents and ancestors, and who, as shown above, under the head Neo-Confucianism, Chapter II., have a fear of their ancestors taking offence at their descendants adopting a religion, which, under frightfully mistaken views of the Gospel, condemns all non-Christians to everlasting torture. This terrible alternative is no new dogma; it is fully developed in a volume called *John Ward, Preacher*, 1889. I quote his words:

"Why do I lay such stress upon this doctrine, instead of some other doctrines of the Church? It is because I do believe, that Salvation and Eternal Life depend upon holding this doctrine of reprobation in its truth and entirety. For if you deny the eternity of punishment, the scheme of Salvation is futile, Christ need not have died, a man need not repent, and the whole motive of the Gospel is false: revelation is denied, and we are without God and hope. Grant the eternity of punishment, and the beauty and order of the moral universe burst upon us: man is a sinner, and deserves death, and justice is satisfied, for the mercy is offered: it is because Christ has died: and His atonement is not cheapened by being forced upon men, who do not want it: they must accept it or be punished. Foreign Missions were inevitable, wherever the sentiment of pity found room in a human heart, because the guilt of those in the darkness of unbelief without God, *without hope*, would certainly drag down others to eternal misery: and this was a thought so awful, that men could not go their way, and leave them to perish."

No one of the congregation disputed the Preacher's statement, that the wrath of God rested on all unconverted souls, and that it would, unless they burst from their darkness into the glorious light of revealed truth, sink them to Hell.

"The possibility," he added, "of being saved without a knowledge of Christ, remained after 1800 years a possibility illustrated by no example: he showed how blasphemous was the cry, that men must be saved, if *for lack of opportunity* they knew not Christ: that God would not damn the soul, that had no chance of Salvation. It had *had the chance in Adam, and had lost it, and was therefore condemned.*"

To the Preacher this punishment of the helpless heathen seemed only just: he could not realize the cruelty, with which he credited the Deity.

I quote somewhat similar words from a well-known Theological author, whose book is used at the present moment by Bishops in their examinations:

"I have nothing more to do with him: he has passed to the bar of his Sovereign-Judge. I humbly trust, that that Sovereign-Judge has reserved to himself the right to make allowances. I have no power to make reservations. He that believeth not shall be damned."

There is a story of Radbod, the Pagan Duke of Friesland, 730 A.D., who had been persuaded to receive baptism, because his walk was holy, and his soul noble and righteous. As he was stepping down into the baptistery, he asked the English Missionary Willibrod, where were the souls of his heathen ancestors. "In hell," was the reply. He drew back at once from the baptismal waters, and preferred to remain with his own people, and die unbaptized. This aptly illustrates the mistaken view of Christian theology, which has induced this equally mistaken departure from Christian practice to relieve the feelings of converts. A missionary was lately withdrawn from Japan for entertaining such views.

(b) *Future Probation*, or the dogma of a probation between death and the general judgment. Those, who put forth this doctrine maintain, "that the present life is not the decisive test for the heathen, and that the decisions of the final judgment are not to be made in view of the deeds done in the body;" or, in other words, "An offer can be made in the place of departed spirits of Christ to all, who have had no adequate presentation of Him in 'this life.'" The subject has been brought to my notice in the Reports of Missionary Committees in the United States. It is obvious how, in countries where worship of ancestors has been part of the life of the people, such doctrines would be very soothing to converts. It looks like a revival of a modified Purgatory.

(c) *Mistaken Views as to the Second Coming of Christ*. In the year 1881 the Native Christians in South India conceived the idea, that the world was coming to an end on September 29th, 1881. It was in vain, that Bishop Caldwell and his clergy, English and

Native, remonstrated with them; false prophets rose up in their midst and encouraged them. They were treated with great kindness and judgment, but a considerable number, male and female, left their homes, and gathered together at a solitary seaside-place to wait for the coming of the Lord. They passed their time in fasting, mutual exhortation, and prayer. They had sold all things, and lived in common. Some of the leaders lost their balance, and pretended to administer the Lord's Supper, though laymen; but there was no immorality. When the day passed by, and all went on as usual, they returned to their homes greatly humbled, and craved forgiveness of the Bishop, and there were no evil consequences. Still, this is an instance of the excitable character of the lower classes in India, and such delusions may end in lamentable disorder. We may hear of such things again. The heart goes out in tender pity to such poor, loving, uninstructed souls. To those, who have loved much, much will be forgiven. Paul seems carefully to warn against this. In I. Thess. iv. 11, 12, we are told to be quiet, do our own business, and work with our own hands and walk honestly: thus pointing out the proper mode of passing the days of our mortal career: in the very next verse of the same chapter he passes at once to the description of the Lord's second coming, when those who are alive, employed as commanded by him above, will be caught up, meet him in the air, and be ever with the Lord. The poor natives of India were thoroughly wrong in discontinuing their ordinary lawful occupation under vain, and vague, and fanciful, and mistaken teaching.

(d) *Faith-healing*. This may prove a formidable phenomenon in a Native Church, whether educated or not. It is distinctly recommended by one writer, as an instrument of the conversion of the heathen by missionaries. Among races in a low state of civilization it might cause trouble, and herald the return into power of the old medicine-man, rain-maker, magician, and sorcerer. If Elijah by prayer restored life, by prayer also he brought rain.

The case of a Protestant minister in Switzerland is sometimes dwelt upon with satisfaction, but I have visited the Roman Catholic shrine at Lourdes in the Pyrenees, where the Virgin is credited with innumerable cures, and on the walls of the cave, where she is said to have manifested herself, are hung up in great numbers the crutches of the poor sufferers who came to her shrine and left her rejoicing. Across the Spanish frontier, I visited the shrine of the Black Virgin of the Pilar at Saragossa, where the same marvellous stories are told and believed. In one case a man, who had his leg cut off by a scythe while mowing, had it fastened on again under the influence of prayer, leaving only a red line round the limb to record the miracle. In India I am familiar with many such miracles, vouchsafed to the devout Hindu bathing at the Ganges, or the Mahometan pilgrim to the shrine of saints. Faith-healing is

the common stock of the credulous of every country and religion. Convulsions have been cured by touch of the true cross, and the king's evil by the touch of a king or queen. We let down Faith to its lowest level, when we put it to material tests, such as curing a disease or restoring a lost limb, and it is not easy to draw the line and allow Faith to medical cases, and exclude it from surgical of the character above described. In the case, moreover, of the healing of an infant, the Faith is vicarious.

The Hindu rolls up bits of paper with Nágari letters inscribed, and makes the patient swallow it: the Mahometan swallows a line of the Korán in Arabic: here there is the action of Faith, but I recollect how years ago, when one of my Hindu companions was down with fever, one of the sympathizing Mahometan soldiers brought me an amulet with a verse of the Korán in it, to tie round the patient's neck: this was pure fetishism, though kindly meant.

I quote a case of a pious French Priest, who died about thirty years ago, and whose biography has a great sale at this moment, 1890. It is firmly believed, that during the long years of M. Vianney's ministry cases were constantly occurring, in which either the deaf heard, the blind saw, and the lame walked; at least a vast number of people were deceived into believing as much. If every one of them were proved false, there would, however, remain this one miracle, that of the man himself, exercising during these decades of years his prodigious ministry, existing, one might say, almost without food, rest or sleep; a man who, though followed by an amount of homage amounting almost to adoration, never swerved from the line of humility and self-abnegation, to which he had committed himself.

But let us lift up the subject to a higher level. Those, who have studied the words of the sages of the ancient world, Confucius, Búddha, Solomon, Socrates, and One greater than all, must have profited little, if they have not discovered, that here on earth is not our rest, and that this life is not all that we desire, but is only a portico leading into the temple of the next world, only a caravan-serai, in which the soul rests for the watches of the night, and with the morning's dawn the camp moves on one march nearer home. Why are life, and health, and freedom from pain desired, for He giveth His beloved sleep, and, whom He loveth, He chasteneth? How many have found their way *per crucem ad lucem*? and of those, who have lived long lives without sickness or pain, whose eyes swell with fatness, is it well with their souls at the last?

To seek cures of human ills by human remedies, by all that art and science can supply, is right, and our bounden duty; but we can only ask the Lord in prayer to give us a happy issue out of all our affliction. If our lives are prolonged for a little span, let it be to serve Him a little longer. If our course be run, to be with Christ is far better. Faith-healing seems to be a fond delusion of

weak souls, and a tempting of the Lord ; for we know not what we ask, if we go beyond asking for submission to what He is pleased to ordain, as the very best for each one of us.

Daily there surges upwards to the throne

The burning wave of passionate appeal :

Ye bring your bleeding hearts, your brains that reel,

And gasp your prayers in eager feverish tone :

The kind Controller looks with pitying eyes

On the wild upturned faces, *and denies.*

This is not the place to discuss how many wonderful cures in Pagan, Mahometan, and Roman Catholic countries for more than three thousand years have occurred, do occur, and, no doubt, ever will occur. Faith may have something to do with it, but it is not *religious* faith ; and more depends upon the receptiveness of the sufferer than on the gift or prayer of the performer. Those, who are able to awaken a patient's faith, actually use a potent natural agent. It is faith which heals, but not the *object of faith outside the subject of faith.*

A painful event has recently happened in the history of the new Kansas Mission to the Sudan, the deaths of Mrs. Kingman and of Messrs. Gates and Harris, from African fever at Sierra Leone, where they had only recently arrived. The circumstances of the case are peculiarly sad, because these devoted young workers had been led to believe it a Christian duty to *refrain from the use of medicine*, and to expect healing in answer to prayer and Faith. They died, humanly speaking, because they rejected medical advice, and medicine, though these are assuredly among the "all things," which God has given us richly to enjoy and to employ. These three bright and hopeful young lives were thus lost to the mission and to poor dark Africa, not because, constrained by the love of Christ, they had exposed themselves to this deadly climate, but because, misled by erroneous teaching, they neglected the proper precautions against malaria, which experience has taught mankind. Another form of this delusion appears in the expressions used in a late Missionary report.

"One particularly interesting case of the son of a chief of the place I must mention. I found him very ill with inflammation of the lungs, following on dysentery. The father and mother, being Christian adherents, were being taunted by the heathen with the question, 'Can your God heal him?' I took this as a direct challenge to God's power, and after using the usual means, *claimed his healing from God.* In a week's time the lung trouble was completely gone ; and though he is still unwell, through improper feeding, he has recovered, and is a standing proof that our God does hear prayer."

"Claimed him of God." What did thoughtless young men and women think, when they used such expressions ? The dirty little ignorant boy, whose life they claimed, went back to his dirt and ignorance, and yet they presume, that this life was saved by their arrogant prayer. How many great, wise, good men, the centres of usefulness, wisdom, and philanthropy, have been called

away, each in his own appointed time, having worked out the plan of life ordained, and filled the little space of time allowed! Why did no one intercede for Bishop Hannington, and Mackay? What were their colleagues doing that they did not *claim* these valuable lives? Why was Lord Shaftesbury allowed to die? Is the Ruler of the Universe to be blamed, and His Power to be staked on such a blasphemous challenge by a young Doctor? We do not find that experienced ordained Missionaries act thus: it is only the modern type of Salvation Army-enthusiasts, that venture on such indecent familiarity with the counsels of God. Surely it was not the part of a humble Christian to write thus. "Is it well with the child?" asked the Prophet. "It is well," replied the Mother, for he had been taken away: how many a Parent in after-life has doubted, whether it would not have been better, if the prayer for a sick child had not been heard: better for the child, who grew up to be a sinning man; better for the Parents, who lived to see their offspring bloom into madness, or blossom into sin.

Besides it might have happened that the child died, what opinion would have been thought then of God's power? The pious physician, while he is applying the proper remedies, no doubt lays the case before God, imploring a blessing on his endeavour, and a Grace to his skill, but he leaves the issue with One, who knows best. If children were able to claim of God their holy and aged Parents, there would be no more dying in the world. I read of a Missionary this very year, who had a slight attack of typhoid, and he was anointed with oil by his colleagues in accordance with James v. 14, 15. The Roman Catholics are always logical, and they go a step further: the French Priest offers Mass for the *recovery of a farmer's cow*. If the farmer is a Protestant, and pays the money for the Mass, it is allowed, *if the intention of the Mass be kept strictly private*.

The Missionary is commissioned to preach the Gospel, not to work miracles, or pretend to do so: he is not warranted in counting on miraculous support, or supernatural endowment, and it cannot be right to introduce the Divine Name so constantly, and to affect an acquaintance with God's Secrets. For a young man after a few months' work in a Mission-Field to place on paper, that his labours are "owned of God" seems little short of blasphemy, if he knew what he was writing, or folly, if it was only a canting expression. Let the Faith-healer reflect on the end of the lives of the King Josiah of Judah, and King Oswald of Northumbria. Both served the Lord with all their hearts, and He took them away by a bitter death in the midst of their apparent usefulness in His service, as a token that their service was not required:

"Lord, what is this?" I trembling cried,

"Wilt thou pursue Thy worm to death?"

"This is the way," the Lord replied,

"I answer prayers for Grace and Faith."

(c) *Pagan elements in the Papal System.* I could have wished to have kept clear from discussing the merits of Christian Churches, but there are features in the Romish system, which cannot be passed over. Nature-Worship consists in the belief in the existence of spirits, who are objects of worship, move through the air, either of their own accord or conjured by some spell. The apparitions of the Virgin and Saints, which are vouched by the Romish Church, belong to this category. Such spirits take up their abode in some object, lifeless or living, and are deemed to possess power and to deserve worship. Such are the relics, and images, and pictures in Romish churches. Priests of every kind arrogate power to propitiate and control these spirits, and to work miracles by pretending to change the substances of ordinary articles of food. This also is the practice of the Roman Church: the use of beads, crosses, and other fetishes are of Pagan origin. Already, both in India and China, in former centuries, dangerous blendings have taken place of Native and Romish usages, and it is impossible not to anticipate their recurrence, when the Native priesthood becomes numerous, and the Churches assert their independence of foreign control. No doubt these practices in the Church of Rome are survivals of old Italian Paganism, and unconsciously were grafted upon the Christian system, and it is a mournful prospect for the nascent Christian Churches in Asia and Africa to be exposed to the identical forms of delusion, which troubled them, while they were Pagans, after they have entered the Christian fold. This is no idle fear: the Romish Missions in Kongo were utterly destroyed, but to this day the Africans are found with the crosses and beads of the old Romish faith, reconverted to analogous Pagan uses. So little is required of a convert to the Church of Rome: a repetition of prayers in a language not understood; the attendance at services, in which the worshippers only take the part of a spectator at a theatre; the keeping of certain days; and a credulous belief in visions, miracles, and relics. Thus a soil is prepared for the fabrication of new doctrines, the admission into the churches of images of heathen deities, and the maintenance of local heathen worships, and pilgrimages to their old high-places and tombs of deceased ancestors, as the early Christians of the fourth century were reported to have done, until it was made penal, which is impossible now.

The Roman Catholic missionaries make no secret in East Africa of their possessing the Almighty power of God to change bread into flesh and wine into blood. In their printed Reports sold in the shops, I read the following:

"En prononçant à l'autel les divines paroles, qui transubstantient le pain et le vin au corps et au sang du Christ, à ce moment ineffable le prêtre participe à la toute-puissance le Dieu."

And again—

"Je leur ai donné le bon Dieu a domicile."

To be credited with the possession of such awful powers in the midst of a population in a low state of civilization is a great danger to the Native priest. As a rule, the French or Spanish priests never clear out of a country, though entirely Christian in name, but it must happen soon, that weak Churches will be left to themselves.

The kissing of images is another Pagan custom, imported into the Roman Church. Cicero writes of having seen an image of Hercules at Agrigentum, the mouth and beard of which were worn away by the kissing of worshippers. We all know the statue of the Jew Peter, which was the identical statue of Jupiter in the Capitol, whose feet of brass are worn away by the kissing: the threshold of Churches, the drapery of the Altar, and the hands of the Priest, are kissed also.

On the mode of conversion of the simple people of China, by the French Priests of the Paris Mission we have an instance in the weekly number of the Lyons Missionary Organ dated 20th Sept. 1890. To any one, who desires to possess a rosary, or other Papish fetish, the reply is:

"Trouve-moi une ou deux familles, qui se convertissent, et tu l'auras."

"On est sûr d'être pris au mot."

Lately the head man of the Papist congregation was looking with admiration at a great Image just arrived from France. "Father," said he, "we have a new church, but not a single *image* to excite a fervour of devotion: could you give us this Image of the Sacré-Cœur?" (a figure of the Saviour with a great red heart exposed to view on the left side). The Priest answered: "I give nothing: I sell." "What is your figure?" he said. The Priest replied:

"La conversion de quinze familles."

"Accepté."

The Priest goes on to tell us, that the greater part of the price was already paid, that the Image would be made over to the poor deluded natives, "tandisque quinze familles passeront du camp du démon sous l'étendard du Seigneur Jésus." Possibly some of these poor creatures were baptized Protestants; the majority were totally ignorant of the existence even of the Deity. It mattered not to this nineteenth century Judas, so that he swelled the number of his Baptisms.

A Roman Catholic once in conversation with me dwelt upon the consolation given to sufferers by pilgrimage to shrines of the Virgin: they believed, and they had the comfort of their belief. In vain I argued, that it was of importance that they should have faith in a true thing. "Not at all," said he; "what right have we to judge them?" In that case the Hindu and Mahometan, full of his ancient faith, though nominally a Christian, will go on a pilgrimage to the Ganges, or a shrine, and the change of religion will be but in name.

I read in the same Missionary Organ as above quoted, the following story: One of the French Priests of the Mission at Bagomóyo, on the main land of East Equatorial Africa, opposite to Zanzibár, good and estimable people, was on a tour in the interior, desirous to open a branch-station. None of the Chiefs would admit him, so he turned round on Joseph, the husband of the Virgin Mary, who has been appointed by the Pope to the office of Patron of the African Missions, "It is your business, Joseph: you must do it." Next morning he called on a Chief, who told him, that an aged man, with a long white beard, had appeared to him in a dream, and ordered him to give the French Priests a locality for their Mission, which he was most happy to do. This story is published in France with a view of getting money: it would seem as if the world was falling into second childhood.

At the same time that the Romish Church thus grovels in the dust of Pagan ideas, and Pagan methods, what are its ideas of Toleration? "Take, for instance, a tract entitled 'Liberty of Conscience,' circulated by Roman Catholics. In this tract Priest Robinson was asked, 'Did a Catholic State allow political liberty of conscience?' To this question his reply is as follows:

"We answer plainly, No. And why not? We reply, Considering what we have laid down as the meaning in its full length and breadth of the term Catholic State, how could it do so? Heresy is the most grievous of all sins against the spiritual order, which the State was bound to maintain; and against the political order in its inevitable result of disturbance and bloodshed. And the liberty of conscience demanded by the question means the right of every citizen to believe what he likes, or to enjoy his own opinion, and, if that opinion be in conflict with the teaching of the Church, then what is this but heresy, or revolt against Church and State? How could the Catholic State allow this so-called liberty of conscience? As well might you ask a person to allow poison to be introduced into his body. Do you say: What a cruel and bigoted thing for the Catholic Church and State to put down heresy? We only ask you to allow the Catholic State the right no man will deny to himself or his neighbour to reject poison from his system.' (Page 22.) By his own admission the Rev. Walter Croke Robinson would crush liberty of conscience out of the body politic, as he would reject poison from his system. And this very teacher asks for liberty to destroy the liberty of other people. Why, he insults liberty by invoking its sacred name. He has shown as clearly as words can describe his meaning what the Roman Catholic Church would do, if it had the power. But it has not the power; and, what is better, it is not likely to get it. How unwise then to uplift a paralyzed hand without ability to crush or even to strike!"

(f) *Plymouthitism*. In 1830, at Plymouth, in England, came into existence a new sect, called Plymouth-Brothers. They object to all churches, all ministers set apart, all forms of worship, all instructors in Sunday-schools; and, taking a literal interpretation of the word of Scripture, would seek each man his own Salvation, and leave the less fortunate to take care of themselves. I have found in one field of foreign Mission, that this principle was

working the saddest consequences; and in the case, to which I allude, the missionaries were Presbyterian, without any imputation of being appointed by an outside influence. This vagary of the poor human intellect is the precise contrary to that of the Romish system, where all are reduced to slavish obedience to a divinely appointed priest, and, like all extremes, leads to results as lamentable, as those which it was intended to correct. Individualism must be the ruin of any form of Church.

(g) *Nominal Christianity and Indifference.* This requires no remark; the nature of the evil will be understood by all, and may probably, as in Europe, so in every other part of the world, be the refuge of the individuals or tribes, which have outgrown their national or local form of worship, in which they did to a certain extent believe. Where there is no State-Church, and entire toleration, it may happen that the religious instinct may cease to exist altogether; the domestic events of birth, marriage, and sepulture being recorded by a purely civil, non-religious ceremony. The secular education of the young has necessarily in all civilized countries passed away from under the control of religion into the hands of the State, which is impartial to all. There are no idols now to break, but there is philosophy, uncontrolled literature, and an overweening pride in human intellect. Thoughtless souls put out to sea without a pilot, without a knowledge of the dangers of the navigation, without a chart or compass, to seek the unknown way of Salvation. Quotations from every class of writer, ancient or modern, flow glibly from the lips of those, who have not the remotest conception of the lines of thought, along which the utterer of the opinions quoted was led gradually from point to point. Not that a word can be said against a calm, thoughtful, humble, consideration of such awful topics; but it requires a variety of gifts and a long period of study to come to a conclusion. The conduct of many is like that of a gamester playing at dice with the knuckle-bones of saints. Let us shut our eyes for a moment, and imagine, if it were possible, that the story of Jesus had vanished away into the category of the legends of King Arthur, and the tale of Troy, that there was no great Hereafter, no precious Promises, no Fatherhood of God, and that the only certain facts were pain, sickness, and death, and that the choice lay betwixt nominal belief or total indifference. Let us open our eyes again, and be thankful that it is not so.

CHAPTER V.—CONCLUDING REMARKS.

A FEW words in conclusion. In considering the subject-matters, I have had to exclude certain forms of religion existing at the present moment with a certain reputation, because I consider they have not, in themselves, the elements of vitality, when once the dead bones of a nation are stirred.

(i.) *Taouism*. “A congeries of superstitions, begotten by Búddhism out of the old Chinese superstitions;” so it is described by Professor Legge. “Every trace of philosophy had disappeared. “Instead of the keen search after the Infinite, to which Laou-tze “devoted himself, the highest ambition of his followers is to learn “how best to impose on their countrymen;” so says Professor Douglas.

(ii.) *Shintoism*. The State-religion of Japan is a remnant of the primitive worship of the rude tribes of Japan; it contains no subtle ideas of morality, or elaborate system of philosophy; in the Japanese papers you will find official proclamations conferring on dead persons divine titles, or promoting the rank of those, who are already in the number of the Shinto deities.

(iii.) *Shámanism*, a debased form of Búddhism practised in Central Asia.

(iv.) Religion of the Druse and Nasairuyeh tribes. They have something in common with Sufi-ism, and a decided element of ancient heathenism, such as the secret worship of Vertus and the Moon. The Druse are 50,000 in number; a moiety dwell on the slopes of Mount Lebanon, the remainder in the Haurán: they are *not* Mahometan. In the eleventh century A.D. El Hákim, the sixth Khalíf of the Fatimite Dynasty, under the guidance of a Persian Mystic, El Dorázi, founded a new system of Religion, combining Zoroastrianism and Islám: the Khalíf himself claimed to be an incarnation of God: when El Dorázi fled, another Persian mystic succeeded, who was the real founder of this sect. Just as Manichæism, and Gnosticism, had centuries before appeared, so this also was a combination of similar elements. Among their doctrines is Transmigration of Souls, and an Incarnation of the Deity. They have no desire to convert others: they are satisfied, that their own doctrines are true, *and that those of all the rest of the world are false*: they live entirely isolated: they have sacred books, but their nature has not transpired: a few converts have been made. The Nasairuyeh inhabit the extreme North of Syria: very little is known of them, and no one has divulged their mysteries; probably, like that of Freemasonry, there is nothing to divulge: it is possible, that the basis is the old Phœnician Religion, with loan-conceptions from Zoroastrianism, Islám, the Druse Mysticism above described, and a debased Christianity. I have sat down in a Christian Maronite

Church in Lebanon and conversed with a dear old Maronite-Priest: his dogma, and his eschatology, were worthy of a good Hindu. The Nasairuyeh believe in Transmigration and an Incarnation: they live quite isolated, and refusing all contact of civilization, doom themselves to destruction.

It may be disheartening to witness so many new forms of error existing, or springing up; but such was it ever. When Christianity had to grapple with the dying religions of Greece and Rome, we find the same phenomena.

"The philosophers of the age of Trajan, when they groped about to find a real faith, their own having melted away, and the intelligence of the country being divorced from the national religions, little thought, that their hands were burning, when they touched the new faith of the Christians; they wholly failed to appreciate the great elements of disturbance; they were blind just when the day was dawning."

No doubt the monopoly of human excellence, which had been fondly attached by Christians to the Jews, is now for ever taken away. God in sundry times and in divers manners has spoken to our fathers, and we cannot but recognize His goodness in what in these weak efforts is really good. Koung-fu-tze and Búddha lived blameless lives, and taught true morality; we have had the blessing of something greater and higher than mere morality. In the study of those forms of worship above described, we remark how strangely the variety of errors has been adapted to catch particular classes of intellect, and pander to particular national weaknesses. In one we find downright superstition; in another most free and enlightened reason; in one pure hard morality; in another romantic sentimental mysticism, not free from immorality; in one there is such humility as scarcely dares to lift the eye to the object of worship; in another the proud haughty worshipper so many times a day bandies words with his great Creator; in one the worshipper creates out of his own superstition interceders and helpers; in another he must pile up his salvation by his own works, and that alone. It seems, as if our own marvellous dispensation had been fashioned so as to meet all possible human requirements.

Many forms of error, which have disappeared now, are chronicled in the annals of the early centuries. At the close of the third century, an epoch of the world much resembling the present century, three great religious systems strove for possession of the Roman Empire: (1) Neo-Platonism, (2) Manichæism, (3) Christianity. Augustine passed from the first, through the second, into the third; this shows how narrow were the confines, which separated them in practice, though the ideas of them were as far apart as the poles. They resembled each other in being world-religions with universal tendencies, and in being a system, which aimed at being a Divine philosophy with a definite code of ethics and ritual. They had each absorbed the essence of older and widely-different

religions. In all these the ideas of revelation, redemption, asceticism, virtue, and immortality, came into the foreground.

Christianity conquered; let us consider the nature of the two vanquished conceptions.

Manichæism was in no wise a reformed movement of the Zoroastrian Cult under the influence of Christianity; its origin and practice lie as totally out of the orbit of Christian influences as Neo-Hinduism, Neo-Zoroastrianism, and Neo-Buddhism; and more so, as there was no possible contact by means of the public press, and social contact. Mani founded it, and gave it his name, he was crucified in Persia, 276-77, for his opposition to the priests and the Magi; he claimed to be the last and highest prophet. His system was uncompromising Dualism, to which he united an ancient mythology, an exceedingly simple spiritual worship, and a strict morality, abolishing all the sensuous Semitic ideas. He was thus able to satisfy the wants of the world, and appropriate foreign elements. He felt no need of a Redeemer, but only of the physical process of Redemption. Mani declared himself to be the supreme prophet of God, and gained an enormous influence, and his system lasted to the thirteenth century A.D.

Neo-Platonism came into existence 245 A.D., at Alexandria. Origen was one of its early disciples; the murder of Hypatia by fanatic Christians was the death of the school in Alexandria, though it lingered on in Athens, till it was finally closed by Justinian in 529 A.D. It had endeavoured to create an ethical mood of the highest and purest ever reached by antiquity; when it perished, the last survival of ancient philosophy perished also. Augustine records, how much he owed to the perusal of Neo-Platonic works on all the cardinal doctrines of God, matter, the relation of God to the world, freedom, and evil. Augustine stamped the impress of Neo-Platonism upon Christianity, and gave it the foundation of a religious society, which Neo-Platonism never had. The way, by which the masses could attain the highest good, was a secret unknown to Neo-Platonism; when the Emperor Julian tried to enlist the sympathies of working men for the doctrine and worship of that school, he failed; then went up the despairing cry, "Galilean, Thou hast conquered."

In the second and third centuries after Christ the Cult of Mithras, a Persian god, spread over the Roman world. We find in Northumberland, along the Roman wall, inscriptions on tombs of legionaries, who died in Britain, dedicated to this god. He was an Arian god, identified with the sun by Semitic adhesions, a god of light, purity, moral goodness, and knowledge. Mithras was supposed to be engaged in the perpetual struggle betwixt good and evil, which perplexes each human life. He thus seemed to unite some of the attributes of the two great Pagan gods, Apollo and Athéné. Victory can only be gained by sacrifice and probation,

and Mithras is conceived as always performing the mystic sacrifice, through which the good will triumph. The human soul can by his aid reascend, and attain union with God; but there was a terrible ordeal to go through. In 378 these mysteries were prohibited, and the central place of worship destroyed. The Christians, who cried out against persecution in the second century, had become persecutors in the third. Mithras is well known in the Art-galleries of Europe as a young man grasping the head of a bull, and plunging his sword in the neck.

Attempts were thus made by one or other of the dying forms of Paganism, or by the sparks, that were struck off by their dying embers, to amalgamate with the new and vivacious development of young Christianity. The priests of Mithras, who on paper looked so very near Christ, copied, or seemed to copy, the rites and ceremonies of Christianity, or possibly both drew from the same Pagan source, that Augustine exclaimed, "Mithra Christianus est;" but it was of no use. The Gnostics may have consented, but the Greek Christians were wonderfully preserved, at that time at least, from absorbing Pagan elements, though as time went on the corrupt Greek and Romish Churches, as already shown, became gradually half-pagan in the objects, and modes, of their worship. It is startling to find in the tombs of the legionaries along the great wall, who had made their homes in Britain, allusions, not only to Mithras, but Serápis, Astarté, the Phœnician Hercules, the ancient gods, the Genius of the Wall, eternal Rome, divinity of the Emperor, the standard of the camp, and the Divine Mother beyond the seas. Amidst such a wealth of Pagan inscriptions, there is not one single trace of the Christian.

We may well ask whether Buddhism and Confucianism will fare better than Neo-Platonism in this practical, sceptical, emotional, and *pseudo*-scientific age. Will Islam, when reformed, and deprived of the power of the sword, have greater vitality than Manichæism?

He must be narrow-minded and ignorant, who ridicules, or despises, the modes, in which any portion of God's children worship their Creator, or who laughs at the idols, and fetishes, statues and pictures, which were, or are, the funnels, through which they convey their worship, or who vilifies, or hates, or despises any of his fellow-creatures, who differ from him in their conception of the Deity. The more sure a man is of his own reasonable belief, the more calmly and pityingly he regards the vagaries of his brother. We know what Atheism and Agnosticism mean. The feeling after God ennobles our race. One writer remarks:

"The intention of religion, wherever we meet it, is holy. However imperfect and childish it may seem, it always places before us the conception of God, it always represents the highest ideal of perfection, which the human soul at the time being with reference to its environment can reach or grasp. It places the human soul in the presence of its highest ideal, it lifts it above the level of ordinary goodness, and produces at least a yearning after a higher and better life, a life in the light of God."

Nor at the time of the break up of an ancient religious conception, which a nation advancing in knowledge has outgrown, is the appearance without precedent of a great sage, who so impressed his contemporaries with a sense of his power and wisdom, that his statue was placed among those of the elder gods. What has happened to Búddha and Confucius in Asia, happened centuries ago to Apollonius of Tyána. His life includes the whole of the period, during which our Lord appeared on earth, and dwelt among men. He was not an impostor, nor did he make use of artifices and pretensions unworthy of a great philosopher. He had in him all the evidences of a great moral and religious reformer, living a blameless life, and attempting in vain to animate the expiring Paganism of the first century after the Christian era into a new and purer life. That he should have been by the next generation placed on a higher pedestal of greatness than was warranted, was not his fault, but his misfortune. The greatness of Socrates stands out in a clearer light, because no one ever attempted to pay him divine honours, and so he never sank to the undeserved degradation, which has fallen on the wisest of sages, Confucius, or the blameless moralist, Búddha.

In the Græco-Roman world every one was accustomed to the introduction of new deities, for they were the outward and concrete expression of a new dogma. In Roman Catholic Europe to this day no new dogma can be floated without the necessity of a new vision. The Immaculate Conception was not safe as a dogma without the concrete form of the Virgin at Lourdes: "*Je suis l'Immaculée Conception*," and the priests of neighbouring shrines of the Virgin in the Pyrenees are outspoken in their feelings of jealousy of the new manifestation, which has robbed them of their offerings. Small-pox is stiffened in India into a shapeless idol, which has to be appeased by lamps. Agnosticism and Faith-healing would in the ancient world have been represented by a god with a hopelessly thoughtful face in the one case, and a female figure in a compassionate attitude in the other.

Some incidental touches may interest. It is reported this year by a missionary, that an educated Native of Calcutta asked him to take him through a course of Hinduism, Búddhism, and Mahometanism, then through the works of Stuart Mill, Herbert Spencer, and Renan, and, finally, through works of standard Christianity, remarking naïvely, that at the completion of the course he would be in a position to decide, just as a man sits down before a map to settle his route among Messrs. Cook's alternative circular tours. As a fact, the Hindu did *not* go through this course, and he is but a type of the indecision, want of independence, and grip of a subject, which is characteristic of a nation enslaved for generations, and not yet accustomed to wield seriously the arms of criticism and logic, which it has learnt to play with in the Anglo-Indian State

Schools. Coelebs in search of a wife, Japhet in search of a father, are mere nothings compared to a Hindu in search of a religion. More honour to those brave men, who have burst through the cloud and dared, rightly or wrongly, for Christ or against Christ, to think for themselves.

The Calcutta *Englishman*, describing a case which recently came before the High Court of Calcutta, says, that it exhibits in a striking manner the difference between Hindu and Mahometan conceptions. The Hindu holds, that every supernatural being is a god, that is, an incarnation or manifestation of the Supreme Being, and entitled, therefore, to homage and propitiatory offerings. This idea is an abomination to the followers of the Prophet, the first article of whose terse creed is, that there is but one God. Islám, however, permits of the belief in an unlimited number of ghosts and goblins, who are all to be treated as enemies, to be anathematized and repulsed, but on no account to be compounded with or conciliated. The case in question was this: There was a desirable piece of land lying waste, because it was reputed to be haunted by a goddess, who resented interference with her domain. The Hindu did all they could to propitiate her, setting apart a tree for her abode, under which they erected an idol in her honour, to which they made offerings of fruit and flowers. Still, the goddess continued implacable, and on one man venturing to cultivate some of the land, she caused him and his children to be carried off by death. Eventually, some Mahometan neighbours, laughing to scorn the Hindu superstition, undertook to reclaim the land, but the goddess presented herself before one of them as a frightful ogre, and although he religiously set her down as a hobgoblin, that only increased his terror. But another Mahometan argued, that a Hindu goddess ought to have no chance in fair fight with the followers of the Prophet. So the Mahometans, under his leadership, proceeded with a cow to the goddess's tree, and killed it there, placing parts of the carcase among the branches, and even smearing the idol with its blood. As the result of this defiant outrage the goddess was completely routed. Indeed, she would never have been heard of again, but that her devotees were inconsolable, and set the penal Code in operation against her oppressors, so that five of the Mahometans were sentenced to imprisonment for "outraging religious susceptibilities," as impartial British law puts it. From the Hindu point of view all this is as it should be; but to the Mahometans it will appear that the Government has taken the part of the hobgoblin, when they were defending themselves against its unprovoked and malicious hostility.

The Jain sect of Gwalior have addressed a petition to Lord Lansdowne, asking him to instruct the Governor-General's Agent in Central India to bring pressure to bear on the Gwalior Government to allow their "immagine," known as Ruth Biman, to be converted

into a real god. The petitioners say, that at present it is only an "image," and they explain that it "cannot be considered a god, unless it is taken with procession into the streets, and accompanied by several images which come from other stations, and these images take the new image to the temple," when by virtue of this public procession it becomes a god, for, "until the procession is performed, a new image is not considered a god according to our religion." It appears that the temple of the petitioners was broken into by some Brahmin zealots, and the image therein destroyed, and in their own estimation they are without a god. For four years the Gwalior Government has refused permission for the procession, by which alone this loss can be replaced. The reasons for the refusal do not appear, but the consequences are disastrous to the Jains, for in the mean time the ceremony of marriage cannot be performed, and their daughters are growing up unmarried. It is suggested, that the Gwalior authorities are afraid of the disturbances, that might be caused during the procession, in consequence of Brahmin hostility, but the petitioners offer to pay for the extra police force needed to maintain the public peace on that occasion. The reply of the Government of India is not yet known, but it is obviously a delicate matter to interfere between two hostile religious parties, and the Government of a native State.

The "Illustrated Catholic Missions" of December, 1890, gives the story of a Brahmin in the Bombay Presidency, who, while urging on the British Government the duty of encouraging Higher Education among the better classes, himself did all he could to thwart the *primary* Education of the Peasantry. His reason being asked, he explained, that it was to the advantage of the respectable persons in the village, that the lower classes should remain uneducated and superstitious: "At present," said he, "I have no occasion to keep watchmen to protect my fields, because the 'Village-God' 'Grama Deo' does the duty for me without any remuneration, except the annual cost of a fowl or cocoanut. But, if the Peasantry were educated, they would find out, that the 'Village-God' was only a block of stone, and they would commence thieving in my fields."

No doubt such is the case, but the strangest thing is, that the Editor of the Roman Catholic organ did not see, that his remarks applied equally to the images of his own debased Christianity. I know the ways of the Hindu well from long residence alone in their midst, but it so happens, that I have repeatedly and carefully observed the village-life in Roman Catholic countries in Southern Europe, and I can detect no distinction betwixt the external form, and inward conception, of the images idolatrously worshipped, knelt to, prayed to, and venerated, in either country.

A Chinese Missionary comes to the Bible-House, and objects to tabulated forms, because, according to him, the Native Chinese

character is inaccurate, and does not see the grave errors of a false or deceitful entry, and thus many a gross lie, many a transparent exaggeration, is accepted by the Native as Truth itself, because the hearer thinks that it is Truth. His desire is to please his European hearer, if there is anything to get from him: this is his weakness: the European weakness is to believe, and accept as true, what *he wishes to be true*, what his previous conceptions lead him honestly, and steadfastly, to believe as true. Some idol-worshippers declare, that they do not worship the image itself, but only the god represented by the image; but the following stories will show that some do believe, that the idols can hear, and see, and feel:

A man in China bought a lottery-ticket, and prayed to his god to make it lucky; it did not win the prize, and the man became so angry with the idol, that he took a knife and cut off its head. After a few days he seemed to think, that he had been too hard upon his god, and fastened its head on again; then he went on worshipping it as before.

At Fuh-Chow a military officer died suddenly, and the idea got abroad, that he had been slain by the wooden idols in one of the temples. The governor of the province, hearing this, gave orders that the idols were to be arrested and punished. This was done, and fifteen wooden idols were brought up before the Prefect. Their eyes were put out so that they should not see who was their judge; they were then beheaded, their bodies thrown into a pond, and their temple shut up for ever. This might seem improbable, if we did not know, that the Roman Catholics sometimes flog the images of their Saints, if they do not get what they want: the images of St. Martin on board Spanish vessels often have bad quarters of an hour, when the wind blows too much, or too little.

The story of the man who burnt his idol can bear being repeated. He was baptized, having been well prepared beforehand. He would have cooked and eaten his food without any one being the wiser, had not a woman blazed it abroad, that he was using his gods as firewood! Then a great number ran together to the sight, and affected the greatest alarm on account of this act of daring impiety. They looked, and have scarcely ceased looking out for the man's death, as a result of the anger of the gods; but he is still hale and hearty, and his place has never been vacant in the church.

Such notices in the Indian papers as, "A new Deity has appeared on the Afghán frontier: the police are after him," are full of suggestions; so also the letter of the sick Bangáli in his own dialect of English, "I could give much information on the statistics of this great and downfelling disease, but I am earnestly working the oracle with the gods to minimize the malady, by giving alms, and all things, to poor helpless beggars." This marks a deep degradation of the religious element: the beggars are to be relieved,

the gods humbugged, and the sick man cured. This is Faith-healing with a vengeance! A communication from an unquestionable Native source in Japan is still more discouraging :

"The *Japan Weekly Mail*, in a recent issue, summarizes a discussion now being carried on in Japan by several eminent publicists, respecting the advisability of the people of that country embracing the Christian religion. 'A movement, supported by some very prominent men, is on foot to give an impetus to the spread of Christianity by laying stress on the secondary benefits its acceptance insures.' Those connected with the movement say, that Christian dogma is a bitter pill to swallow, but advise that it be swallowed promptly for the sake of the after-effects. Mr. Fukuzawa, a well-known writer, urges this course, although he takes no personal interest whatever in religion, and knows nothing of the teaching of Christianity: but he sees that it is the creed of the most highly-civilized nations. To him religion is only a garment, to be put on or taken off at pleasure; but he thinks it prudent, that Japan should wear the same dress as her neighbours, with whom she desires to stand well. Professor Toyama, of the Imperial University, has published a work to support this view. He holds that Chinese ethics must be replaced by Christian ethics, and that the benefits to be derived from the introduction of Christianity are: (1) the improvement of music; (2) union of sentiment and feeling, leading to harmonious co-operation; and (3) the furnishing a medium of intercourse between men and women. Mr. Kato, the late President of the Imperial University, says that religion is not needed for the educated, and confesses his dislike to all religions equally, urges the introduction of religious teaching into the Government schools, on the ground that the unlearned in Japan have had their faith in old moral standards shaken, and that there is now a serious lack of moral sentiment among the masses. Among the replies to this is one by a Mr. Sugiura, who is described as 'a diligent student of Western philosophy for many years.' He speaks of the specially marked lack of religious feeling and sentiment in his countrymen; the Japanese, he says, have no taste for religion whatever, and it is impossible, that they should ever become a religious people. The youth of Japan, he argues, being free from the thralldom of creeds, and free to act according to reason, are so far in advance of Europeans; and, instead of talking about adopting a foreign religion, Japanese should go abroad and preach their religion of reason to foreign countries. Other writers urge the same views. The writer in the *Yokohama newspaper* says that those, who urge the teaching of Christianity, represent an influential section of educated Japanese opinion; they are the signs of the times. 'To Japan, in an emphatically agnostic mood, came Western science with all its marvellous revelations and attractions. 'At the shrine of that science she is worshipping now.'"

I give an extract of another kind from a Missionary Report of this year:

"Not long ago I got a letter from a former pupil, a Bangáli, who is now in the railway office, asking me to preside at a lecture, which he wished to deliver to the young students of our school and the Government school, and that his subject was to be 'Jesus Christ!' I consented, of course, most willingly, and was curious to know what a Hindu gentleman would say about Christ, thinking that he who is not agnost is for Him. Printed notices were issued, and on the day appointed I took the chair, and was very much pleased to find over a hundred young men present, and still more pleased and gratified at the lecture. My young friend gave a very good account of the life of Christ, in English, speaking for nearly an hour. He took great care, however, to say that no one should suspect him of being secretly a Christian, but was bold enough to affirm, that he must accept the truth wherever it is found. He

"insisted on the fact that Christianity had been a blessing to the world in general, and that Christian missionaries had proved a great blessing to India in particular. What struck him most in Christ as divine was His meekness and forgiving spirit, His patience and long-suffering under provocation, as well as His perfect self-sacrifice. In conclusion he exhorted his young friends, most earnestly and vehemently, to study the life of Christ, and he took occasion to say, that the Mission school in which he had studied had been, and still was, "a shining light in Gorakhpur."

It is sad to think of the wonderful story of the life of the Saviour of the world being thus given in the cold form of a lecture, with the cautious *caveat* that it was not believed. A pamphlet has lately appeared in Calcutta, by a Hindu of the old school, entitled, "Are we really awake? an Appeal to the Hindu Community." It is interesting to read the story of the other side. The writer complains that "the life-blood of society is ebbing away, and irreligion eating into its vitals." He no doubt copied those phrases from some Christian publication, possibly a denunciation of the opium-trade by a Chinese missionary. He attributed the evil to the influence of Christianity; so no doubt the elder generations, in the first and second centuries of the Christian era, felt at Rome and Corinth. He finds that "the Christian Missions are slowly and imperceptibly changing our ideas with regard to our social, moral, and domestic life." He regrets that to the "same cause must be attributed the evidence of the absence of that domestic simplicity and *spiritual integrity*, that marked the ways of our women only a decade and a half ago." He has evidently borrowed these high-flown expressions from some missionary report, and turned their use round, without stating, whether the change was for the worse, whether the females of his family were becoming termagant, or licentious, or extravagant. The idea of *spiritual integrity* in a Hindu female in the old days reads like a joke. Many were no doubt good mothers and faithful wives, or patient co-wives of the same husband, but it is difficult to define the meaning of spiritual integrity as applied to the inmate of a Hindu *zanána*.

I give a quotation from a Mahometan source :

"The *Riaz-i-Hind*, a Mohometan paper published in Amritsar, laments the decline of the local Anjuman, or society for the defence of Islam, as it is imperatively needed in this city, where in every lane and court, hole and corner, Christian missionaries have their nets ready spread. The efforts of the Anjuman have hampered them somewhat in their work. Girls' schools have been established to supplant Mission-agencies, and an orphanage is proposed. Unless our energetic Mohometans look to it, Islam in this city will never again have a chance of escaping from the missionary flood which is sweeping over. This is the only society, which has entered the field in defence of Mohometanism; but alas! our educated youth stand aside and see the fun! We implore our brethren to show forth their zeal for the faith. God forbid that a fruitful tree should, because of want of interest wither, and for want of watering, its fruit instead of ripening should dry up and drop off unripe. Now is your chance! Awake! rally to the help of the faith! Give some of your time. God is ready to help you. We see indications, that lethargy is coming over the energy of the great and honourable ones, who form the Council of the Society.

" Their present efforts as compared to the past are as the efforts of men fatigued. We say to them, if the society suffers from your lack of service, remember, that you must all one day appear and have to answer to the true and glorious Being for your deeds."

I give another quotation from a Missionary report :

" Prejudice and misrepresentation, if not open antagonism, we expect to meet with among the non-Christian population of all classes, and in towns and villages alike. Organized opposition is almost confined to large stations, and is generally brought about by the imperfectly educated young men of the place. But the most noticeable is the work of the Hindu Tract Society through its publications and its preachers. The staple of the Hindu preachers' addresses is abuse of missionaries and their religion. They are also strongly coloured by the anti-English feeling which prevails in certain circles. The people are incited to oppose us in every possible way, to keep away from our services, to withdraw their children from our schools, to tear our books and tracts to pieces. During the day the preachers visit the houses, and work upon the fears of the women. This persecution has been borne with patience, even when pain and loss have resulted, and we have observed with satisfaction the excellent effect it has had on the Native Christians."

" The conditions of aggressive Christian work in the circuit have not materially changed during the past year. Men everywhere are becoming aware of the power, that is in Christianity, and for the present the attitude of the higher Castes is that of armed and vigilant resistance. On the principal stations, especially, we have daily to face the unscrupulous persecution and lying misrepresentation of members of the Hindu Tract Society or the Probandha Samâj. In the presence of such organized opposition we have found it at times wise to change our modes of work ; but never once have we desisted from labour, that had become hard, or swerved from our main purpose."

Among the first tracts of the Hindu Tract Society is a leaflet of four pages, entitled :

" Is Jesus God ? "

Twenty texts from the Gospel are quoted to disprove this. There is evidenced a bitter hostility to Christianity, for the teaching of the Bible is instinctively felt to be a power difficult to withstand.

A Hindu writes in a recent tract :

" Missionaries come from Britain at a great cost, and tell us, that we are in heathen darkness, and that a bundle of fables, called the Bible, is the true ' Vedânta,' which alone can enlighten us. They have cast their net over our children by teaching them in their schools, and they have already made thousands of Christians, and are continuing to do so. They have penetrated into the most out-of-the-way villages, and built churches there. If we continue to sleep, as we have done in the past, not one will be found worshipping in our temples in a very short time ; why, the temples themselves will be converted into Christian churches ! . . . We must not fear the missionaries, because they have white faces, or because they belong to the ruling class. There is no connection between the Government and Christianity, for the Queen-Empress proclaimed neutrality in all religious matters in 1858. We must, therefore, oppose the missionaries with all our might. Whenever they stand up to preach, let Hindu preachers stand up, and start rival preaching at a distance of forty feet from them, and they will soon flee away. Let Caste, and sectarian differences, be forgotten, and let all the people join as one man to banish Christianity from our land. All possible efforts should be made to win back those, who have embraced Christianity, and all children should be withdrawn from Mission schools."

And this advice is being carried out.

A missionary from China writes, that there is danger in young Churches of errors of doctrine creeping in; that he has had to deal over and over again with the germs of heresies which, if not eradicated, in time might have caused serious injury to the Native Church.

I give some specimens of the anti-Christian placards used by the promoters of the late agitation in Wu-Chang in China and elsewhere, placards and posters in prose and verse, with such headings as "Do not become devils," "The false religion must die," "Exterminate the devils," "The worship of the hog spirit." The consuls and others, who have seen these cartoons, say, that they surpass in vileness anything, that has come down to us from heathen antiquity. Prompt measures were taken by the concerted action of the foreign Consuls, and as soon as the people knew, that the matter was in the Viceroy's hands, the excitement subsided, and the placards disappeared from the walls.

And sometimes there are deeds as well as words. I quote from the Times of this year (1890):

"The latest advices from Chung-King report that the troubles at Tai-Chu-Hsin arose from the massacre of some Chinese Christians at Jong-Tuy-Tsin by the members of the Lee-Huy-Sos Society during a celebration of that association's patron deity. After the celebration had lasted several days, the society consulted their god, whether it would be safe to plunder the goods of the Christians. *The god answering in the affirmative*, a raid was immediately commenced, when a number of Christians were captured and much booty secured.

"A few days later the society made another attack and massacred over 20 Christians. Nineteen dead bodies were counted in the streets, and several more are known to have been cut to pieces and thrown into the river. The mission-house and other buildings were set on fire, and the bodies thrown into the flames. The following day the society visited another market town, intending to perpetrate a further massacre, but the Christians fled, one only being killed."

And during the transition period there must be the bitter trial of converts falling away, back to the old mire of Paganism and Mahometanism, or into some new-fangled heresy. Such has ever been the case, and ever will be. As a set-off must be considered the number of those, who in heart are convinced, and would come out, if conversion could be effected on the easy terms of a Christian country, but who are held back by fear of social persecution or domestic impediments. We must not be hard in our judgment. How few in our midst would have the strength to take up the cross, and give up all for Christ! And as the battle goes on, we must expect an apparent recrudescence of non-Christian beliefs. When first the missionary appeared, they did not care much about him and his preachings, but now that it is found, that conversions are made, the conservative party will stand on their defence, and there will appear to be a revival. Now this is just what happened

in the second century of our era. As the Christian party grew stronger, there was a Pagan revival of the worship of Artemis at Ephesus to oppose them. The missionary must expect his work to become more difficult in proportion as he is partially successful. Little things indicate a change passing over the heathen world. The Indian papers tell us suggestive anecdotes :

A civil suit has been lodged in the Serampúr Court, near Calcutta (1890), against the Mohant, or High Priest of Tarkeshwar: the Plaintiff sues for a decree declaring that

- (1) The temple be open at all times to votaries to worship.
- (2) The pilgrims be protected from extortion.
- (3) Pilgrims be allowed to make free-will offerings.

Idolatry will hardly survive such a practical mode of viewing affairs. Again :

"The Madras Government has refused to release the Mohant, or High Priest, of Tripati, who was lately convicted of embezzling the temple-funds. Numerous petitions in his favour were presented, but Lord Connemara held, "that the sentence as reduced by the High Court on appeal was not too severe."

A Christian governor places honesty in the administration of trust funds above all religious considerations; the eternal laws of Toleration cannot be evaded in any of their consequences. On the other hand, in the Province of Bombay, when a priest, himself a reputed incarnation of Vishnu, was tried before a Christian court on a charge of gross immorality with female worshippers, the sentence rang through India: "Nothing can be theologically right which is wrong morally." Progress is marked in another way. In different parts of Asia there are caves emitting naphtha-flames, which are naturally the object of worship. I stood by one in the Himaláya, and watched the flame being fed with wax candles by a Hindu from a far-off province, who turned to me and remarked, that it was impossible to deny that here at least God was manifest. Some years later I visited the Hindu places of worship on the Caspian Sea, where numberless inscriptions on the rock record the faith of worshippers, who had come from a distance to worship the naphtha-flames, but I found, that the priest had sold the sacred founts of flames to a Russian speculator in petroleum, had pocketed the roubles, and was gone. I thought of Delphi, when the last oracle was delivered, and the Demetrius of the period, when he sold his last silver shrine of the temple of Artemis, and migrated. At Dehli this year (1890) a party of Mahometans, carrying the Taziuh at the Moharram Festival, which ought not to pass under anything, requested that the Telephone-wires, which crossed the street, might be removed: it is scarcely necessary to state, that this absurd request was not complied with: it marks, however, that Islam has entered into a wholly uncongenial environment. On the other hand some Hindu residents on the route displayed complimentary illuminations, and there was good feeling among all sects, religions, and races: the hospital was,

however, full of patients with broken heads next day. An Indian Missionary writes :

" Last year there was at Adur a grand temple-consecration. A temple of " Maha Linga was destroyed by lightning three years ago. The Raja of Mayapadi " had it rebuilt at a great cost. By favour we had a shed placed at our disposal " very near the festive grounds. Here we were able to preach the Gospel not " only during the day, but till late on in the night. I was interested to hear, " how the people explained to themselves the destruction of this temple by " lightning. Some were of opinion, that their god had done it to obtain a new " dwelling-place. Others said, that the greatness and power of their god could " be seen in that he was able to destroy such a large building covered with a " copper roof and raze it to the ground ! "

From a totally different quarter, and amidst an expiring Nation-
ality in North America, we hear the cry of " Lo here ! Lo there ! " (*Ἰδοὺ ὁ ἔδε ὁ Χριστός, ἡ ἔδε*), and in the tribe of the Sioux Redskins West of the Mississippi, stands forth a man, who claims the sacred name of Messiah, and is credited with the power of speaking to each tribe in their own language. There is a short shrift to a Prophet in this generation. A cynic remarked some years back that the Apostles would have no chance against the " Times " Newspaper, which would have exposed their weaknesses, and called for an examination of Judas's accounts, and that a Coroner's Inquest would have returned an ugly verdict in the case of Ananias and Sapphira's death. A distinguished British Ambassador, who had to cope with the Pope, remarked drily, that it was a difficult matter to deal diplomatically with the Holy Spirit. The nineteenth century is carnal and material. The Messiah by one story was a harmless fanatic, named Hopkins, from Nassau, Iowa : by another story he was John Johnson, an intelligent, though uneducated, Redskin of the Pah Ute tribe : he had an apostle named Porcupine, who made a long journey to see the Messiah, and found him near the Pyramid Lake in West Nevada, and made the following report :

" The Fisheaters near Pyramid Lake told me, that Christ had appeared on earth " again. They said Christ knew he was coming ; that eleven of his children " were also coming from a far land. It appeared that Christ had sent for me to " go there, and that was why, unconsciously, I took my journey. It had been " fore-ordained. They told me when I got there that my Great Father was " there also, but I did not know who he was. The people assembled called a " council, and the chief's sons went to see the Great Father, who sent word to us " to remain fourteen days in that camp, and that then he would come and see us. " At the end of two days, on the third morning, hundreds of people gathered at " this place. They cleared a place near the agency in the form of a circus ring and " we all gathered there. Just before sundown I saw a great many people, mostly " Indians, coming dressed in white men's clothes. The Christ was with them. " They all formed in this ring and around it ; they put up sheets all around the " circle, as they had no tents. Just after dark some of the Indians told me, that " Christ had arrived. I looked around to find him, and finally saw him sitting " on one side of the ring. He was dressed in a white coat with stripes. The " rest of his dress was a white man's, except that he had on a pair of moccasins. " Then we began our dance, everybody joining in, the Christ singing while we " danced. We danced till late in the night, when he told us that we had " danced enough.

"The next morning he told us that he was going away that day, but would be back the next morning and talk to us. I heard that Christ had been crucified and I looked to see, and I saw a scar on his wrist and one on his face, and he seemed to be the man; I could not see his feet. He would talk to us all day. That evening we all assembled again to see him depart. When we were assembled, he began to sing, and he began to tremble all over violently for awhile, and then sat down. We danced all that night, the Christ lying down beside us, apparently dead.

"The following morning the Christ was back with us, and wanted to talk to us. He said, 'I am the man who made everything you see around you. I am not lying to you, my children. I made this earth and everything on it. I have been to heaven and seen your dead friends, and have seen my own father and mother.' He spoke to us about fighting, and said that it was bad and that we must keep from it; the earth was to be all good hereafter; that we must be friends with one another. He said that if any man disobeyed what he ordered, his tribe would be wiped from the face of the earth.

"Ever since the Christ I speak of talked to me, I have thought what he said was good. I have seen nothing bad in it. When I got back I knew my people were bad and had heard nothing of all this, so I got them together and told them of it, and warned them to listen to it for their own good. I told them just what I have told you here to-day."

Unfortunately it occurred to political intriguers to make use of this religious movement for seditious purposes: designing redskin politicians misinterpreted the religion of the "Messiah" to make it a crusade against the whites. But, whether or not, they or the apostle Porcupine preach true a faith among them, the frontier has been stirred up to an extent unknown for many years. At the Arrapahoe Agency the Indians excitedly dance the "Ghost Dance," and have destroyed many of their fences, some even tearing down their log houses, the Government Agent having lost all control over them. At Pine Ridge Agency in South Dakota, there is much excitement among the Sioux, the dances having wrought the tribe to so high a pitch that the Agent has reported the uncusiness, and troops in large force are now being concentrated.

It is curious to note the various versions of the "Messiah" doctrine of extermination of the whites, as interpreted at different Indian settlements. Thus, at the Standing Rock Agency, on the Cannon Ball River, the Sioux are mainly farmers and cattle-raisers, and live in huts and houses. They say that the "Messiah" indicates that the whites are to be destroyed, but not by the active aid of the red men. "A mud wave is to engulf the pale-faces, but the Indians are to be lifted high above it, until it passes over." With them, the "Ghost Dance" is said to be a preparatory ceremony or sort of communion, by which the Indians aim "to perfect themselves before the coming of the Master." The dance was a test of endurance, and a prolonged state of religious excitement sometimes ended in Catalepsy, reminding us of the Dervish-Dances at Constantinople, and Corybantic excitement everywhere. It is sad to think, that the movement will probably end in the total extermination of the Redskins. They veritabily believed, that a temporal King and

Saviour had arrived to deliver them from their bondage, and restore to them their ancient possessions. And it is remarkable, that the conception of the "Messiah" is borrowed from an imperfect knowledge of Bible-History, taught by the Missionaries.

It is quite clear that the knell of the old-world forms of gross material idolatry has sounded, and that the plan of campaign will have to be altered. The late Archbishop of York remarked in Exeter Hall this year (1890), that "what he feared for the future was, that "through the want of Christian diligence we should see bastard "systems taking the place of the old systems, that were strong "in their day, but are now confessed to be decaying." This is just what I fear, and why I have written these words of warning.

Gross infidelity is spreading itself all over Japan; Materialists, Agnostics, and infidel teachers have found their way into the educational institutions of the land, the students of which are only, alas! too eager to adopt the views of their instructors. The works of Tom Paine, Ingersol, Huxley, Spencer, and others, are translated, and freely circulated. On the other hand a Christian has been returned as a Member of the Japanese Parliament. As no Hindu, Mahometan, or Buddhist, has as yet got into the British Parliament, the East is in advance of the West in liberality of views.

A very competent observer remarks :

"Is it possible for any man acquainted with these facts to doubt, that the "Native faiths are doomed? The cherished institutions of a great people are "not quickly overthrown, but, when they are incompatible with progress, if "they fall slowly, they fall inevitably. There are men in India, who are "endeavouring to reconcile Hinduism with modern culture. They can sift out its "absurdities, they can revise its philosophy, they can cleanse its literature; but "when they have done all this, when they have separated from the errors, that "invest them, those principles and truths, which their ancestors found in Nature, "and which are common to all faiths and to all ages, they have not saved "Hinduism, for Hinduism is a *religion*. They may satisfy the thinkers, but "they leave nothing for the people, who do not think, who consign the task of "thinking to their priests, and leave with them also the responsibility of their "salvation. If you demolish the credit of the priesthood, the authority of the "priests must fall with it, and Hinduism as a religion perishes."

The "Hindu Nation" replies to this in the following extract :

"Tired of their passive position in the matter of conversion, they have determined to organize a mission for the propagation of Brahminism among the benighted British Christians of Australia. Suradschi, the new apostle, is an eminent Brahmin, of Banáras, who, while recently visiting the Australian Colonies, was struck by the fearful prevalence of drunkenness among the inhabitants. Returning to his native country, he called together a meeting of Brahmins at Banáras, the holy city of the Hindu, and laid before them details of the miserable and degraded condition of their fellow-subjects in Australia. It was unanimously agreed, that the only lasting remedy would be the conversion of the Australian Christians to a better and a purer faith. A large sum of money has been subscribed, and several Brahmins have placed themselves at the disposal of Suradschi, who is busily engaged in translating portions of the Veda into the English tongue for the use of missionaries."

The volume of "Darkest London," when translated into the

Vernaculars of India, will have a terrible effect on the progress of Conversions, as it shows that in the very citadel of Christianity the reality of the Christian has fallen so hopelessly below the *Ideal* preached to the Heathen and Mahometan by the Missionary.

Is there, then, any remedy? None but the Grace of God, who orders the wills and affections of men according to His good pleasure. Is there any palliative? One certainly, to preach a full Gospel, the whole counsel of God, not one corner only of the roll of the Gospel. To those within the nominal Church (Chapter IV.) it is not well to dwell too earnestly on the predestination of Paul, the preaching of Christ to the spirits in prison of Peter, the Faith-healing of James, or the millennium of John. The Faith-healer, and "claimers" of their dying friends from God, must recollect, that if their theory becomes actual practice, there is an end to the noble Army of Martyrs, who counted not their lives dear to themselves, so that they might finish their course with joy, and the relatives of those, who do go the way of all flesh, will have just cause of complaint of the want of Saving Faith, and urgent Claim, on the part of the comrades of their dead. Indeed, if the Faith-healer is allowed to have his head, we may dispense with Medical Missionaries, and Medicine-Chests. "*Non tali auxilio.*" Against the Pagan element of the Romish system, the individualism of the Plymouthite, and the nominal Christian, there is no specific except a full Gospel. Against the strange errors of Chapter III. we shall find Time an ally, always remembering, that in these days we neither have, *nor desire to have*, the Arm of the Flesh to extinguish Pagan worship, and stifle theological discussions, nor the curse of the persecuting priest to burn out so-called heresies. When we consider Chapter II., we can ask the Neo-Mahometan more clearly to prove the authority of his prophet; and to the pious Jew, waiting like old Simcon for the fulfilment of the promises, we can more particularly explain, that we have found the Messiah. To the Neo-Hindu, and Neo-Zoroastrian, we can argue, as Peter did to Cornelius at Joppa, that the epoch of national religion is past, and that God is no respecter of persons. To the Atheistical Neo-Buddhist and Neo-Confucianist we can bring the numberless proofs, that there is a God, and that human codes of morality by themselves are worthless, unless a power be supplied by One mightier than ourselves to comply with them. From the stores of the Gospel there seems to be a palliative for all these human weaknesses, if only Dogmatism, Sacerdotalism, Ritualism, Extravagances, Transcendentalism, and Intolerance, be excluded.

So long as nations and tribes remain in the same level of social and spiritual development as their neighbours, their national religions will last, for they are good enough for their wants, and there is no opportunity of contrast. There is a dead calm, because

no one has preached a new idea. But in an age, when there is no possible isolation, and all things are becoming new, when there is a new birth of conceptions and ideas, of environments and possibilities, our confidence is, that in the Christian doctrine and fundamental principles there is an unique power of life. The only other really universal religion, that of Buddha, has no Kingdom of God as its recommendation, the object of all aspiration, and the dream of the faithful. Buddhism is only a code of morals with no power to enforce it. Those who identify the great upheaving power of Christianity with the miserable compound of their own narrow forms, and dogmas, and rituals, will scarcely be satisfied. The Kingdom comes not by observation, *but it comes*. The Universalism of Christianity is the sheet-anchor of Christian hope.

At the bottom of all belief, true or false, or at least at the bottom of the outward form, in which it is presented to us, and of all customs, there is often found something, which is neither Semitic nor Arian, nor Hamitic, nor belonging to any of the ordinary technical divisions, but simply *human*; in fact, the natural tendencies of the human race, coloured by the climate, the natural features of the soil, and the circumstances of the early settlers, among whom it came into existence. And more than this: Christianity is presented to the Natives of Asia, Africa, America, and Oceania, in a very complicated European form, but it is out of reason to suppose that it will continue so. There will no doubt be created a setting of its own for the precious pearl of Gospel Truth. God grant that the pearl itself may not be tampered with, that the Trinity may not disappear before the idea of Monotheism, or the conception of the Divine Saviour shrink into the human teacher!

Christians in Europe are too apt to look at human affairs from their own point of view; shall I say, the point of view of the Pulpit of the Church, which they attend, or of the Idols of the Market, or of the School of Thought, which they worship. They talk of the Hindu, Mahometan, and the Pagan world with a pitying sneer, though knowing very little about them. This feeling, and line of thought, are heartily reciprocated by the Non-Christian world: they do not consider themselves objects of pity, or contempt, but on the contrary, if they thought of the subject at all, they would pity the Christian. The great antagonist, which is to be contended against everywhere, is the profound indifference of worldly men, whether in London, Banáras, Pekin, or Tokyo, to all spiritual matters whatsoever. The representatives of the Christian Faith, who force themselves on the notice of the non-Christian community in the streets, the places of commerce, the Sea Ports, the Military Cantonments, or the Camp on the March, are objects of pity and even of scorn: drunken, libidinous, and violent men. The people of India and China are as entirely ignorant of the quiet

beauty of the Christian home and community in Europe and North America, as the people of those countries are of the quiet, respectable, and moral life of the residents of the thousands of villages, occupied by Hindu, Búddhist, and Mahometan, where the domestic virtues flourish without remark, except by those few, who, like myself, have lived for months alone in their midst. I remember once conversing with a Hindu about religion, and he remarked with a feeling of quiet pride, that he at pleasure could become a Christian, but nothing could give me a high Caste-position as a Hindu. Over a liquor-shop at Amritsar, soon after the annexation of the Panjáb, I saw a sign to encourage toppers of a fat Englishman smoking and drinking. The Mahometan, proud of the fact, that millions who were once Christians in Asia and Africa, accepted Islám, has no doubt of the superiority of his tenets. He would approach the subject with the same pitying smile, with which a Christian approaches the Jew: *the latest manifestation of the Divine Spirit must be the right one*. I had a surprise for me in store a few years ago at Oxford: a most accomplished, and charming young Brahmoist, well read in Sanskrit lore, took his degree, and for some time assisted some young Christian Missionaries preparing for work in India in the study of the languages. I asked him whether the contact with so much learning, zeal, and self-consecration did not affect his view as to the truth of the Gospel. "Not at all," was the reply, "but I have some hopes, that I have made an impression on one of the Missionaries in favour of Brahmoism."

I now quote a passage from a sermon preached by Bishop Lightfoot of Durham on the day of his enthronement. The text was, "And they shall see His face," Rev. xxii. 4. The Bishop remarked that his predecessor Joseph Butler, as he was dying, "expressed it as an awful thing to appear before the Moral Governor of the world." "Let the same prayer ascend from us all to the throne of Heaven. In all the manifold trials, and mean vexations of life, this Presence will be your strength and your stay. Whatever is beautiful, whatever is real, whatever is abiding in your lives, if there be any antidote to sin, if there be any anodyne for grief, if there be any consolation, and if there be any Grace, you will find it here and here alone, in the ever-present consciousness, that you are *living face to face with the Eternal God*. Not by fitful gusts of religious passion, not by fervid outbursts of sentimental devotion, not by acquiescence in orthodox beliefs, but by the calm, steady, persistent concentration of the soul on this Truth, by the intent fixing of the inward eye on the Righteousness, and Grace, of the Eternal Being, before whom you stand, will you redeem your spirits, and sanctify your lives. So will your minds be conformed to His mind: so will your face reflect the brightness of His face: so will you go on from strength to strength, till, life's pilgrimage ended, you appear in the Celestial City."

Now if these wonderful, yet sober, words were read carefully to an assembly consisting of thoughtful representatives of the different religious conceptions described above, at least of those, where the professors were serious, and in earnest, and knew what they were about, I doubt not that the Mahometan, the Jew, the Hindu, the Parsi, the Brahmoist, and Unitarian, would at once acquiesce in the sentiment expressed; but the Buddhist, Confucianist, Comtist, and Agnostic, would dissent from the terms, in which the sentiment is expressed, as they know of no Moral Governor of the world, and no Celestial City, but they would all in some terms or other, with some reservations or other, concur in the theory of seeking Holiness, however in their views inaccurately described as "seeing God face to face."

The decline of ancient prejudice, and the feeling, that a volcanic disturbance has destroyed all the old landmarks of faith, exposes a very numerous portion of the human race, who do not think deeply, and have limited intellectual gifts, to a painful and comfortless position. A state of Scepticism may interest a few unquiet minds, but the enjoyment of superstition is so congenial to the multitude, that if they are thoroughly assured, they seem to regret the loss of their pleasing errors.

"Et demptus per vim mentis gratissimus error."

The necessity to the multitude of believing something is so urgent, that the fall of one system of mythology will possibly be succeeded by some other system more suitable to the Epoch, and intellectual standard. Thus at the time of the fall of the Roman Empire, and its religious conceptions, deities under the new name of "Saints" of a more recent and fashionable type, were evoked to occupy the empty temples and vacant pedestals, and not only the stones and wood were thus appropriated to kindred uses, but the Idea, and Method, Attributes, and Terminology, were gratefully adopted by the Church of Rome, though unquestionably with a higher tone of Morality. Thus the conceptions and statues of Apollo, Diana, Lucina, and others, under new names still exercise religious influence in Europe, and the great fear is, lest the same phenomena should exhibit themselves in India, China, and Japan. Mahometanism in its day of superb absolutism swept all clean with iconoclastic fury, but in these days of Codes of Law, and civilized Governments, the operation of transformation must be left to the people themselves, and it will be an interesting and instructive spectacle.

Religion is sometimes in advance of the intellectual capacity of a people: it is then superstition (*δεισιδαιμόνια*): sometimes, as in Europe and N. America, the religious tenets, as outwardly exhibited, appear to have fallen in the rear of the intellectual development of the people: then follows Agnosticism, and Atheism. This fact shows, that the outward appearance of every Religion must gradually change to suit the changing of the popular conception and

practice: otherwise, as in the Roman Catholic, and Greek, and the fallen Churches of Western Asia, it becomes intolerable, as a subterfuge, a mere machine, and a deception, or pitiable, as a delirium, or a survival of a past Epoch of human development.

But the process of change has its peculiar danger. In the Gospel and Epistles of John we come upon the Christian doctrine in an Hellenic dress of ideas, as well as of sentence-moulds: we detect the Hellenic influence, though in a less degree, in the Epistles of Paul: dare we say, that the Judaism of the Master himself was a form of Judaism not of the pre-Captivity type, but a form tempered and broadened by Hellenic contact? So the Protestant Theology of Europe is tempered by the prevailing sentiments of the time, Teutonized as opposed to Latin influences, less dogmatism, more toleration, more breadth of view, more allowance for opinion of others, and a wider capacity for reflection. We must expect, that the nascent Churches of India, China, and Japan, and Asia, of North, East, West, and South Africa, of North and South America, of Oceania, will not receive the Christian doctrine in the exact form that we do: the gold will fall into a matrix of different material: their preconception of fitness, their logical powers, their public opinion, their constitutional traditions, call it if you please the idols of their market, and of their schools of thought, differ from each other, and from us *toto cælo*. We must be prepared for a great divergence of Christian practice. In a Diocesan Conference of the West African Church held in 1888 at Sierra Leone in the presence of the Bishop, the legality and necessity of Polygamy was urged by a respectable member, and not at once ruled out of things possible.

More latitude of doctrine as well as of practice may be claimed by these new Churches: the Hellenistic tendencies of the early centuries have left a "*damnosa hereditas*" to the Western Churches, dogmatic hardness, and splitting of hairs of doctrine, instead of leaving open questions: we do not give Christianity a chance, if we present it to Orientals in a Latin-Anglo-Saxon dress. The Neo-Christians of Asia may possibly feel, that to love their God and their neighbours is not only better than burnt offerings and sacrifice, but also than reputed orthodoxy, and nice terminology.

It is difficult to say in which form the appearance of Christianity is more dangerous in India, whether in the ascetic environment of celibate Priests and Sisters, decorated Churches, with a constant prayer-wheel of intoned litanies, processions, and music, or in the Corybantic mobs, obstructing the traffic of the streets, and making the neighbourhood hideous with the noise of drums and wind instruments, degrading the Church religion below the level of the Hindu Mela, and the Mahometan Taziuh-procession. The motives of both parties may be good, but, as a certain Bishop lately remarked, the

time of the wise is occupied in controverting and correcting the work of the so-called good. The phraseology of both parties, which is only just tolerated in the English Language, becomes ridiculous in the Vernacular, and the indecent frequency of the use of the Divine name, in spite of the Third Commandment, in Religious publications, is barely exceeded by the Mahometan and Hindu. There are Clouds on the Horizon both within our own camp as well as without in the camp of the non-Christian world, with whom we are waging a Holy War for the Salvation of Souls.

The unjustifiable way, in which the Divine name is introduced into the speeches and publications and resolutions of the Evangelical section of the Church, is one of the sins of the age. Nothing happens without not only the permission, but the command of the Ruler of the Universe; but under what authority does General Booth write in his letter of this year, "See what increased power God has given to the (Salvation) Army"? And in the ordinary written or printed matter of Evangelical Societies we come upon, "The Committee praises God." "God has enabled." "What has God wrought?" "It pleased God." "Favour of God." "Thank God." "God's blessing." "Seal of God's approval." "Owned of God." "Claimed of God." "In God's sight." "God has chosen." "God so willed." "Do the Lord's will." "God means me to stay." "If God wants you." "God has been the refuge." "God's protecting care." "God able to deliver." "God's side." "God's time." "Providence of God." "God opened the heart." "God's mercy." "God's presence." "Command of his God" "Bless the name of God." "God has gone forth." "Only true God." "God gave him Grace!" "God knows." "Dealings of God." "Comforted by God." "God's Mercy." "God has ordered." "God forbid." "Under God." "Entirely in God's hands." "If God permits." "God's strength." "God overrules." "Possible with God." "May God incline," etc.

All these expressions occur in Reports, which could be read in a forenoon. Some of the expressions occur repeatedly: in fact they are stock-phrases: the others are introduced out of deference to supposed requirements of Piety. Of course in addition the three Divine Names occur repeatedly in their proper place in the narrative, and the Bible is alluded to as "God's Word." Our Heavenly Father moves in a mysterious way to perform His Wonders: sometimes He grants, and sometimes denies; but His poor weak children presume to be familiar with his dealings with themselves and their work, or else allow themselves to use common-form phraseology. It is this, which makes Missionary Reports so distasteful to the general public. Why cannot noble work done by noble men be described in ordinary phraseology? Get rid of cant.

The Mahometan is not a whit behind the Christian: in their appeal (see page 420) they tell their fellow-religionists, that "God is ready to help you." From their point of view they are quite as

much entitled to use heavenly weapons as the Christian. The Hindu makes a sad misuse of the Divine Name, only equalled by the undergraduates of the English Universities, who think nothing of shouting out at the boat-races "Well done, Trinity! Bump Jesus!" Not very long ago a Brahmini-Bull lay down upon the Railway line near Banáras: the pious Hindu always talks of these beasts as incarnations of the Great Deity. The Native Station Master, unable or unwilling to disturb the sacred animal, telegraphed in English to the next station to warn coming trains: "Look out: there is a God Almighty lying on the line." He meant nothing improper, but the anecdote illustrates the necessity of restraint in this particular.

The educated non-Christian of the nineteenth century, disillusioned of his previous gross and degraded beliefs and customs, is in a much more difficult position than the Roman contemporaries of Juvenal, Seneca, Epictétus, and the Emperor Marcus Aurelius. They indeed saw their beautiful legends, and the poetic fancies of their own people and their Greek cousins, disappear under the scorching light of civilization and Neo-Platonism, *i.e.* common sense and reason. It looks very much, as if Marcus Aurelius wished to introduce Christianity without the personality of Christ. They and their successors had, however, the advantage of coming into contact with the pure, undefiled light of virgin Christianity, set forth by earnest and simple men of the second and third century after the Saviour. There was no blind confusion of different Churches, no spectacle of degraded nominal Christians, no monstrous assertion of a monopoly of divine things by a Romish priesthood, no downgrade paring away of belief in Christ by half-Pagan reasoners, so that the despairing believer, looking across the deep ditch betwixt the old and new theology, cries out, "They have taken away the Lord, and we know not where they have placed Him."

Taken away the Lord! Can a great character be effaced from history? Let the Theologian, and the Divine, stand aside, and let the Man of Science, the Historian, and the Linguist, argue out this matter. The Books of the Old Testament have come down to us beyond the suspicion of being fabricated at a later date than the Septuagint translation, first in a dead language, the Hebrew; portions in a kindred language, the Samaritan; and the whole in the Targum of the contemporary Vernacular, the Aramaic; jealously controlled by the Greek Translation made by the Hebrew settlers at Alexandria 250 years before the Advent.

For one thousand years the hands of the writers of these books point in language, the purport of which was not understood by them, to a Time, a Place, and a Personage: peering into a dim and remote future, they announce with confidence the restoration of Israel's greatness, the exceeding glory of the latter House, the

advent of a Prince, that should restore all things: and something more they tell of a Light, which shall lighten the Gentiles, whose Law should be obeyed by the Isles of the Sea: "Ask of me, and I shall give you the Heathen for your inheritance." "Out of Zion shall go forth the Law."

For five hundred years the voice of Prophecy was still, but in the fullness of time there came a Personage, the like of whom the World had never seen before, nor has seen since, and He and His Apostles were ever raising a hand to point back to those old books, the language of which was dead, the purport of which was misunderstood. The Sceptre had departed from Judah, the Hebrew race was dispersed among the Gentiles, and yet the time had come, when all was to be fulfilled. The Old Testament is worthless without the New: the New is unintelligible without the Old.

Is there any parallel in History? Are we dealing with facts? We have little now to add to our store of knowledge of the ancient World by gleanings from the Past: the Papyri of the Egyptians have been deciphered; the clay-tablets of the Mesopotamian Libraries have been spelt out: the sacred books of India and China have been translated. Cemeteries, and Shrines, and Ancient Monuments, have given up their dead, their deities, and their inscriptions.

Many things, once fondly believed in, have given way. The Garden of Eden, Oh! the Garden, which filled so large a portion in our childhood's dreams, has lost its geographical and historical expression: the limits of the Deluge have been circumscribed: the Confusion of Tongues at the Tower of Babel can no longer bear its usual explanation. The Hebrew Kingdom and Temple have fallen from the pre-eminent position above other Kingdoms and Temples, which had been too hastily attributed to them. But is there any such plan of Salvation to be found elsewhere, so continuous, so universal, so wise, so uncompromising, so tender, so full of Love? Did the Veda point to the coming of Buddha, and of the new Hinduism? Did the sayings of the great Sage KOUNG-FUTZ-ZEE point to the coming of a Personage at a particular date, and did He come? In the fullness of Time the Messiah came, fulfilling in an unexpected way all that was foretold, and doing a work for the Western World, which is still undone for the Eastern, levelling the barriers of Nations, and Tribes, and Languages, and making one out of many, because God is Father of all, Christ is Saviour of all, and the Holy Spirit consents to dwell with all without respect of race and nationality.

The sum of the matter is this:

I. There is no longer isolation of nations and tribes. The Hindu, the Buddhist, the fetish-worshipper, the cannibal, and the sacrificer of human victims, can no longer plead, that they know no better.

II. There is no longer ignorance in one country of the religious tenets professed by their neighbours. There is a power of comparison.

III. The civil government has put down abominable crimes committed in the name of religion, and a public Conscience has been formed.

IV. The independent opinions of mankind have been evoked, and no educated man will in the twentieth century assert,

(a) That an act morally wrong can be theologically right. Only those, familiar with Pagan practices, and the Roman Catholic Inquisition, know what that means.

(b) That such a thing as divinely-inspired inveracity can exist, or that a lie in the name of religion can profit the human race.

(c) That religious toleration is not an essential of all religions.

(d) That the mummery of priests, dead ritual, modern miracles, or vicarious worship, can be of any profit whatever to the soul.

It comes to this, therefore, that that form of religion will most probably triumph in the end, which

(1) Is most tolerant of, and compassionate towards, the errors of others.

(2) Reflects most the life of its founder, and is evidenced by the lives of its professors.

(3) Is most spiritual, and least dependent on material aid and worldly surroundings.

(4) Is most lofty in its conception, most disinterested in its method, most simple in its expression, most sympathetic with the weakness of men, most sternly condemnatory of sin in every form under every circumstance, yet most merciful to the repentant sinner.

(5) Most suggestive of a way of Salvation, and of a Personage, who can be the object of love, for love casteth out the craven fear of the Deity, which man in his natural state feels (see page 370); and most full of Hope in a Future State.

(6) Most independent of national, or racial, or local, prejudices, and therefore most universal and comprehensive.

Let each person humbly consider the features of the different phenomena here described or alluded to, and decide whether, in the possession of Evangelical Truth, he has not all that the heart of man can desire, and more than the wisdom of the moralist can supply.

"Arcis divinæ super muros humilis speculator cœli præ sagis prospicit, et fideliter denuntiat."

London, 1890.

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N.B. This list by no means exhausts the Subject.

IV.

ON POSITIVE RELIGION.

IN seeking a solution of the difficulty, which forces itself on every thinking mind, Comte's theory is no doubt of very great use, though he does not cover the whole ground.

What is Truth? This ever was the question, and must be so to the end of time. We must try to clear away all the *idols*, described by Bacon, which obscure the vision of the clearest, and strive to think and believe *up to the time*, and the *opportunities* offered to us.

It is an undoubted fact, that we are *progressive*, and that some of the Sciences are *positive*, depending on no theory, and capable of *material* demonstration. The proportion of the diameter to the circle, the laws of Kepler, the Pythagorean problem, are facts of this *positive* nature, independent of all individual experience, and testimony: these are *positive truths*: Mathematics, Astronomy, Physics, stand on this firm basis. In discoursing with the Hindu and Mahometan I here meet them on a common ground, and as far as our knowledge extends, it is identical, or homogeneous; similar, if not the same.

Another class of facts, though not of the same positive demonstrative character, are based on so wide an *experience* of persons, and nations, that they may practically be treated as positive truths: *e.g.* respect to parents, love to children, the necessity of maintaining order in a commonwealth, and punishing the bad, and the right of private property. You will find no one prepared deliberately to deny the essence of these truths: in conversation with a Hindu, and Mahometan, they would be admitted: the experience of civilized mankind has been so far *universal*.

History furnishes a third class of facts, as also Geography, and Geology: the one is formed of traditions, oral, or written, or the testimony of eye-witnesses: the others of carefully-collated inquiries, and the deductions therefrom. Now here a new element is introduced: we are called upon to ask ourselves not whether such a thing is in itself true (class I.), as a demonstration, or within our experience as true (class II.), but we take the fact at second-hand, and much depends on the degree of confidence, which we place in the parties who inform us, and of the preparation of our own minds to receive the facts. In conversation with a Mahometan, the existence of Alexander the Great is admitted by us both, but we differ as to the extent of his Empire, and the date of his existence, though we are both very truthful people. Our Science called History is entirely in a different stage to theirs. Mounting up from century to century, from historian to historian, checking the statements of one by that of the other, and applying all the just rules of criticism, I arrive at the fact, that Alexander lived 333 B.C., and by a careful comparison of the countries mentioned

with countries existing, I fix the limits of his conquests: my Mahometan friend believes other traditions, and other maps of the world, and it is hopeless, that *we ever can agree*, until we abandon the structure, on which our beliefs rest; and yet I can safely assert, that my belief rests on positive truths, as Geography is an *exhausted* Science, and History one that has been *severely* tested: at least nothing further can be done.

I have thus admitted, that Truth may be I. positive, II. founded on universal experience, III. founded on trustworthy testimony. I further admit, that the human race is progressive, and that, as individuals and nations are in different stages of that progression, and under the influence of the particular stage of that progression, these truths may appear in a different light: *e.g.* the positive fact of the sun disappearing from the heavens would be explained in a very different way by me and my Mahometan friend. We should give a very different account of the origin of a Megatherium, or the Rainbow.

But the superstitions of mankind are so much more easily worked on than their reasoning powers, in fact it is so much more easy to believe what others say, than think for oneself, that no positive Truth has ever secured to itself such *complete* belief, as the dogma called by the world Religion, which is in its very essence theoretic, and entirely *incapable* of demonstration, and which cannot therefore be ranked in any of the classes of Truth above mentioned.

It is a positive Truth (of the second class however), that a belief or Religion is a "sine qua non" of the human race. In consequence of the more advanced state of progress, at which we have arrived, we have facts forced on us, to which our Ancestors were able to shut their eyes. We have ransacked the world, and the nations thereof, and much of the learning of those nations, and our capacity for statistics, and our opportunity for collecting statistics, has increased so wonderfully, that we pretty nearly know the numbers of the population of the world, and the division of these nations in the different phases of belief, which for all purposes may be stated as five:

	Millions.	Millions.
A Christians	{ Protestant	135
	{ Roman Catholic	195
	{ Greeks	85
		<hr/>
B Jews		415
C Zoroastrians (Parsi)		008
D Mahometans		000 ¹ / ₈
E Pagans of all sorts		173
		<hr/>
		874
		<hr/>
		1470 ¹ / ₈

The number of the human race adopting the Christian belief, if not less than the number adopting any one of the others, is less than one-third of the whole world. At the same time *the same* or *similar* moral virtues are inculcated in the sacred books of all, these last being truths of the second class, and very much the same, or similar, accounts of the origin of their belief existing in all (except the Mahometan, the origin of which is within the period of written history), and there are truths of the third class. No one can deny the existence of the ancient books of the Mosaic, Hindu, and Búddhist Religions, and the belief in each of them by millions of the human race for hundreds, or even thousands, of years, forbids the idea of their being anything but very ancient, though shadowy, accounts of actual events.

But the most remarkable fact (third class) is, that the origin of all these religions dates back to a period of very limited progress in the march of human intellect, described by Comte justly as "the Supernatural period." The sciences of Astronomy, Geography, and Physics, were not far advanced among a people, who gave to us the Hebrew accounts of the Rainbow, the Miracle of Joshua, the Deluge, etc. The same can be said of the compilers of the Hindu books. Moreover, both the Hebrew and the Hindu faith were expressly expounded for the benefit of *one* race, the descendants of one Father, and inhabiting one country *only*. Búddhism did for the Hindu religion, what Christianity did for the Jewish faith: a Teacher arose, spiritualized the existing religion, swept away the ceremonial, and admitted the whole world to communion. One has her millions in Asia, the other in Europe: but the ancient people keep to their ancient laws, and ancient ceremonies, each still expecting the "coming Man," "the wise one," "the anointed one," while the *Seceders from both maintain that he has come*.

It was very well for the expounders of these faiths at the remote period in which they lived, to ignore the rest of the world, call them "the Heathen," or "Mletcha," or "Gentiles," consider themselves the salt of the Earth, and, not knowing their own insignificance among the millions of the human race, suppose that the *great Creator* (truth of the second class) *cared for them only*. This has been the prevailing error of all ages, and was excusable, while the Earth was considered a boundless plain, and excusable, though in a less degree, when the knowledge of other nations was less perfect. But it is perfectly inexcusable now. We cannot shut our eyes to the fact, that any one nation is but a unit among many: why should we consider ourselves the only vessels of Grace, to the exclusion, and damnation, of all the rest of the human race? The prayers for Jews, Turks, Infidels, and heretics is a sample of the ethnological, and geographical knowledge of the compiler of the Prayer Book: by Turks are of course meant the Mahometans, though the followers of that faith in Turkey are but a very small

portion of that Religion, who in India alone are three times their number : by Infidels it is not clear, who are meant, whether inside, or outside our own fold : the compiler however expresses to the best of his ability the " whole world," as the " whole world " in the Acts of the Apostles includes a still more limited number of nations.

If there is one fact (not mathematically demonstrative) more obvious than another, it is the *equality of man with man*, when the creature stands alone from his externals, in the presence of his Creator : if there is one thing more than another laid down in the Bible, it is that God is no respecter of persons, and that not one sparrow falls without the permission of Providence. The world has now lasted, according to the most conservative calculations, nearly six thousand years : think of the millions, who have passed away without any knowledge of the Christian dispensation ! We must argue on such subjects, as cosmopolites ; we must remember the truth (second class) that God is the Father of all, and that in his eyes the *million* Hindu, Búddhist, and Mahometan, are as good, and have as immortal souls, and deserve as much His care, *and do enjoy that care*, as the thousands of Christians. We find, that He has placed them in the enjoyment of the same material advantages, the same innate goodness, the same fatal tendency to evil, possessing the same faculties, and running in their respective *grooves* of religion, as dogmatically as we do ourselves. The nations of Europe just now are greatly superior to the Asiatic nations in culture, and power : but this is beside the question, for Christianity was just as true, when its professors were poor and unlearned, and when these very Asiatics were as far superior to Christians in Arts and Sciences, as the Christians are now to them.

Is there any insuperable objection to the theory, that there may have been *different* dispensations, at different epochs, for the *different* races of Mankind ? We know, as a positive fact, that the laws of positive Science are identical for the whole world, and with very few exceptions the fundamental laws of Morality, but we cannot say the same for theories, or faiths, which necessarily vary from age to age, from clime to clime. It is obvious, that dispensations have varied for the *same* people at *different* times : there was the ante-Mosaic-period, the Mosaic-law-period, and the Christian period : the Jews only admit *two* of these : the Christians admit only *three* : the Mahometans assert a *fourth*, built on the superstructure of the three previous, but, while asserting the license of adopting a new faith for themselves, each deny the same to posterity, and shut the door upon any future change, each at his own halting-place asserting *finality* for his own peculiar way of thinking. Now when we consider the very limited intellectual progress of the period, when each of these dispensations were laid down to bind all futurity, we really have reason to pause, and take a long breath.

The Hindu and Búddhist lawgivers have done just the same for the races lying on the other side of the great chain, which divides the Eastern from the Western world: really this deserves consideration.

We know, that there are on this globe distinct divisions of the Flora, and Fauna, distinct and separate animal and vegetable kingdoms, while the laws of Science are identical. We have reason to suppose, that the human race are divided into *four* distinct groups, White, Black, Yellow, and Red, with great differences of skull, and skeleton, while the faculties of mankind are proved by experience to be capable of equal development: why, reasoning by analogy, should we not suppose that different dispensations may have been granted to such different people, at different ages, with a general progressive development in all, and a tendency to unite in the one true one in the fullness of time?

Now what is "Faith," as opposed to "Truth"? To be very sincere it should be very blind, and very unshakeable, very unsusceptible of reasonable proof, partaking a good deal of credulity, and something of obstinacy. Jew, Christian, Búddhist, Parsi, Mahometan, Hindu, and Pagan, have under this influence resigned life willingly, died exultingly, embittered their life by austerities; Torment, and temptation, have failed to move those, who are firmly convinced of their particular theory: for *Faith is always the evidence of things not seen*: it is not to be obtained by ocular inspection, or got rid of by argument. The paralytic woman *had Faith*. Thomas, the Apostle, when he had seen, believed, but he had *no Faith*. With the instances of Faith in Jew and Christian annals Europeans are familiar, and theologians of either Faith argue for the truth of their doctrines on such proof: other arguments are, I. Miracles, II. Morality, III. Degradation of other Faiths. The Miracles, and the faith of Martyrs, depend on historical proofs, which the followers of each faith will admit for their own, and deny for their rivals. The books of *all* Religions teem with instances of Miracles; and of Faith, and the followers of all multiply the instances. The Morality is the same in all and as to the degradation of any Religion, no one is in a position to cry out against the other: as the intellectual progress of the people, so are *the ceremonials*, and the state of their *Faith*. I have myself witnessed Christianity in a very low degraded state indeed.

In the old Astronomical system, previous to the revolution brought about by Galileo, the earth was considered the *centre* of the system, and more than that the great *object* of the system. The Bible tells us, that the Sun and the Moon were appointed to rule the day and the night respectively; the earth's day, and night, or those periods, during which the revolution of the different planets inter se exclude each other's rays from their surfaces. Now positive knowledge has shown us, that the Earth is but a

Planet, and only a small one, attached to other, and infinitely large ones, and *bound as a slave to the Sun*.

Of course the religious world opposed as long as they could this startling Truth, for the reception of which their traditions, sanctified by what they called Inspiration, had so ill prepared them. Are they prepared for another surprise? that their views of religion, *their* dispensation, is not the centre of the great intellectual system of the world, but only one of the *units*, perhaps *not yet the largest*, bound up with others in close and intimate connection with, and revolving round the *great Sun of Positive Truth*.

How shall we describe this Sun? It is the essence of the Truth, that is to be found at the bottom of all Religions. The existence of similar legends, similar theoretic dogma, in the great families of Religion, point clearly to the fact, that they have all been formed in the same matrix, the human mind, feeling after God, as if by a distinct congenital instinct: it is quite clear, that one did not spring from the other, for the resemblance between the Brahminical and Jewish tenets is not that of Parent and Child, but of children of the same stock. A careful analysis has not enabled philologists to postulate any original language, from which the different families of languages of the world descend. The same may be said for the religious conceptions of the world also. We have the following truths common to all thoughtful Theists: the professor of each Theistic faith would admit the following postulates:

- I. Existence of a Deity, all powerful, all creative, all good, all just, all merciful: the common Father.
- II. Existence of a Soul, or conscience, in every human creature, reflective of, and in relation with that Deity.
- III. Immortality of that Soul.
- IV. Future Judgment with future rewards and punishments, period of which is quite uncertain.
- V. Code of Morality, the essence of which is to love the Deity entirely, and to love your neighbour as yourself.
- VI. Reputed dispensation to Mankind from the Deity in the form of inspired Prophets, and inspired Books.
- VII. Tendency of mankind to deteriorate, and fall off from a higher moral state of excellence once existing; requiring a Power outside us to restore us.
- VIII. Tendency of *positive knowledge* to progress, every century being in the possession of the accumulated knowledge of the past century.

Round this great essence of Positive Truth, all the religions of the world revolve: this fact would be admitted and acknowledged by all except atheists. We are in the position of being able to state the limits of the world, and the population thereof, and the

number of its creeds, and the proportion of the number of the followers of each, and the degree of social degradation, or elevation, of the followers of each creed, and the nature of the so-called inspired books, and we are acquainted with the History of the world more or less authentically for the last three thousand years: we have also narrowed, if not exhausted, the circle of Positive Sciences; we may advance them to a *higher* stage, but we shall not develop *new* ones. We have also physically, and intellectually, by our scientific appliances, by careful analysis, literary criticism, and mathematical deduction, improved our power of considering what we are, and how much must be placed under the Empire of Fact, and how much within the realm of Faith, how much all the world believes, and how much only a few believe, and we have abandoned the gross conception of the "supernatural" element, which in our country formerly, and in the East still, introduces a fertile source of error, and an easy escape from difficulties: the result is, that we are not justified in binding ourselves to the decisions of our predecessors, for we are manifestly in a better position to form an independent judgment ourselves.

We do not ground anything on the fact, but we throw out for consideration the fact, that the Judeo-Christian dispensation has lasted a longer period, than the one assigned to any of the preceding dispensations. From the birth of Christ, nearly nineteen centuries have elapsed: that of the Jews from Moses to Christ was only fifteen centuries: this was confessedly confined to one excessively small people, but the Christian religion sprung from it was intended for propagation, and extension: how far has it extended? About one-third of the population, and one-tenth of the area of the world; and since its promulgation another faith has sprung up, and has absorbed a portion of Christian territory, and maintains its ground with a vitality, and energy, only to be equalled by Christianity. The Hindu would at once answer to the Christian Missionary: "We have our own books, quite as old as those of the Jews: even supposing the Truth of the dispensation to them, we have had ours also, extending over a much larger area, millions of population compared to their thousands, and existing substantially the same to this moment. The religion of the Romans was a conglomerate of poetic Idolatry, had no Code, no High Morality, and it has passed away: the same remark applies to all Pagan Cults in any part of the world now or in former years: they have passed away, as the people became civilized: but the Brahminical system, which neither Búddhism, Mahometanism, nor Christianity, have shaken, will not pass away, and no one can deny the high state of civilization of the Hindu people, though of the Oriental type, and inferior to the new civilization of the European."

The Mahometan, Búddhist, and Confucianist would answer the

Christian Missionary in another way: "We admit, that ours is
 "not one of the primeval religions: we date back to an inspired
 "teacher within the historic periods, who spiritualized, and onun-
 "ciated in a systematic form great Truths, which had previously
 "floated in the brains of Mankind: we believe in our books, and
 "our teachers: we are satisfied with the proofs of our Creed; our
 "ancestors have died for our faith: we are ready to do so also: we
 "admit that our present practice has degenerated much from our
 "moral Code, but the Christians of the nineteenth Century cannot
 "throw stones at us in the particular of Morality."

Take any of the religious developments of the world: compare the present practice with the books containing the dispensation, and how very much the confessedly pure original has suffered from the following causes: lapse of time, National prejudice, blind respect for the past, fear of innovation, difference of opinion, inherent superstition, priestly craft, worldly motives. Take the case most familiar, and compare the New Testament with the practice of the Christian Churches, and let us hang our heads in shame.

The conclusions we come to are:

- I. That the Positive Sciences are capable of a demonstration, which cannot be applied to religious opinions.
- II. The geographical limits of the world having been ascertained, we are able to state, that no one set of religious opinions has gained any marked preponderance over the other up to the present moment.
- III. The annals and tenets of each Religion have been sifted, so we are in a position to state, that the original moral code is the same, or similar, in all, and the resemblance such as to strengthen the conviction, that the Human race was cast in the same mould, endowed with the same excellences and weaknesses, and the creatures, and the objects, of the same tender care of the same God.
- IV. We can further state, that lapse of time has caused a general downgrade of religious practice, as in all the Book-Religions we find a higher Ideal than is now maintained, or ever arrived at. The Religion of all mankind at this epoch without exception falls short of the standard of the very Books, to which they appeal.
- V. Finally we are placed in the dilemma of admitting one of these two facts:
 - (a) Either that God, who is all good and wise, has thought fit to exclude two-thirds of His children since the beginning of the world from the chance of Salvation and Pardon, *though the search after that Salvation has been to some the one object of life:*
 - (b) or that He has in His own wisdom allowed His poor children to work under different dispensations for different

nations, or for the same nations at different times; each epoch being, as it were, a period of training, and discipline, an arena of trial, and development, leading on to a clearer dispensation, and a more perfect Faith in His own good time.

London, March 19, 1857.

I wrote these lines thirty-three years ago. I recognize my handwriting, but the recollection has passed from me. I have not read them since. I have made some slight additions, and I cannot say, that I have got much further even now. It is one of the mysteries not destined to be revealed, why the Saving truths of our blessed Religion have been reserved to so few, and so many millions have gone to their own place without the chance of becoming Christians. We can only bow our heads, and lay our hands on our lips, and do our own Duty, which is very clear.

London, April 10, 1890.

V.

ON THE ANGLICAN BISHOPRIC IN JERUSALEM.

THE words of Canon Liddon have weight with many, and deserve respect from all. I appeal to your sense of justice to admit a reply to a portion of his letter on the Anglican Bishopric in Jerusalem in your last issue.

To those, who do not know me, I can only state, that I am a Member of the Society for Propagating the Gospel, Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and Church Missionary Society, and attend their meetings, and take part in their deliberations. I am always ready on the platform, and in the Press, to speak up for the Missions of the Universities to East Africa, Calcutta, and Dehli, as well as for those of the greater Societies. I have learnt to look over the partition of Separation, which divides a portion of the Church from the other, and as a Churchman in the entire sense of that word I can admire "ex animo" the work of Bishop Smythies, and Bishop Gobat, of Bishop Caldwell, and Bishop Sargent.

Canon Liddon, who, judging from his words, has no knowledge of the London Mission to the Jews, or of the Church Missionary Society, has allowed himself to use the following words:

"Does it not occur to him, that he is expecting too much from the proselyters? They are no doubt earnest and active men in their way: it is no part of their conception of the Church of Christ, that a Bishop is an indispensable feature of its constitution? In their eyes any preacher of that meagre extract from the New Testament, which they are accustomed to call the Gospel,

"is just as efficient for all spiritual purposes as any Bishop in the world."

Again: "The Missionaries in question are sent out by Agencies in this country, which are patronized by English Bishops."

The uncharitableness of these remarks are only equalled by their ignorance. Last year I visited the Holy Land, and went to the Stations of the great English Societies from Jaffa to Damascus. I sat in their Native Churches, attended their Prayer-Meetings, visited their Schools, and their Training Colleges, talked to their Native Pastors, and with an experience, acquired by forty years' patient study of Mission-work in India in the field, and in the Committee-Room in England, I formed a different opinion.

The true Gospel, and the whole Gospel, and the pure, and unadulterated, truth of the Gospel, have been preached, and, as far as human observation can judge, have been accepted by the Protestant Churches in Palestine, and are evidenced by new lives, and faithful deaths. Did Canon Liddon visit the Native flocks, and was he from the transcendental platform, on which he stands, able to sympathize with the evidences of the dawning life, that is in Jesus, of uncultured Orientals?

To speak in terms of scorn of a great Society, of which the Primate is Vice-Patron, and ninety Bishops are Vice-Presidents, is scarcely becoming in a Canon of the Metropolitan Cathedral. Had a layman so written, I should have reproved him. It is a singular commentary to the remarks of Canon Liddon, that I read his letter during the intervals of a lengthy Committee this day, a large part of which was occupied in discussing the possibility of providing Yariba-Land in West Africa with a Bishop, not because the duties of Ordination and Confirmation in a Church of only 7000 souls were pressing, but because the Committee of the Church Missionary Society has always held, that a Mission, or a Church, is not complete in its building up, unless the edifice is crowned with a Bishop. If any impartial observer will cast his eye on the world-wide Missions of the Church Missionary Society, he will find that the Scriptural authority of Episcopacy is everywhere recognized, and that obedience is tendered in all things warranted by the Laws, and Practices, of the Church of England.

Letter to the Guardian, London, December, 1886.

VI.

ON FAITH AND FREEDOM IN RUSSIA.

THE *Times* on Saturday last contains amidst its foreign intelligence a statement of singular interest to all, who are watching the progress of Religious events in Russia. We read that the Emperor of

Russia has granted three months of unsolicited leave of absence to M. Pobiédonotzeff, the Procurator-General of the Holy Russian Synod. The correspondent goes on to point out, that the cause of this summary act seems to foreshadow the disgrace of the Procurator, and a departure from the *regime* of religious persecution so ruthlessly carried out. The event seems to have come about in the following way. The Emperor during his recent stay at Copenhagen received a pamphlet on the persecutions, to which the Lutherans in the Baltic Provinces have been subjected by the orders of the Procurator. The Emperor is said to have been deeply moved at the recital of the sufferings endured by Lutheran ministers. He opened the subject in conversation at the Danish Court, where attempts were at once made to bespeak a more kindly treatment of all dissenters from the Orthodox Church in the Russian Empire. No promise was made, but a fortnight after his return to Russia the Emperor wrote an autograph letter to the Procurator, giving him three months' leave, and instructing him to use that time in the preparation of a full and convincing answer to the Pamphlet. The Procurator, reasonably surprised at the unexpected change of front, tried to obtain an audience of His Majesty, but he was refused, and told that he would only be received with his justificatory memoir. Thus the case stood in November, 1889.

This man is the evil genius of the Emperor, and was once his tutor. He represents the Middle Ages view of Religious Intolerance, and State-Church-Prerogatives logically carried out. The Pope at Rome has now the opportunity of seeing how unamiable and wicked his own policy is, when he sees it put in force by another Church against himself. Here is the policy, nakedly expressed last year :

"Never will Russia allow the Orthodox Church to be robbed of its children. Russia's sacred duty is to keep from the Orthodox Church all that menaces her security." The Roman Catholic Church is under disabilities: all dissenters from the Orthodox Church have to reckon on a good deal of persecution. Jews are grossly ill-treated: severe penalties fall upon offenders against the Protectionist laws of the Orthodox Church. Protestants, who unfortunately succeed in confuting their antagonists in theological argument, are sent to Siberia. Every adult is obliged to receive the Sacrament once a year after confession, or is handed over to the correctional Police. This was the law in the City of Rome to my knowledge in 1856. Like the Mahometans the Orthodox Church allows of no withdrawal from its Communion even of Converts. I met at St. Petersburg a young German Protestant girl, who in her teens, without the knowledge of her parents, allowed herself to be baptized, and, though desirous to do so, cannot return to the Church of her Parents. Any Protestant Pastor, who administered the Sacrament to a Member of the Orthodox Church, would be at once sent to Siberia.

In view of all this it need hardly be said, that Christian enterprise is sadly hindered. The British and Foreign Bible Society in vain solicits leave to circulate the Old Testament, translated into Russ from the Hebrew by competent Scholars, exclusive of the Apocrypha. The reason for such ostracism of the Word of God is, that the Russian Church received their Christianity from the Greek Church of Constantinople in the Greek language, and the Septuagint version, which included the uninspired Apocrypha, a book not lawful for Protestant Bible Societies to circulate, as their *raison d'être* is to circulate nothing but the Word of God.

Religious Persecution never can find it safe to stop with defensive measures. Being "*malum per se*," for existence sake it must extend itself to offensive measures.

For some time past in Poland, Lithuania, and the Baltic Provinces an insidious attempt has been quietly made to extend the Orthodox, and weaken the Roman Catholic and Protestant Churches. I can only hope, that the former by seeing both sides of the shield, and being compelled to call out for Toleration, may mend their own miserable ways, and learn to do unto others what they wish that men should do unto them. The latter are deserving of the sympathy of strong Protestant Churches, and all, who believe that Religion is something more than a senseless, gorgeous, and soul-depressing State-Ritual, neither understood by the intellect, nor saving to the souls, of the Russians.

Record, London, 1889.

VII.

A VISIT TO HERRNHUT AND KORNTHÁL.

"THEY REST FROM THEIR LABOURS."

THIS autumn I visited several of the German Missionary headquarters, Basle, Krischóna, Barmen, Kaiserswerth, Herrnhut, and Calw. I have been a great traveller, and a pilgrim to Rome, Athens, Carthage, Thebes, Banáras, and Jerusalem, yet in no place did I feel the influence of the *religio loci* weigh so heavily upon me as when I stood in October last in the Friedhof, or God's acre, of Herrnhut and Kornthál. There sleep the soldiers of Christ, whose names live in the lips of their contemporaries and successors, whose work in far-distant lands witnesses to their faith. It was their lot to return to their Vaterland, and die among their own people; they were spared the additional trial, which has been the lot of so many of God's saints, of dying alone in the round beehive-straw-hut, thinking sadly, though not repiningly, of their distant homes. Such heroes lie as witnesses among the heathen: their tombs are the mile-stones and sign-posts of the march of

future missionaries, and their graves are the token of the occupation of the region in the name of Christ. But those, who returned home are witnesses also, both in their old age and after their death, of the reality of the warfare which they have accomplished, just as the old soldier in Chelsea Hospital and the Chelsea Cemetery are living and dead proofs of the reality of the victories of England.

The story of the "Unitas Fratrum" is well known. A century before the time of Luther, John Huss and Jerome of Prague had lighted a torch in Bohemia, which has never been extinguished. The Jesuits did their best, by cruelty and torture and confiscation of property, to extinguish it, and at the close of the seventeenth century it seemed to be extinguished, but there was a remnant left, which had been miraculously preserved, and crossing by stealth the frontier of hated Austria, they settled on the estate of Count Zinzendorf in Saxony, in the lands of the village of Berthelsdorf, and founded a settlement, known all over the world as "Herrnhut," or the "Lord's Watch," and from that remote, undistinguished spot the Gospel was sounded out to the West Indies among the Negro slaves, to South and Central America among Negroes and races of very low culture, to Greenland and Labrador among the Eskimó, to North America among the Algonquin and Iroquois, to South Africa among the Hottentots, to Australia among the neglected and ill-used aborigines, and to Tibet among low and degraded Buddhist mountaineers. The notable feature of their Missions is, that they commenced their operations long before God put into the heart of any other Protestant Church even to entertain the idea of evangelizing the heathen; they chose regions the most inhospitable, races the most degraded or oppressed, the very offscouring of the human family; and lastly, their resources were extremely limited, and the missionaries were apostles indeed of the type of Paul, labouring with their own hands.

I visited the brethren's house, and the sisters' house, the record-room, and the library, in which are eight thousand biographies of deceased brethren. A short walk brought me to the Friedhof, where the memorial stones lie flat on the ground, the males on one side and the females on the other. Every Easter morn the whole community assembles in the Cemetery to meet the rising sun, and there, amidst the graves of a multitude, who have completed their earthly course, they pray for everlasting fellowship with their brothers and sisters, who have entered into the joy of their Lord, and with the whole Church triumphant. The scene, the day, the words, and the company, with the memory of their oppressions in times past, and their grateful recognition of the fatherly hand, which brought them out of captivity, and made them instruments for the salvation of sufferers in every part of the world, present a combination of interests, which the history of no other Church

could supply. None have by suffering been made so perfect, and profitable to the saving of souls. I touched the stone, which covers the remains of Jaeschke, the great Tibetan scholar, and I visited his widow in her humble home. I visited the spot, where the first tree for the settlement was felled by Christian David, June 17th, 1722, and read the inscription, Psalm lxxxiv., "Yea, the sparrow hath found a house, and the swallow a nest for herself, where she may lay her young, even Thine altars, O Lord of Hosts, my King, and my God." Walking under the shaded avenue to Berthelsdorf, I called upon the Directors, one of whom was an Englishman, and sat down by their side in the Council Chamber, whence they administer their world-wide affairs. Their missionaries are missionaries indeed: they approach nearer the type of the Romish friar in self-abnegation, hardness of life, and devotion to their cause. Their wives are allotted to them, not on their own individual choice, but according to the judgment of the Church as to the suitability of the candidate for the office of missionary's wife, for that high duty, the duty of evangelizing the heathen. I gathered from Frau Jaeschke, who had never seen her husband until she met him as his affianced wife in Kyelang in Tibet, that her union had been a blessed one: she had nursed him in his long illness, and was faithful to his memory. Reflecting on the grave, serious, self-denying, and "Walking by Faith" aspect of this Mission, I could not but recall the instances of half-heartedness, will-worship, discontent, and worldliness, which had come under my observation in the Missions of other Associations, and my experience embraces Missions of every Protestant country and denomination for a long series of years. Let each missionary, who reads these lines, lay them to heart, and reflect on the self-denial of Paul and his companions, of the long row of Nestorian, Syrian, and Romish missionaries, and lastly, even at this day, of their Moravian brethren. There is no reason to suppose, that sickness or mortality are the result of their hard and self-denying system.

In the subsequent week I visited Kornthal in Wurttemberg, and accompanied by the widows of the two former, I walked to the Cemetery, and visited the graves of Krapf, Rebmann, and Isenberg, all devoted missionaries of the Church Missionary Society, who were permitted to return to their country after their long exile, and die there. There was something of the heroic type in the lives of all three; they would perhaps not suit the existing requirements of that Society, but their characters were peculiarly suited to the epoch, in which they appeared, or perhaps, in other words, their characters were developed by the circumstances in which they were placed. I anticipate and pray for a long period of usefulness for the C.M.S., but I do not think, that the names of these three veterans, who now sleep their last sleep in the Kornthal Cemetery,

can be forgotten. They formed a link betwixt England and Germany, which exists no more: Isenberg was a link betwixt India and East Africa, which exists no more. They never met Livingstone, but all four unconsciously co-operated towards the opening out of East Africa to the present generation. In seeking a reason to justify the annexations of Germany, I read in one newspaper, that these regions were the scene of the labours of Krapf and Rebmann, and therefore German, a dangerous doctrine, if adopted by France with her army of Romish missionaries in every part of the world. They have left their mark on the maps of the geographer, and their books on the shelves of the scholar; and their like will not be seen again.

Church Missionary Intelligencer, Dec. 5th, 1886.

VIII.

LETTER TO A FRIEND STARTING ROUND THE WORLD.

DEAR AND HONOURED FRIEND,

We do not like, that you should leave us on your long journey without a word of loving farewell. The Committee is composed of annually changing members, and we cannot hope, that all of us will again meet in the room so well known to us, and which has been so blessed to each one of us, where we have laboured so often, and so earnestly together. The pictures on the walls will be the same when you return, but some of the chairs will be empty, and you may perhaps miss some well-remembered face, and some voice, which is silent for ever.

That during the last five years you have had Grace and strength given to you to dedicate your time, talents, and resources to your Master's service, with a single eye to His glory, must ever be a subject of joy and gratitude to yourself. But it is so to us also, for we feel, that of all the blessings which the Almighty can bestow on His best-beloved children, the greatest is to have Grace to consecrate their talents, whatsoever they may be, to Him. Other missionaries have during that period at your selection gone out to labour among the heathen: you have served Him with equal fidelity at home, and have proved yourself to be a true missionary at heart.

Those among us, who have experience of such things, have noted, with gratitude and delight the singular ability and Christian love, which have characterized your mode of transacting business. You have lost no friends, but on the contrary have made many new
 ----- Those, who have disagreed with you in details, have recog-

nused your high motives and single-mindedness of purpose. In your occasional tenacity of opinion, you have taught us, that it is well to be in earnest in a great matter. In your readiness to surrender your own views, you have taught us, that it is better still to be humble-minded, distrustful of one's own judgment, and ready to give way.

We shall remain revolving in our restricted orbit of Committee, and Prayer-Meeting, while you are circumnavigating the globe. We shall read and speak of Mission-work done in distant fields, while you are privileged to inspect it. When on our usual days of meeting we assemble in your absence, we shall think of you, and remember you in our prayers, and we doubt not that, wherever you may be, your heart will, like a magnet, turn to us; that in the cabin of the ship, in the carriage of the railway, in the solitary traveller's resting-house, and still more in our Mission-schools and Mission-chapels, with your face sometimes directed to the rising sun, and sometimes to the setting sun, you will pray for us and the great and sacred work, to which our best faculties are dedicated, and ask for the special blessing to be allowed to come back to us, in which request the hearts of all of us are united. We shall miss you very much each day of your absence, and welcome you on your returning.

May the Almighty take you, and your dear wife and children, into His special keeping! May His rod and staff support you in your pilgrimage! Should sickness come upon you, may you find perfect peace in the hollow of His hand, for He careth for you! One lesson at least we have learnt in our Committee-room is that God encompasses His servants wheresoever they go, and knows best what manner of service He thinks good to require of them.

We subscribe ourselves, your loving friends.

Church Missionary Intelligencer, London, August, 1886.

IX.

ON THE DUTY OF A CHRISTIAN MISSIONARY IN THE HOUR OF PERSONAL PERIL.

"Can a woman forget her sucking child? yea, these may forget, yet will I not forget thee!" *Isaiah xlix. 15.*

"Entreat me not to leave thee: where thou diest will I die, and there will I be buried: the Lord do so to me, and more also, if aught but death part thee and me." *Ruth i. 16, 17.*

THE question to be calmly considered is, under what circumstance is a Christian missionary, or a Christian soldier, at liberty, under fear of death, or personal suffering, to abandon his post? The danger comes suddenly; the young missionary (for I do not venture to give advice to the old and experienced) should reflect beforehand,

and be confirmed in his own mind, as to what his duty requires, before the hour of peril arrives.

Any volunteer martyrdom, any unnecessary sacrifice of life, any ostentatious and arrogant thrusting oneself into danger, was condemned by the early Church, and is still more unjustifiable now.

There are three combinations of circumstances which may arise : let us consider each separately.

A new mission may have been founded, and no converts made. Popular tumult, or official oppression, may render the position of the missionary insupportable, and certainly render his labour useless. He has no other alternative but to withdraw, even with sacrifice of houses and goods. He may possibly do so prematurely : he may be wanting in nerve, or tact, and be unfit for such a post of honour and danger ; but his retirement would only be blamed, if blamed at all, as a want of judgment. Instances of such cases have occurred in the withdrawal of the Protestant and Roman Catholic Missions of Germany from Dar-es-Salám, on the Coast of East Equatorial Africa. Moreover, if there is any meaning in the oft-repeated phrase, "an open and closed door," it is clear, that the Lord has closed this door for the time at least. In these days the Divine command is not communicated by the voice of prophets, or visions and dreams, but by the march of outward events, and we must not attempt by the arm of the flesh, by gunboats, or cannon, or aid of fighting commercial companies, to retain a position, which is not retainable by the unaided peaceful valour of the missionary. No blessing can rest on a Gospel preached under the protection of cannon and rifles, or connected with commercial profit. This is a dangerous error, into which some of the German missionary societies have openly fallen, and which some of the British societies seem not to avoid as much as they ought.

The second combination of circumstances arises, when a missionary has been successful in founding a church, and the ruler of the country, either from caprice, or jealousy of the new influences, or downright religious intolerance, determines to eject the foreign missionary, seizes him, plunders him, imprisons him, and puts him on board a vessel to convey him from the shores, or takes him to the frontier and expels him. This is *force majeure*, and the missionary has nothing to do but submit, and find some refuge, until the tyranny be overpast, and he can get back again. This kind of treatment often happens to secular men. Napoleon III., when he made his *coup d'état* in 1851, seized many of the French generals, whose opposition he feared, and forcibly expelled them beyond the frontier. During this last week we read how Mr. Gordon and Mr. Walker of the C.M.S., and three Roman Catholic priests in U-ganda on Victoria Nyanza, were seized, plundered, stripped of their garments, and placed in a vessel, and compelled to leave the country, and unwillingly abandon their flocks. There

seems no question as to the facts, and the missionaries, British and French, had no choice in the matter. Sad as was the necessity to leave their flocks, they could not resist the superior force brought against them; the shepherds were smitten, if not by death in this case, but by forcible exile, and the sheep scattered. The same thing has happened repeatedly any time during the last forty years in Abyssinia, both to Protestants and Roman Catholics. We can hardly imagine the sorrow, which good, earnest missionaries must have felt, when the shores of their adopted country faded in the distance, and they could too accurately imagine the perils and sufferings of the poor native converts. Having done his own duty, he can comfort himself with the reflection, that the Lord cares for His own children; that the whole history of the Church tells us how persecution strengthens a rising church, and brings out strength of character.

“Sanguis martyrum Semen Ecclesiæ.”

The third combination of circumstances is the most painful, and on which the thoughts of friends of missions must be fixed. A flourishing church is founded, and a persecution is commenced, rendering the situation of the missionary one of extreme danger, and tempting a half-hearted man to seek safety by flight; but here the problem divides itself:

(1) Shall he fly *with* his flock? or (2) leave them to take their chance, and save himself and family?

Let us think out both alternatives.

Our Lord, in Matthew's Gospel, says, “When they persecute you in this city, flee ye into another.” This does not imply, that the pastor is to flee, and the sheep left to be killed. Peter was among the hearers of our Lord on this occasion, and we shall see further on how he applied it. But if pastor and flock can both escape, no blame can attach. We read how, 348 A.D., Ulfilas, Missionary Bishop among the Goths, north of the River Danube, during a heavy persecution, determined to withdraw himself and his flock from its range to the south bank of the river. He settled in Mæsia, at the foot of Mount Heamus, in the country now known as Bulgaria. In Africa it may be possible, that a missionary labouring among Nomad tribes should remove his flock from persecution, and seek a quiet life elsewhere. In Europe, we know how the Moravians fled from Roman Catholic persecution in Bohemia to Saxony, and founded Herrnhut, how the Huguenots fled from persecution in France to England, and the Pilgrim Fathers fled from England to North America: the whole Church fled together.

But in the second alternative, when the European missionary, losing heart, or fearing for his family, deserts his people (we put the case hypothetically), what shall be said? Our Lord, in

John's Gospel, says: "But he that is a hireling, and not the shepherd, whose own the sheep are not, seeth the wolf coming, and leaveth the sheep and fleeth, and the wolf catcheth and slaughtereth the sheep."

Peter must have heard these words also. It is narrated how thirty years later he fled from Rome to escape death at the hands of Nero. About six miles out of the walls on the Appian Way he met his Lord proceeding to Rome, and carrying His cross. The Apostle cried out, "Domine quo vadis?" "Lord, whither goeth Thou?" The reply was, "Romam iterum crucificari;" "To Rome again to be crucified." The humbled sinner turned back at once to Rome, and submitted to his fate, and in token of deep humility was crucified with his head downwards. On the spot connected with this legend now stands a chapel, and often as I visit Rome, I never fail to find my way to it, for it conveys a lesson to all time, that no man, who has put his hand to the plough, should turn back. Peter was a fisherman from the Sea of Galilee, and yet was not unwilling to die with, and for, strangers to his race and language at Rome. The European should not grudge the same sacrifice for the inhabitants on the shores of the lakes of Equatorial Africa.

In the next generation Polycarp suffered martyrdom at Smyrna, at the age of ninety or more, and it is recorded, that by his death he shielded his congregation from further persecution. Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage, in the Decian persecutions in 250 A.D., had been compelled for a time to seek safety in retreat, but in 253 A.D. he returned to his post, and suffered martyrdom. Alban, an Englishman, refused to save himself by denying the Faith, and suffered martyrdom at Verulam in Hertfordshire, 304 A.D. Augustine, Bishop of Hippo, in North Africa, died at his post during the siege of that city by the Vandals, in 430 A.D. In 755 Boniface, an Englishman from Devonshire, but the apostle of Burgundy, was killed by a mob, while engaged in his labour of trying to convert the Pagans in Friesland.

To descend from things spiritual to things secular, we read how Gordon of Khartoum had many opportunities of personal escape from that beleaguered city, but he declined to abandon his native troops and their families, and he fell with them, and is covered with undying glory, as the man who was staunch and unselfish. Among our forces at Suákin there are negro regiments, brought together and trained, and commanded by English officers: it would be inconceivable, that in an hour of peril the officers could retire on board the ships, and leave their soldiers to their chance; but in what way does a Christian Church so far differ from a military regiment? The converts have been brought together, trained, and baptized by the European missionary. He must show them the way how a Christian lives, and, as Havelock said to Outram at

Lucknow : "Come and see how a Christian dies." In the Indian Mutinies of 1857 many district officers could have escaped, had they forgotten their duty to their Government, and many, with their wives and children, died at their posts.

In this heroism and self-abnegation consists the unique greatness of the Christian character, and any practical deviation from the golden rule of "dying with their flock" would indicate a great weakening of the fibre of the Christian missionary. It is not within the bounds of probability, that any fear of death would have induced Bishop Patteson and John Williams to desert their poor sheep in the Southern Islands just at the moment, when their presence to sustain, comfort, and maintain them in the Faith, was most needed. In the Korea, Annam, and many parts of the world, we read, how Roman Catholic missionaries have perished with their converts, or submitted to a state of hopeless imprisonment and ill usage, like the poor priests and nuns of the Austrian Mission to the Sudán, who have been so long in the power of the Mahdi, if they are still living.

The death under such circumstances is a blessed martyrdom : we must be cautious not to use this phrase too freely. A man is said to be a martyr to the gout, or any other disease, as a conventional phrase ; but it is not right to say, that a missionary who perishes from disease, like Bishop Parker, or is killed for purely political reasons, like Bishop Hannington, is a martyr. His death was not brought about by a witnessing for the Faith. Had Joseph Thomson, the African traveller, pushed on from Kavirondo to the U-Sogo country, he would probably have suffered the same fate, but not have been called a martyr for trying to enter the kingdom of Mtesa by the back door. The history of the Church tells us, what a martyr is from the time of Cyprian, and Ignatius, and Polycarp, to the time of Cranmer, one who dies sooner than deny His Lord, either by word, or by deed in deserting the post entrusted to him. There may be many good men who have not the Grace of thus enduring to the end, for it is a special Grace. Aged priests and strong men have swerved from the trial, succumbed, or fled, while young girls and men of ordinary type, with nothing of the hero or saint in their outward appearance, have testified unto death. We are approaching a period of trouble in Africa. The young missionary should count the cost, and look upon a violent death as one of the contingencies, which he must be prepared to face. *Per crucem ad lucem.*

A young missionary named Arnot, who had been many years alone in Africa, last January closed his address to the Royal Geographical Society, in my presence, as follows : "If they give me honour, I shall let them see that all honour belongs to Thee. "The one reason for my success in Africa *was the reality of the presence and power of God with me night and day.*"

I have alluded to the word "family," and some further remarks are required. After a careful consideration of the subject for many years, I have come to the firm conviction, that a missionary in Equatorial Africa, East or West, at a distance of, say, fifty miles from the coast, should not be encumbered with a family. He is like the captain of a ship, the soldier on a campaign, the explorer of unknown countries, and should not be weakened in the hour of peril by personal and home considerations, calculated to unnerve him. . Women are quite as dauntless, quite as full of high enthusiasm as men; but in savage countries they are exposed by the law of Nature to a double form of death, not only the death by the sword or the stake, which, as history tells us, they are ready to meet as unflinchingly as their brothers; but they are exposed to the risk of a worse death, *i.e.* a life of shame. It appears to me to be wicked on the part of a Committee to expose them to such contingencies. China, Japan, India, Syria, South Africa, the littoral of East and West Equatorial Africa, are fields suitable for women's work, and that work is abundant: but it should be a rule absolute, that as regards Equatorial Africa, no woman should be allowed to be sent to a station in the interior. Independent of the dangers above alluded to, it is a cruel thing to send young wives to undergo the perils of maternity far from all reasonable comforts. I have seen a procession, as it were, of young women pass from the Committee-room into African graves, with no possible advantage as regards mission-work to compensate for the frightful sacrifice of life.

Prayers are offered weekly in some churches for the safety of our missionaries in Africa. Is that sufficient? The very object of missions is to convert the heathen, and build up native churches; we should pray, that these poor converts may be strengthened in the day of trial; and that the missionary, the prolongation of whose short span of life is a small matter, may have Grace given to him to do his duty in the moment of extreme necessity, and witness a good confession.

"BE THOU FAITHFUL UNTIL DEATH, AND I WILL GIVE THEE
"THE CROWN OF LIFE."

Church-Work, February 18th, 1889.

X.

BROTHERHOODS AND SISTERHOODS IN THE
MISSION-FIELDS.

A GREAT deal has lately appeared in print on the above subjects in relation to the home-ministry. With regard to that I have nothing to say, except to express my aversion to any form of vow to the Lord of celibacy for a term of years, or for lifetime, and to any scheme of possible absolution from such vows by a Bishop, or anybody else. A vow should not be rashly, and without good cause, made, but if made *ex animo*, it should be kept: "Better it is, that thou shouldest not vow, than that thou shouldest vow, and not pay." My remarks apply exclusively to the foreign Mission-field, nor would I place on the volunteers for that portion of the Lord's service any burden, which they ought not in equity to bear. I ask no more than that, which was demanded from the fellows of colleges in former years, that for a stipulated term of years, say ten from the date of their entering upon their ordination, they should not marry. After the age of, say, thirty-three, they should be free to do as they may wish. As regards the woman-worker in the field, on her I would place no limit of time at all. I must leave it to her conscience after a perusal of I. Cor. vii. 34: it will be the sure test, how far she has consecrated the whole of her *youthful* talents, time, energies and opportunities, to the work of the Lord. Ten years of adult single life may be to her a blessing also, and increase her usefulness in many ways.

Any one, who has dwelt, as I have, twenty-five years in daily contact with missionaries, must know how large a portion of the missionary's wife's time is taken up in her domestic cares, and how for long-recurring periods she can do nothing; *absolutely nothing*, for the Mission; how long illnesses entail separation, abandonment of the field, sometimes accompanied by her husband, whose career is cut short just at its commencement. I shall recur to this subject further on. I wish to impress upon the young missionary, that in undertaking family-cares in extreme youth, below the age above alluded to, he is doing what is manifestly wrong, and unworthy of his high *calling*. Nobody forced him to come out to undertake the glorious profession of preaching the Gospel: he chose it, or in many cases the Lord chose him: in the presence of his fellows he avowed, that he had been called to the work. Now, the work requires self-consecration, self-denial, a readiness to go where he is ordered, to live out in tents or in rude huts, to bear hardship like a good soldier, to spend and be spent, to be content with a little; to set the example to native friends, native converts, and native catechists, of the great law of self-sacrifice; dwelling in their midst; in some cases wearing their dress, sharing their simple fare with

them on the road, on the river, in the hut, in the tent; speaking their language as one of them, and being all things to them. Such is the high duty of the young evangelist: he gives the flower of his youth, the undivided freshness of his faculties, he cares for nothing in the fullness of his zeal but the Lord's work. The men of the world meet him on the road, and mark him in his humble residence, and recognize all the signs of the evangelist: it is true, that the young soldier, the young magistrate, and the young merchant, by the necessity of their position, keep clear of family-entanglements, and give their hearts to the service of their earthly employer, with a view to get themselves forward in the world, to put by economies for middle life and declining years. They would deem it madness to encumber themselves with a family until they saw a way to support them: is the missionary to fall to a lower level, not only to cramp his means of usefulness, and his power to discharge his duties, but to be a burden to the great Society, that sends him out, and is unwillingly forced to squander their resources in the support of useless wives and unnecessary children, who ought not to have come into existence?

It is interesting to quote the opinions of two very competent members of the Indian Civil Service on this subject.

Sir W. Hunter remarks that

"A fresh impulse has arisen from the private efforts of small fraternities animated by a highly concentrated devotion. These little communities bring to their work the highest culture of the West, and also that type of ascetic zeal and self-renunciation, which in India from the time of Buddha down to the latest movement of Hinduism or Islam has always been the popular idea of missionary life: without some show of self-sacrifice the Hindu will not believe in the sincerity of the messenger or the truth of the message. A man with a wife and half a dozen children may be a pleasant sight in an English parsonage, but is a standing absurdity in a heathen Mission-home."

It is obvious, that this is going too far in one direction: we are not asking the missionary to lead a celibate life, but we are pointing out to young men below thirty-three, that it would be wise to postpone their marriage so as to secure the success of their consecrated work. Whether they marry at thirty-three, or at what has been the favourite time in past years, twenty-six, the result of olive-branches will be the same. I remember once in India talking over the subject with a German missionary, his reply went to the point: "I married" he said, "at the age of forty, and had twelve children; if I had married at twenty-three, I could hardly have had more;" in fact, missionaries are a very prolific class.

Sir Bartle Frere, in his book on Indian Missions, seems to go to extremes in the other direction, and is opposed to brotherhoods altogether. He writes thus:

"No doubt there are times, when any prudent soldier of the Cross should be, like Paul, unencumbered by any worldly ties, however dear and sacred, and the energy of some is due to entire freedom from all calls of domestic and social

“duty ; but in the long run, and looking to the majority of cases, the whole of the work, which the Christian Church has to do, my opinion is decidedly against celibate agency. Celibacy enters largely into the teaching of all false creeds ; it springs from the weak, not the strong, side of poor human nature ; it is held in high honour by the vulgar, accompanied in mediæval legends by details of hair shirts, dirt, and discomfort, but it fails everywhere. None of the holy men in the Old Testament, or the saints in the New Testament, practised it.”

In reply to my honoured and lamented friend, I must add, that such is not the character of the celibacy now suggested. No one pretends to look at it, as a virtue, or a merit, but only a means to obtain an end, and a detail of administration. If any one were to put forward his celibacy as a sign of superior sanctity, he is evidently not qualified to be a missionary, and has failed to find the secret of Christian duty. When he has won his spurs by a decade of celibate activity, he will take his place, God willing, among the married pastors and fathers of the flock, and exhibit to the natives the blessings of a happy Christian family.

Nor is evidence wanting of the happiness of the Community-life now recommended. I quote the opinion of a missionary of the Cambridge Mission at Dehli, 1889 :

“Of the blessings of our Community-life, both in its stimulus to devotion and in the mutual help and comfort, which each one receives from the rest, I need hardly say much here. It is a life, to which I was accustomed during my years in London before I came to India, and therefore one, to which I have a natural leaning, apart from its manifest superiority as a system of carrying on missionary work in such a country as India. Those, who have not had experience of it, can have little idea of the blessing of united Communion, united prayer, and occasional quiet days of devotion ; and after his daily round the tired and harassed bazaar-preacher is cheered up, as he rejoins his brethren in the evening ; and the itinerator after his lonely tour in the villages is sure of a hearty welcome home.”

Two years ago, at the annual meeting of the Universities' Mission to East Africa, I heard a young missionary use similar expressions in a sober strain of calm satisfaction, which convinced me of the reality of his feelings. I can realize these feelings myself. I spent ten years entirely alone, or with one or two celibate companions, in the midst of the people, over whose secular interests I had to watch. I remember how greatly the work was advanced by entire freedom from family and social duties and cares, how subjects of doubt could be discussed earnestly and thoroughly, how before the dawn I was in the saddle surrounded by the natives, who came to accompany me, how my heart went out to them, because *they were the sole objects of my interest* : if such were the case in Community-life, or solitary life, while employed on earthly business, how much more, when the heart is given to spiritual business by spiritually-minded men !

Another point of view is the sad waste of female life. I have seen a procession of young wives, passing from the Committee-room to useless graves in East Africa within two or three years

after their arrival in the country. This touches upon another side of the question; obviously on account of the climate and surroundings of that country, no missionary, whether old or young, should be married at all. A late Bishop wrote in 1886 :

"Mrs. —'s illness, and Mrs. —'s late dangerous confinement, make him bring once more the marriage-question forward. Thinks now, that he did "wrong in consenting to newly-married ladies going as far as —, and now "withdraws it, and feels conscientiously bound to protest against such ladies proceeding beyond —. Will not, therefore, consent to a clergyman taking a "newly-married wife beyond those limits; and, as he has no authority over "laymen, must refuse to acknowledge any layman who does so."

What makes the subject more grotesque is, that a young missionary lately started a new idea of associated evangelists to conduct work on much more economical methods and, of course, celibates; but, while his plans were maturing, he met a young girl, married her, and took her out into the association. On the West Coast of Africa the pioneer-missionaries of three Societies have taken out young wives into deadly climates, entirely unprovided with suitable habitations and ordinary comforts, and look round for commendation of excited religionists in Exeter Hall, as leaders of Faith-Missions, or rather of Folly-enterprises. We have again to consider the danger, to which female life and honour are exposed in solitary advanced stations, which ought to have been occupied by men alone. How much anxiety was felt two years ago in Eastern Equatorial Africa to rescue ladies during the time of the revolt against the Germans, some of the ladies being incapacitated for movement by the state of their health, or their babies. The question is asked, "Why were they there?" Would women be found, especially young wives, in campaigns such as that of the Crimea or the invasion of Abyssinia? Why should soldiers, sent out to fight the Lord's battles, encumber themselves? I have received letters from missionaries in the African fields, stating that the presence of young wives was not only useless as regards missionary work, but dangerous. It is all nonsense to say, that the presence of children in missionary work aids the prosecution of the work of evangelization. One enthusiastic missionary's wife tells us, that peace was immediately made betwixt belligerent natives at the sight of a mother and her baby. If that were the case, we should have to go to the other extreme, and rule that no unmarried missionaries, or barren wives of missionaries, or missionaries, whose families are grown up, should be allowed. A well-known Bishop, in America, goes a step further, and counts all the children among the effective force of his Mission. We start at the information, that a new missionary was born last night. I heard with astonishment two remarks made in committee by missionary secretaries: (1) that the missionaries came generally from a stratum of society, where the sexes married at puberty; (2) that missionaries in non-European countries ought to be married as a safeguard against

possible unchastity. I distinctly condemn, and repudiate, both these arguments. Many missionaries come from the same stratum of society as the officers of Her Majesty's Army, Navy, and Civil Services, and as regards the latter argument the numerous sad cases of moral lapses, which we have to deplore, occurred, without exception, in the case of widowers or married men. Of the brave band of celibate missionaries in India and Africa, I have never heard, in spite of close inquiry, of a single discreditable story, either of concubinage, or a quasi-marriage with a heathen. Another view of the case is the family-embarrassment, which it causes. England is become strewed with "returned empty bottles," men who have turned back from the plough, forgotten their first love, because their wives were sick. I have heard orders passed in committee to send for missionaries from distant stations in the field to come home to England to their sick wives. Even Bishops are not free from this weakness. One Colonial Bishop left his duty, because his wife was sick, and another because his daughter was dying. Even the duties of children to their parents are exaggerated in the case of missionaries. I read of missionaries leaving their field to visit a sick parent after only two years' absence. We, who have been about ten years at a stretch away from our homes, and have received the sad news, sent by telegram or letter, of a parent's death, know what the sorrow means, but cannot justify the desertion of the duties of life and the spiritual duties, through an exaggeration of human affections, more especially, when it is done *at the expense of a missionary society*. In the annual reports I read of husbands leaving important stations, abandoning their flocks, to accompany a wife home at the expense of a Society. How many a public servant in India has asked for a week's leave, and taken his family down to the nearest seaport, and commended them to the care of friends, never perhaps after to see them again, and manfully returned to his duties, which, though secular, were his life-duties? And some missionaries have done so, and even done more. Bishop Hannington, and Bishop Steere, and Bishop Tucker, feeling themselves called to perilous duty, were not unwilling to do what Lord Napier of Magdála, and Lord Wolseley, and many other brave soldiers, have done, and what every officer of the Navy of all ranks does, viz. left their families at home. It is a comfort to think, that the Church of England has still a fund of devotion and godly enthusiasm, on which it can draw. And many missionaries have done likewise, but all are not worthy of the high office. Does the foolish young man, who, at the age of twenty-six, takes on himself such responsibility, look forward twenty years, when he will be only forty-six? I have heard men in early middle age pleading for an extra grant for education of children. One missionary told me, that he married on the very day of his ordination, and he seemed to think, that he had done

a clever thing in becoming *Reverendus et Benedictus* at the same time. Setting aside the extreme improvidence from a worldly point of view, it is not mission-service: there is nothing of the grace of self-denial and self-sacrifice. In the Acts of the Apostles, in the early history of the Christian Church (before the introduction of the enforced celibacy of the Roman Church), we find nothing to warrant the idea, that a man must be married to be a missionary. If the young aspirant to the high office cannot rise to the level of his vocation, is not equal to the task, and considers matrimony a necessary ingredient of Gospel-preaching, he had better select some other profession. Such sentiments are unworthy, and show an absence of a true feeling on the subject of Missions.

The Missionary Societies' annual reports and periodicals bear testimony to the prevailing weakness (shall I say "effeminacy"?) of the period. I read all, and make extracts, in my earnest study of the Mission subject, of its wants and its weaknesses, its triumphs and its failures; some extracts are sad, some ludicrous. I must give some, as they lie before me, that my readers may understand, how the grand story of the Gospel to the Heathen is interrupted by perpetual harping on the "wife and baby" theme. No one but a member of a Missionary Committee could imagine the state of affairs. A missionary writes that "he must have a larger allowance, because he has two grandmothers and a baby to feed." No secular employé could have been so deficient in conception of the ridiculous as to write thus. In a really interesting account of the German Leper-Asylum at Jerusalem, and excellent remarks about the spiritual state of the poor sufferers, we come to this bathos: "On the 9th of February we were rejoiced with the birth of a little son, and gave him the name of John." We have only to imagine a clergyman announcing from the pulpit, that his wife had been confined. Another report runs: During the year "I have baptized two infants, a little daughter of our own, and the child of a Christian teacher." The report was of work done among Jews. Why chronicle the baptism of two Gentile infants? So entirely in the American missions is a man supposed to be entitled to the company of a wife, that a husband is described "as with rare self-denial holding the fort alone." In High Church Missions the brethren in the field beg the Home-Committee to send out an additional "priest," but to the German Missions they ask for a "Geschwister," a married pair, or "a brother and sister." In American reports the demand is for "families": the Gospel cannot be preached without the comfort of wife and children. Full details are given of the arrangements for the movement of these families; the birth and death of a baby seems to excite more interest, and certainly happens much oftener, than the conversion of a heathen. We have long accounts in some reports of a "little Jack," and words over the death of a "little Robbie": domestic events are

chronicled with painful detail. How astonished the governor of a province, or a military commander, would be to receive from his subordinates such details of domestic life! It seems to argue an absence of better stuff to chronicle, when a man turns to his nursery: what shall be said of the compilers of the report, when they insert such stuff? It is an insult to the serious readers of a missionary report, and accounts for their lack of popularity; it is not, that sympathy is not felt for brethren, who are sick or bereaved, but such things should be kept out of the public despatches, as not bearing on the great subject of Missions.

I give another extract, not older than 1888:

"Mr. and Mrs. — and baby returned to —, and immediately went back to England, and left this week, and the Committee has the great satisfaction of knowing that they all recovered their health since their arrival in England."

Imagine any secular Government carried on on such principles, and think of the scorn of the atheist, and the contempt of the Roman Catholic missionary, at the style of such notices, the gravity of which the compiler of the report hardly seems to realize; as in missionary reports all facts, that tell against the Mission, are systematically ignored, the devotion of the above missionary was presumably deemed creditable.

And, when a Committee of Management tries to enforce stricter rules, gently to draw the reins tighter, when it suggests to a missionary, that he should not leave his post to accompany a sick wife to England, when it objects to send out at the expense of the Society children of a certain age, who will have to be sent back again in a few years at the expense of the Society, every kind of remonstrance is made. I received only last December a letter, a copy of which I insert: I neither know the writer, nor the case, nor did I take the least notice of it, but the writer is certainly a missionary. I am violating no confidence, and I quote it only to indicate the spirit:

"I am sure you would not do a harsh or cruel thing in cold blood in the name of Religion: yet your Committee has forbidden my brother to bring out his only son, because that boy is four years old. Every one knows that up to eight this climate is safe. Can you tell me what right you have to interfere with the tenderest heart-ties, and make a rule for a missionary, that you know your own rector would think you mad to propose to him, or to one of his curates? Why should you lay a heavy burden on us in the field, which you dare not touch with your own fingers? If money be wasted on luxuries, will money be blessed that you save, if the hire of labourers, which is kept back, crieth in the ear of the Lord of Sabaoth? The mother's heart is wrenched, the father is driven against his will; the heartiest tender love is trifled with, and all for what? Who originated the scheme? Why was it not pressed in other cases? I am sure, that the insistence of this rule is unjust, unkind, and unnecessary: it must be cancelled. I now ask, that my four-years-old child's passage-money be refunded to me as a matter of right!"

Does not this read, as if the Committee had robbed this indignant declaimer of his paternal inheritance, though in reality it had lifted

him up from a humble position of life, taught him Latin and Greek at a preparatory school, trained him at a college, fed and clothed him, given him a title for ordination, paid for his canonicals, his outfit, and supported him and his family. It is clear, that in many cases domestic ties quite outweigh all consideration of self-sacrifice, gratitude, and even honesty. To have sent that child out, and brought it back in a few years, would have cost more than the united collections of six English parishes for the purpose of evangelizing the Heathen.

We have fallen from our high standard of the Mission-idea. It is often forgotten, that this is the second time, that the Lord has called upon the British Islands to take a foremost part in the Evangelization of the Non-Christian World. At a period in History before Mahomet had arisen in Arabia, before the Church of Rome had commenced its evil course, before even Augustine had landed in Kent, Patrick had gone forth from the Clyde to Ireland and founded the Church there: after him Columba had left Ireland to found the great Mission-centre of Iona: after them Columbanus had gone forth to convert Burgundy, and Aidan to found Lindisfarne, and bring Northumbria to Christ: after them came Wildebrond and Boniface: at a period when the North of Europe was as Heathen as Africa, and much more cruel, the men of the British Islands, of our own race, went forth in celibacy, in poverty, in suffering, to work with their hands to sustain life, never to see their homes again. Some portions of the type of these great Apostles has clung to the modern religious orders of the Church of Rome: the Protestant Missionary has fallen entirely from the ideal: he must have a wife at puberty, and a family, supported by the alms of the Churches: he must have salaries, houses, comforts, conveyances, pensions, and thousands spent on the education of his children: he considers himself at liberty to be educated at the expense of the Churches, and spend a few years in the foreign field, and then for his own convenience, or because a wife, or one of his numerous children, is sick, to leave his flock and go home, and perhaps never return, because something more comfortable is available in Great Britain. And yet the words of our Lord seem very clear: "He that loveth his father or mother more than me, is not worthy of me." "No man having put his hand to the plough, and looking back, is fit for the kingdom of God." Add to these Luke xiv. 26. This is just what our early Missionaries of the type of Columba and Boniface *did*: it is just what the modern degenerate type do not. In the report of one single Missionary Society for the year 1889 I find hundreds of children of Missionaries clothed, fed, and educated for secular occupations at the cost of thousands of pounds collected as alms for the conversion of the Heathen. Hundreds might be converted by the expansion of our Missions, if our funds were not absorbed, wasted, misapplied, by this unjustifiable

expenditure. What shall be thought of such expressions as this in Missionary Reports of last year?

“ Mr. — has felt *obliged* to return home for a lengthened absence from the “ Mission, as his wife’s health precluded her from joining him.”

It may be asked, what kind of emolument, stipend, salary, subsistence allowance, by whatever name called, does an ordinary missionary of one of the great Societies receive? In the Indian army, a second lieutenant receives 202 rupees per month; a lieutenant, 256; a captain, 415; his career in these grades lasts on an average twenty years; he finds his own outfit, passage-money, unless he comes out in a troop-ship; he pays his own house-rent; his wife and children have no allowance; after his death there is a small pension for them under certain conditions.

In the Missionary Societies, where matrimony is allowed, a scale of something of this kind may be assumed:

1. Three years at a preparatory school or training college, free from all cost.
2. Pocket-money, clothes, outfit, travelling in England.
3. Passage-money: every kind of expense paid.
4. Railway or travelling expenses in the missionary field.
5. Books and Instructors in languages.
6. Unmarried allowances, 144 rupees per mensem.
7. House-rent, furniture, house servants, conveyances.
8. Medical attendance.
9. Outfit for wife, passage-money, additional furniture, toties quoties.
10. Additional married allowances, 63 rupees per mensem.
11. Medical charges for confinement, surgical expenses, a repeating item.
12. Allowance for each child, passage-money of sending them out to the field, when adults.
13. Furlough, passage, allowances, to and fro.
14. Children’s Home up to age of 16, final grant.
15. Renewal of outfit, furniture, and conveyance on return to field.
16. Retiring allowance, closing grants, pension to widows.

This is not the highest view of the subject, but it is a view, from which the subject ought to be regarded. Collections are made in churches under the influence of prayer: little children bring their pennies, and collecting-boxes are handed about: it is not right, that early marriages should be tolerated, causing such intolerable expenditure. I repeat again, that I am not in favour of celibate Missions, and I wish to see the missionaries free from vulgar cares, and with a decent sufficiency: but why should they marry while still so young? Why should they set up a wife and

six children any more than a carriage and six horses? Think of young widows, perhaps below twenty-five: in some cases they have never got out to the field, or done a stroke of missionary work, and yet the funds of the Society are saddled with a charge of (say) £50 for a lifetime. The number of children thus supported amounts to hundreds. In some Societies no provision at all is made for the children of the worker, and the assistance of friends, and private help is drawn upon: the deferring of the date of marriage till after a period of ten years' service, or the attainment of thirty-three years of age, would greatly reduce this really most deplorable head of expenditure: and with regard to Church of England Missions, it must be recollected that with the increasing poverty of the home clergy, and the prospect of Disestablishment drawing nearer every year, the burden of such charges will increase at a rate far exceeding that of the income, and cripple the means of usefulness. The number of recruits to the Mission-field from such Homes for missionaries' children is comparatively small: it is asserted, that the average charge for inmates exceeds that of the average of institutions for the orphans of officers of the Army and other classes of society: and their very existence plays into the hands of those, who press the necessity of celibacy under vows in the foreign Mission-field, which, however objectionable for other reasons, has at least the merit of economy. As it is now, vast sums contributed for the conversion of the heathen never get out of England: the real cure is, that every shilling should go into the field, that is sent for Missions, and that separate funds should be created, and distinct collections made for the home-expenditure. I anticipate the date, when contributions will be labelled, "not to be spent in Homes for children, " or any purpose not *directly* connected with evangelization of the "non-Christian world." And who can pretend that the maintenance of a young family of a young couple of tender years can have any relation to the preaching of the Gospel? It causes the enemy to scoff, it gives offence to friends: it is openly asserted, and not disputed, that many persons have become missionaries to enable them to marry early. The admission of a missionary to service, who is already burdened with a large family totally unprovided for, seems a tempting of God's providence. The off-hand way, in which matrimony is talked of as a necessity of existence, is an instance of the effeminacy of the age, and the absence of robust self-consecration. I heard a member of a committee remark with regard to an agent of a missionary society, who had a sick wife in England, that it was wrong of the committee not to allow him to come home every year to comfort her, arguing that the duties of husband and wife were paramount to the duty *previously assumed* to preach the Gospel. If this be conceded, absolute celibacy must become the condition of Mission service.

I here quote the words of one of the greatest of Missionaries (Carey):

"Remember that the money, which you will expend, is neither ours, nor yours, for it has been consecrated to God, and every unnecessary expenditure will be robbing God, and appropriating to unnecessary secular uses, what is sacred, and consecrated to Christ and his cause."

"Missionary funds are in their very circumstances the most sacred, and important of anything of this kind on Earth."

I am glad to read distinct evidence of a reaction.

The following Circular has been issued regarding the scheme for Associated Evangelists:

"Church Missionary Society, *March, 1890.*

"The Committee have sanctioned a scheme for the employment of bands of Associated Evangelists, Lay and Clerical, who, living together, could be maintained at a comparatively small cost to the funds of the Society.

"The scheme necessarily implies, that the *members of the band should be unmarried, and none should join who contemplate early marriage.* At the same time the Committee do not require any pledge of celibacy. Should any member of the band, after experience, desire to change his state in this respect, the Committee will be prepared to bring him home.

"The millions of India being scattered in villages, that empire affords special facilities for the employment of such an agency. One band is already at work in the Nuddea district of Bangál; other centres have been selected, and will be occupied as soon as possible.

"The Committee have sanctioned similar schemes for Ceylon and China.

"Each band will be under the leadership of an experienced clergyman, and there is no reason why any members of the band should not be in Holy Orders, nor why Lay graduates of the Universities should not volunteer for this work.

"But the scheme also affords a very favourable opening for men, who have not had the advantages of a liberal education, but whose hearts the Lord has stirred with the desire to be permitted to carry the glad tidings of Salvation to the heathen. The qualifications in such men on which the Committee lay special stress are: Real spirituality, with a vivid apprehension of a personal union with Christ. An intelligent acquaintance with Holy Scripture, and with Christian doctrine as there set forth, and a good knowledge of the Prayer-book and Articles, together with a hearty assent to them. Experience and proved capacity in work for the spiritual good of others. Force of character and powers of endurance. Satisfactory medical testimony as to physical fitness. The Committee will be glad to enter into communication with young men of not less than twenty-two years of age, who think themselves called by God to this special work."

Young missionaries actually in the field have voluntarily offered to share their home, and their allowances, with a like-minded brother, securing thus a friend and fellow-labourer without the distraction and obstruction, and weakening of purpose which necessarily accompanies the husband of a young wife, and very young children, in uncongenial climates. I allude with praise to a paper by Rev. A. Clifford, Secretary to C.M.S. in Bangál, which was read by him before the Calcutta Diocesan Conference, February 19, 1889. No one could have expressed a stronger opinion in favour of "Community Life as a Missionary Method" than he has, and he states, that three young lay missionaries have already joined an

ordained missionary in such a Community in a rural district, and prepared for active evangelizing work. Communities of women in suitable places would be the complement to the above arrangement. It remains now for all Missionary Societies to refuse absolutely to permit the marriage of missionaries before they have served ten years, or at least attained the age of thirty-three. How utterly reckless young people are may be illustrated by the intelligence which reached England only last month. No missionary associations are more full of faith and zeal than the China Inland Mission, and the Harley House Mission: they are zealous beyond their means, and their faith is more elastic than their banker's account. Month after month it is recorded in their periodical organs that funds are wanting. There is no reserve fund, no guarantee, and no provision for the sick or the widow; if the parent-association became embarrassed, the labourers in the field would starve, and yet two of the youngest members, the children of the leaders of the two associations in the Far East, have gone in for matrimony, and it seems to be a cause for rejoicing. It is possible, that Timothy, and Titus, and Luke, and Mark, and other of Paul's companions, may have been wishful to unite themselves to one or other of the sweet women, who ministered unto the Apostle, Phœbe, or Persis the beloved, or Triphéna, or Triphósa, but the compiler of the Acts of the Apostles was occupied with the grandeur of his subject, and did not descend to the level of chronicle with joy the union of missionaries, or the birth of infants. In one missionary periodical of this year I read how an enterprise to West Africa was "crowned" by the marriage of two of the missionaries.

A man is much more likely to make a good choice of a helpmate, when he knows the work, which he requires help in, than if *in statu pupillari* at the Missionary College he asks the little girl, whom he has met in the Sunday-school, or the young person in the shop adjoining that of his father, to go with him. The Sisterhoods will, in due course, supply such good helpmates, and there is no restriction on their age beyond their own sense of duty to their Lord, or a special term of engagement made with their Society. In the first decade of missionary life sisters and brothers are more useful than husbands and wives. This remark was made to me by a lady in India more than thirty years ago, and I heartily endorse it. Priscilla and Aquila indeed did exceptional service; but we want more of the type of Luke and Mary. Fewer Marthas, who are cumbered with domestic service, and none of the Demas-type, who turn their back on the Mission-field, loving the present world in the shape of a sick wife, or a comfortable living at home. If men are really called to God's special service in foreign parts, and are made so much of by admirers in Exeter Hall, they must just make a sacrifice of their lives and comforts. A conscript soldier

has to put off his marriage until his term of service is over. It is idle to talk of "sacrifice," when a missionary marries at the expense of a Missionary Society ten years earlier than his brother in some trade or profession at home can afford to do. Even down to the day that I write this, college-students do not hesitate to engage themselves. In a letter from India, I gathered, that some thought that by early marriage they were doing the right thing for the cause of Missions; the evangelical name of the Church has become the laughing-stock of the High Church and the Roman Catholics, to whom the work of the Mission is the *first, last, sole, life-long* object of their desire.

These are not the words of one, who is ignorant of Mission-work, as exhibited in the field, or discussed *ad nauseam* in the committee-room, nor of one who is hostile to, or contemptuous of the cause, but of one, who for nearly fifty years has studied the subject, not of one Society, of one branch of the Church, of one Church, of one Nation, or of the Protestant Churches only, but in its entirety: who has read many volumes, and written many pages on the subject, which have been reprinted in India, Europe, Australia, and America. We are come to the parting of the ways. Is it not a cruel thing to marry at an early age, and take a poor, thoughtless, useless girl to the Kongo, the Niger, the Masai country, the Victoria Nyanza, far up to Garanganja in Central Africa, far from medical aid and ordinary decencies of civilized wives, entailing sickness, death, and waste of expenditure, leaving no results but untimely graves of young mothers, and poor children, and disconsolate widowers? Why not steer a middle course, reserving matrimony to a later period, and a more settled Mission-field?

Church-Work, London, July, 1890.

XI.

ON THE MISSIONARY POSITION IN EASTERN EQUATORIAL AFRICA.

THE political scramble for this region having temporarily come to an end by a division of the country between Italy, Great Britain, Germany, and Portugal, it may be convenient to consider, how far the prospect of the evangelization of the natives has been advanced. The partition of Poland need never be alluded to again, as an instance of unscrupulous appropriation by the Strong of the country of the Weak. The late scramble for East Equatorial Africa cannot be surpassed on the score of cynical immorality by any act of annexation since the times of Genghis Khan and Attila. The Germans executed Bushiri, and others, as rebels, before the natives had found out, who the Germans were, whence they came, and

what they wanted. This last question has yet to be answered, for it is not obvious, when the import of arms and liquor are forbidden, what profit the Germans, or British, or Italians, will make from their so-called colonies; it is quite clear, that Portugal, during two centuries of occupation, has made no profit whatsoever, though in the dark days of the past century she had a freer hand than can be allowed now, to plunder, and kill, and use slave-labour.

Indirectly missionary enterprises have gained: not that this was in the least the intention of the contending Powers, but the object of legitimate Missions has been greatly advanced. Let me first remove the notion, that there is any connection of pure honest Mission-work with nationality. In British India, which represents the truest type of tolerance and religious liberty, there are American, French, Portuguese, German, Swiss, Norwegian, Swedish, and Danish missionaries, as well as British: the State looks upon them all with the same impartial benevolence, interferes with none, asks no questions, enforces no orders, except the necessity of obeying the common law of the country, and makes grants for educational purposes to all indifferently on the same conditions, whether Protestant or Roman Catholic, British or alien. They may conduct their operations in the language which suits them best; they may own lands, erect buildings, move to and fro just as they like; no passports are asked for; there is no jealousy of the Frenchman or the German on the part of the Briton; no ejection of missionaries, as has been the case of Mr. Jones of the London Missionary Society at Lifu in the Loyalty Islands by the French; no expulsion of the whole Mission, as has happened to the British Baptists at the hands of the Germans at the Kamerúns in West Africa; no exclusion of French Roman Catholics, as is the case in this same German Colony; no practical extinction of religious schools by State laws of education, as has happened to the American missionaries at the hands of the French in the Gabún Colony in West Africa. It is as well, that these things should be recorded, and recollected, that in the British Colonies alone there exists absolute toleration, and Gallic-like indifference.

Let us follow the coast of East Africa downwards from Suákin in the Egyptian Protectorate to the mouth of the River Zambézi. Above Suákin stretches North Africa; below the mouths of the Zambézi extends South Africa. Eastern Equatorial Africa may be considered roughly to extend into the interior to an imaginary line, where its boundaries march with those of the Kongo State. The islands of Madagascar, Mauritius, Bourbon, Seychelles, and Komóro, are geographically included in Africa, but are excluded from this survey, though they contain many important Missions, Protestant and Roman Catholic.

At Suákin there is a Roman Catholic Mission, and a missionary of the Church Missionary Society from Cairo was for some time

located there. Much has not yet been done, but, if the road be opened to Berber on the Nile, this may become an important position.

Further down the Red Sea is the so-called Christian kingdom of Abyssinia, now under the protection of Italy, with entire toleration. The Swedish Mission has long occupied a station at Mkullo among the Bogos or Bilin, and now will expand. The London Society for the Conversion of the Jews has recommenced their operations among the Falásha Jews: the Roman Catholics have long had an active Mission among the Christians of the Abyssinian Church: the British and Foreign Bible Society supplies translations of the Scriptures in Ambáric, Bogos, Tigré, and Falásha, in addition to the old liturgical Ethiopian. At the mouth of the Red Sea, but on the Arabian side, is Aden; here there is a Medical Mission of the Free Church of Scotland, and there is an unoccupied station of the Church Missionary Society. It is impossible to limit the capacities of this place as a missionary post, for on one side is Arabia in Asia, and on the opposite side of the narrow sea the great Eastern Horn of Africa, known as Somáli-land, occupied by Roman Catholics, but not by any Protestant Mission, nor is the language represented by a Bible-translation: here is an opening for a new Mission.

Passing southward into the Indian Ocean, we run along the coast of Galla-land, right down to the Equator. This coast is partly under Italian and partly British protection. All the three dialects of this language are represented by Bible-translations: there is a Roman Catholic Mission, but no special Protestant Mission. The tribes on the extreme south, the Bararetta-Galla, come under the influence of the Missionaries stationed in the Protectorate of the British East Equatorial Company. In this region we have five Protestant Missions, two British and two German, one Swedish; all of which owe their origin, directly or indirectly, to two ancient German missionaries of the Church Missionary Society. The two British Societies, the Church Missionary Society and the United Methodists, were planted by the hand, or under the eye, of the two heroes, Krapf and Rebman, the former of whom had been prevented from establishing himself in Abyssinia, and had been providentially guided to the then unknown Island of Mombása, one degree south of the Equator, where he formed in 1844 that famous Mission, which gave the impulse to the discovery of the great Alpine lakes and snow-capped mountains in the regions north and south of the Equator. Strange to say, Africans were conveyed to Bombay to be trained, and later on they were brought back to Mombása as "Bombays," to convert their own people.

The Church Missionary Society has extended its stations in two distinct lines: one with its base on Mombása extends westward through the British sphere, with its most westerly station at

Chagga, or Moshi, in the German sphere. It is preparing for a spring northward to Kavirondo, within the British sphere, at which place the steamer *Dorothy Stanley* will in due time convey the missionaries in a few hours across Victoria Nyanza to Rubága, the extreme point of the second chain of stations, which, with its base at Zanzibár, extends through the German sphere to the south-east corner of the Victoria Nyanza at Usambíro and Nasa, whence at the present moment the only communication to the station of Rubága, the capital of U-Ganda, is by frail native boats across the broadest expanse of the lake. It is possible, that this second chain of missions will in course of time be abandoned, and the operations of the C.M.S. be restricted to the British sphere, and the vast regions beyond, which are naturally included in the Diocese of the Bishop of Northern Equatorial Africa. The languages at present used by the C.M.S. are Swahili, Nyika, Kagúru, Gogo, Ganda, all of which are represented by Bible-translations. Other languages are being made known. The prospects of this Mission are truly magnificent, and all the political events of the last year have worked in the favour of its legitimate missionary requirements. The *sine quâ non* and *summum bonum* of the true missionary is to be let alone. He asks nothing of the Civil Government, but peace, a realm of law, and tolerance in all things, religious and educational. These requirements seem so simple, but I write advisedly, that it is only in British India, out of all the regions of the world, that these requirements are supplied; there is *there* no Priest-law, no Mob-law, no State-Church, no Public Instruction-law, no Police regulations, no jealousy of aliens, to impede the true-hearted missionary. In the British sphere of influence in Eastern Equatorial Africa the same essential elements of liberty are guaranteed. May Providence sustain and preserve them!

In genuine friendship with the C.M.S., the British United Methodists carry on their restricted but useful labours. Their base is Jomvu, on the Mombása harbour, whence their stations extend northwards to Golbanti, on the river Tána, and there they come into contact with the Southern Galla, alluded to above.

One of the German Societies is from Neukirchen, in the Rhine Provinces, and it is intended, that it should work northwards from the Lamu basis, and establish itself among the tribes of the Wa-Pokúmo. They have hardly as yet got into their position, as they have only an existence of five years, but their stations are at Lamu on the coast and Ngao on the north bank of the river Tána. The other German Society is from Bavaria, and works from Nombása as a basis northwards, with a view of dwelling among the Wa-Kamba. Theirs is a day of small things, and small missions, and perhaps it would have been wiser, if the German Lutheran Churches could have united to support one large German mission instead of a plurality of small ones. No doubt there were some

irreconcilable differences between the churches of Prussia, Westphalia, and Bavaria, which rendered such an amalgamation impossible. It is noteworthy, that they have crowded into the British sphere of influence. A Swedish mission has planted one station at a place called Kulésu, but I only know of its existence.

Passing southward, we enter the sphere of German influence, which extends from the eastern coast to the Lake Tanganýika on the west, and from the frontier of the British sphere at the River Umba to the frontier of the Portuguese sphere at Cape Delgado. The islands of Zanzibár and Pemba in these latitudes are under British protection.

The mission stations of the C.M.S. in this region have already been noticed, but the magnificent Mission of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge holds the foremost place. With their base at Zanzibár, they occupy within the German sphere two important centres: to the north Magfla, in the U-Sambara, and Bondei-land, and Masási and Newála at the extreme southern frontier on the River Rovúma. Beyond the German sphere, further south, there is another branch of this Mission, which will be noticed further on. This excellent Mission, under the Bishop of Southern Equatorial Africa, has obtained a solid footing. It has the advantage, and the compensatory disadvantage, of being a "single mission" Society, with entire absence of experiences of other fields. It combines the interesting phenomena of brotherhoods, and sisterhoods, with absolute local autonomy and independence of any governing Committee at home. The Bishop is the supreme ruler. No provision is made for stipends, pensions, or individualism. The community is the unit. The languages used by this Mission, within the German sphere, are the Swahíli, the Bondei, and the Makúa, and the missionaries have, since the days of Bishop Steere, a high repute for scholarship. The first two of these languages are represented by Bible-translations, and the first by a considerable literature; in the last some portions of the New Testament are in manuscript, and it is a mere question of time.

At Dar-es-Salám on the mainland, a Protestant Society at Berlin has opened a Mission avowedly in connection with the German East Equatorial Commercial Company. It combines a hospital, apparently in part, or entirely, for Europeans, and the ministration of the Gospel to the German colonists. It has hitherto clung with fatal tenacity to the coast, though it is obvious that a real, evangelizing mission must dwell among the people, and have as little connexion as possible with the secular Europeans, especially as among these German colonists such sentiments as the following are openly expressed. Having finally abandoned the Island of Zanzibar, it proposes to feel its way into the interior, and plant out-stations. It is a fair logical expression (1) to make Africa pay as a colony, the mines must be opened,

and the culture of new products encouraged; (2) the climate does not permit of European field-labour; (3) there are abundance of natives, who could work if they chose, and must be made to do so; (4) therefore industrial schools must be started on a large scale to teach manufactures and agriculture; (5) the missionaries should manage such institutions, and place a little veneer of religion over a great deal of improved industrial capacity. This is the cloud on the horizon of East Africa: the carrying slave-trade has been destroyed: there may be a greater evil in store, Prædial slavery, or something different in name, but the same in reality, and the easy-going natives of Equatorial Africa may have as much reason to regret the arrival of the Germans, as the Karibs of South America had in past centuries the arrival of the Spaniards.

Within the German and British spheres of influence, as definitely settled this year, are important Missions of the Roman Catholics. The German Government in its cynical contempt for all forms of religion, but fully alive to the danger of allowing French Roman Catholics to establish themselves in their so-called Colony, at once started a German Roman Catholic Mission, and located it at Pugu, on the coast; it is still small, but is recruited from Bavaria, and will, under the sunshine of a paternal Government, expand; then will come the question, whether the French missionaries should not be expelled from German Colonies in East Africa as they have been in West Africa. The policy will be abominably wicked, and one which no British Government would ever wish to put into practice, but it is quite on the cards, and from the German point of view may seem a necessity. In French Colonies small consideration is shown to Alien Missions from Great Britain or North America.

It so happens, that there are two really excellent Roman Catholic Missions of many years' standing within this region, one at Bagamóyo, opposite to Zanzibár on the coast, where the French missionaries, notably the late Père Horner, have won an estimable reputation, as their methods were good, and they abstained from politics. They belonged to the congregations of *Saint Esprit et Saint Cœur de Marie*. Twelve years ago Cardinal Lavigerie, Bishop of Carthage, founded a new congregation *Notre Dame d'Afrique* with its headquarters at Algiers and Tunis, and sent a large detachment to Victoria Nyanza, and another to Lake Tanganyika, and a third detachment is now being sent to Lake Nyasa, a fourth is established on the Kongo, a fifth in the great Tripoli Sahára. They reached their destination, and their missionaries have played an important part in the politics of U-Ganda. When they first started, I took the trouble to go over to Tunis to have an interview with Cardinal Lavigerie, and beg him not to place his Missionaries at the same stations with the Protestants, as there was room for all, and the spectacle of British Protestants and French Roman Catholics quarrelling in Central Africa reflected

upon their common Christianity. His Eminence expressed his entire concurrence in the sentiment, but he never acted upon it; and by the irony of fortune both the Mission-staffs were in 1888 ejected from Rubága together, escaping in the same boat, the one Mission supplying the food, the other the conveyance, and the year after both returned together, both dabbling too much in politics, of the consequences of which we have not heard the end yet. It occurs to me, that the late compact between the British and Germans has put the Cardinal's nose out of joint. He clearly dreamt of French ascendancy on both Tanganýika and Victoria, and it is noteworthy that, when Henry Stanley proposed to conduct the relief of Emin Pasha by passing through U-Ganda, the French Minister in London remonstrated, as such a course would be prejudicial to the French Missions at Rubága ("Darkest Africa," vol. i. p. 45). When the Cardinal, two years ago, started his anti-slavery crusade, and proposed fortified stations dotted over the country under his friend Joubert, late one of the bodyguard of the Popo, those, who watched the game of chess in Africa, knew what he meant, when he tried to place these *castles* in position. At any rate it is all over now. These French Roman Catholic Missions will have a free hand for all legitimate Mission-work in the British sphere, and already Roman Catholic priests have arrived at Mombása to open new fields, and are welcome. Whether the German Government will be able to allow the French stations on Tanganýika, where they will have opportunity of intrigue with the Belgian authorities, time alone will show.

When we pass Cape Delgado, we enter the old Portuguese colony of the Mozambik. All the coast down to the mouth of the River Zambézi has belonged to Portugal for many centuries, and very little use they have made of their opportunity, while they had a free hand and open field. Their day has now passed. Like a fly they have been brushed away from the River Zambézi by Great Britain, and an important protectorate has been established with Lake Nyasa as its centre. There is no question, that Cardinal Lavigerie was behind the Portuguese Government urging it on; he is a kind of survival of the Middle Ages, when powerful Churchmen used Sovereigns as pawns to play the game of Rome: he has been checkmated again. His Roman Catholic Mission is welcome; the true tolerance of the British Empire receives his advances with a superb contempt, and gives him a free hand, so long as he acts quietly and lawfully. His Portuguese allies must keep within their ancient limits, and stew in their own juice.

The Protestant Missions on Lake Nyasa enjoy an excellent reputation. As all the Missions in the North British sphere can be traced back to the influence of Krapf, so in the Southern British sphere the great name of Livingstone is, as it were, the morning star of Christian evangelization. The Church of England, under

Bishop Mackenzie, was first in the field ; then, after his death, the base of the Mission was transferred to Zanzibár, and its work there has already been described ; still the heart of the missionaries went out to Lake Nyasa, and they did not rest, until they opened a branch at Lukóma, an island in the lake, with a steamer. This was a hazardous policy, and the end is not yet known, but the Mission has been, on the east coast of the lake, most successful. On the west coast is the well-known Mission of the Free Church of Scotland, with its headquarters at Bandawé, and its base on the Zambési River. Further down, on the east bank of the River Shiré, which connects the lake with the great river, is the Highland station of Blantyre, founded by the Established Church of Scotland. The languages used by these Missions are the Yao, Nyanja, Ngoni, and Nkondi, all of which are represented by Bible-translations ; there is a wealth of additional languages, which time will reveal, and the translators are gathering in new harvests. If Africa is to be converted, the Bible alone will do it.

The much loved, and everywhere welcomed Moravian Missionary Society is this year preparing to open a new Mission within the German sphere at the head of Lake Nyasa on the highlands of Konde.

On Lake Tanganýika, in addition to the French Roman Catholics, stationed on the northern arm of the lake, are the stations of the London Missionary Society, on the west bank of the lake, and at the extreme south, where they have a steamer ; they also have had a station at U-Rambo on the main road from Ujiji to Zanzibár. The strategical position of this mission is peculiar ; originally its base was on Zanzibár, but, when the so-called Stevenson Road was lined out from the northern point of Lake Nyasa to the southern point of Lake Tanganýika, the base of this mission was shifted to the Zambési ; various languages are used by this mission, but none are represented by Bible-translations. Here we have a great work for the future.

Those, who can recollect the time, not very remote, when Burton started to discover Lake Tanganýika, Speke to discover Victoria Nyanza and the sources of the Nile, and Livingstone to discover Lake Nyasa, and found that old Ptolemy the geographer, and his mediæval successors, were not such blockheads after all, as armchair geographers had been pleased to call them, must indeed return thanks to Providence, that the germs of such healthy institutions have been planted in Africa. The object of the soldier is to kill, of the merchant to cajole and rob, of the colonist to exterminate, the ancient inhabitants of Africa ; the object of the missionary is to teach them the fundamental laws of honourable life, viz. to live with one consort, cover their naked bodies, dwell in a humble yet decent hut, cluster in orderly villages, and support themselves by honest labour ; this is followed by the turning of their hearts to

the true God, the development of their intellectual power by religious teaching, the telling them, that they have souls to be saved, and that there is a Saviour waiting to be gracious, and who died on the Cross for their Salvation, and has sent His Holy Spirit to dwell among them, and win them back from bad and cruel customs. This is the work of the good and holy men and women, British, German, and French, Protestant and Roman Catholic, who have left their homes, and many of them died for the poor African; and God's blessing will be with each one of them, and we are proud of them. While the great fight is going on, the lookers-on cannot discriminate between the colours and accoutrements of particular regiments, who all march under the Standard of the Lamb. We must take a wide survey of human weaknesses and idiosyncracies, and, while firm in our own convictions, speak charitably of others, so long as, like the good French Roman Catholic Fathers at Bagamóyo, they stick to their own business.

Major Von Wissmann, German Administrator, who has in the short period of his rule shed more African blood in East Equatorial Africa than all the Europeans together since the days of Noah, has been good enough to give us his opinion of Missions; his words are quoted with commendation by the *Catholic Missions*, a truly excellent monthly periodical published under the auspices of the Bishop of Salford. I quote his words:

"The Major spoke bitterly of all the Protestant missionaries in Africa, both English and German, *because they tried to play a political part, as mischievous as it was unjustifiable*. He contrasted their conduct by no means to their advantage with the good works of the self-sacrificing and indefatigable Catholic Missions; they were the real pillars of civilization, whereas the Protestant Missions threw obstacles in his (the Major's) way, so that great sums spent on them were really thrown away. Instead of helping, they, by their political agitation, did nothing but harm. . . . The Catholics proceed on the maxim *Labora et Ora*, rather than *Ora et Labora*. The vast sums expended on English Missions in particular might be much better employed."

It is true, that British missionaries did protest against the slaughter of poor "Bushiri"; a more cruel and unjustifiable act has never disgraced any country.

The Bishop of Salford, and the editor of *Catholic Missions*, are Englishmen, and as such hate slavery as cordially as their Protestant fellow-countrymen. How comes it, that the editor takes on the whole a favourable notice of a practice of the Roman Catholic missionaries, which the Major highly commends, and which the editor of the *Missions Catholiques* of Lyons appreciates so much that he opens his columns to subscriptions for the purpose, "The purchase by the Holy Fathers of slaves, male and female, as a nucleus of Roman Catholic communities"?

In the *Missions Catholiques*, which I receive weekly from Lyons, I read such entries:

" Pour rachat d'esclaves a Congo 250 francs.
 " Pour le rachat d'une petite negresse 10 "
 " ayant noms Adrienne-Jeanne,"

and so on.

We are all aware, that the detestable system of purchasing slave children forms part of the authorized method of *French* Roman Catholic Missions. Cardinal Lavigerie, in his address to the Pope at Rome in May, 1888, took credit for buying slaves in Equatorial Africa, in the name of the Church, and saving them from slavery; and the Pope in return begged him to buy or redeem as many as he could. It is scarcely necessary to remark, that the slaves thus bought must be the booty of war, or the result of kidnapping, and the natural outcome of the system a perpetuation of raiding, tribal wars, and theft. The transaction becomes more horrible, when the Arab is found to be the go-between, and the panderer to the missionary-lust to get possession of negro bodies for the sake of their souls. To the Arab slave-dealer it matters nothing, whether a little girl is supplied to a harem or to a mission-school; or a little boy sold to be converted into a eunuch, or into an acolyte. To them it is a pure matter of trade. How the Mahometan must scoff at the Christian for his inconsistency! It is a comfort to know, that *every* "Protestant Mission" in Africa is free from even the imputation of the establishment of houses of kidnapped children. The difficulty on the mainland is rather to provide sufficient teachers and accommodation for the children, who readily come to the schools, than to get children for the schools.

One of the leading objects of a Protestant Mission is to supply the Scriptures in the vernacular of the people, and to read portions to them and teach them to read it; the avowed object of the Romish Church is to hide the Scriptures from the laity, and to limit their knowledge of saving Truth to the drops of the water of life, supplied by the priests, poisoned with errors, diluted by fictions. In other particulars the Roman Catholic missionaries, ordained and lay, are examples of life-consecration, holiness, obedience, sacrifice of domestic ties, and general aptitude for the secular requirements of mission-work. Forty pounds per annum covers the cost of a French Roman Catholic missionary, whether a brother or a sister. It is distressing to reflect upon the contrast exhibited by some Protestant missionaries, some of whom withdraw their hands from the plough, at their own pleasure, indulge in lax habits of life, or place domestic ties above rather than below the duties of the high office, which they have undertaken without a due consideration of the meaning of self-abnegation. It cannot be said, that such things are impossible, when so many Roman Catholic missionaries exhibit them, and not a few Protestant Brotherhoods.

In a late congress of missionaries at Shanghai a resolution was passed to call on the Churches of Europe and America to send out

one thousand additional missionaries. The echo was caught up by some transcendental Christians in the Westmoreland Hills, and one thousand more missionaries were called for for a single missionary society. Why only one thousand? Why not ten thousand? And of what use will a number of untrained and partially educated enthusiasts, of the type of the Salvation-Army-officers, and Hallelujah lasses, full of wild schemes, adopting the Native dress, upsetting all existing arrangements, kicking out all the Native agents, making a Solitude, and calling it a Mission: we have instances already of the danger of employing harebrained, excited, young men and women, full of zeal, empty of experience, ready to adopt all the newest hallucinations, such as "Faith-healing," "claiming of God," "being owned of God." Dr. Simpson of New York, U.S., is not content with preaching Faith-healing in its most exaggerated form, but he expects to see a restoration of the gift of tongues. "Instances," he says, "are not wanting " of its apparent restoration in Missionary labours both in India " and Africa." He does not quote the cases, and it really is too ridiculous an assertion to argue about. It is forgotten also, that one thousand additional male missionaries entails, under the existing rules of some Societies, within a minimum of three years, one thousand additional wives, and in the course of the next decade five thousand additional children to support from the alms of the churches under the pressure of the deputation-sermon, and the influence of prayer. The missionary family is the problem of the future. A large proportion of the white population of the Sandwich Islands, including the Queen, are the issue of the American missionaries. Such will necessarily be the case in temperate zones; the aristocracy of the Southern Islands will be the offspring of the missionaries. In the Eastern Equatorial mission-fields young women have died, and if more are sent out, will continue to die. The wise policy seems to be, for this region at least, to establish brotherhoods, to eschew politics, and the posing as the champion of the natives against the German authorities. Some Missionaries think, that they have somehow or other acquired the right to stand up for the Natives against the Authorities: of course they have none whatever legally or morally. It will be short work for the Mission, if the missionaries air their grievances in *The Times*. The British Government is used to such practices, and the Governors only laugh. The French and Germans take such things seriously, and let Lord Salisbury's words in the case of Mr. Jones of the London Missionary Society, who was expelled by the French from the Loyalty Island, never be forgotten. "All the Continental nations assert their right to " expel any alien from their dominions at their own good pleasure, " and decline to listen to diplomatic remonstrances on a matter of " internal government."

Again, let missionaries, whose work is spiritual, keep clear of the industrial, manufacturing, and agricultural, snare. A "man of God" does not appear to advantage, as the manager of an ostrich-farm, an exporter of diamonds or gold-dust, a successful grower of oats, or breeder of cattle, or manager of a blacksmith's shop. His spirituality will be destroyed, and his equanimity impaired by disputes with his workmen, litigation with his customers, and by being a victim to plunder or rascality. It will be down-grade indeed. It does not answer with the Basle Mission on the west coast of Africa. The Moravians practise it as their only means of existence, and the consequence is, that in their reports the reader, seeking to know how fares the Gospel-battle, has cold water thrown upon his enthusiasm by the news, that the cod fishery has been a failure, and the young lambs have perished. There is a great deal of truth in Major Von Wissmann's remark, that *Labora et Ora* is better than *Ora et Labora*. The true Christian places his duty as a man to support himself as only next to his duty to his God. But the missionary should take heed, lest his sacred name of teacher, and preacher, and friend, be turned into that of trader, and farmer, and employer. He might make more money, but he would lose more souls, and might, from sheer ignorance of book-keeping, get into business-difficulties and lose his character. A call for a low-church Christian, who understands the breeding of cattle, and the raising of turnips, would not rouse enthusiasm for Missions.

These remarks do not apply to action of this kind taken by an independent Church with an organization of its own, which seeks, as in Sierra Leone, to provide for the comfort and advancement of its Church-Members. In such case there are no Missionaries, but Pastors, and no Heathen, but Christian Congregations seeking by industrial training to be elevated socially and financially.

There is a great temptation to a Missionary to invoke, and make use of, a friendly "Arm of the Flesh," for the purpose of advancing Spiritual interests, and suppressing what appear to be great moral evils. Such has been the practice of the Church of Rome from the period, when she started on her evil course of Temporal Rule, and Political Influence. No one sinned more in this direction than Francis Xavier, the Jesuit: we judge him by his own letters to his friends in Europe. But at a period anterior to the hardening of the Roman system it is a cause of regret to record, that all the great Missionaries of the early period, Columba, Augustine, Columbanus, Aidan, Wildebrond, and Boniface, erred in the same direction: it seemed to them essential to convert the Chief, possibly through the influence of his wife, or one of his so-called wives, and then to urge the Chief to destroy the temples of the Heathen, and drive in his soldiers and his subjects to be baptized: the absolute necessity of individual conversion by the Holy Spirit seems never

to have occurred to them. Some went much further, and used oppression and violence. We hear the echo of this in the sentence of Shylock by the Duke in "The Merchant of Venice." I often hear the Mahometans charged with attempting to spread their tenets by the sword: a great part of Europe became Christian nominally by the same methods, and the cruelty and bloodshed of the Church of Rome in extending and maintaining their system would far exceed that of the most fanatic Mahometan, for the lust of Conquest was often their real motive, and the existence of the Hindu Religion after eight hundred years of Mahometan Rule, and of the Asiatic Churches after one thousand years, is the best evidence of their tolerance, while before the Christians no Pagan or Mahometan survived, and Jews were oppressed, or exiled.

Now all has changed. Some Missionaries would still have recourse to the Arm of the Flesh, if they could: but experience has taught us, that in that Arm is a Sword, which is double-edged, and that when once the Civil Power has found an entry, it is as likely to use force *against* the Missionary as *for* him. The Roman Catholics are the loudest criers-out for Toleration, and at the same time the most persistent opponents of it, when they are in power. It is therefore an incontrovertible axiom of Mission-work, that whatever is to be done, must be done by the Spiritual Power only, and that *absolute Toleration must be the rule.*

There will be difficulties for the Missionaries, who work in spheres of influence other than those of their own Nationality: they will be less in British spheres, because French, German, American, and other Continental Missionaries have all had a taste of the sweet "laissez faire" of the Indian Administration, as soon as it is clearly understood, that good men are at work for legitimate spiritual objects with no political motives. Nothing is so striking as that throughout the British Empire there is never any trouble whatever with the Roman Catholic priesthood, simply because they enjoy what in Equity they are entitled to, and are allowed no prerogatives, not even the advantages of a little healthy Persecution, which thorough-going Persecutors seem to enjoy. I read every week the Chronicles of Roman Catholic Missions in the French, German, and English languages, and it is delightful to read of the descendants of the Inquisition complaining of a School being closed by a Turkish Pasha, or a place of worship appropriated by a Greek Congregation. It would be the certain ruin nowadays of a Roman Catholic Mission to find itself in one of the old-fashioned kingdoms, which have ceased to exist, where some Devotee-Queen, or astute Cardinal, ruled the roost, and a Missionary like Francis Xavier got the ear of a weak-minded superstitious Sovereign. Under the pressure of heretical Toleration they pursue their quiet and useful way: if they do not inculcate much spirituality, they at least encourage a high standard of social Morality.

The danger of the Protestant Missions is in another direction: their present bane is the Euphemistic cracking-up of the gentleman, who compiles the Annual Report, or edits the Monthly Periodical, as well as of the Platform speakers. "Bona verba quæso" is the rule: there is a total suppression of notice of any failure of men or measures, and all legitimate criticism is stifled. And yet the machinery of a great Missionary organization, and the working of it in many different countries in different environments, must require healthy and sympathetic criticism, not to be found in a co-opted Committee of exceedingly narrow views, pressed behind and overpowered at a crisis by a hundred-Parson-Power of necessarily imperfectly informed Clergy, where dead voting weight crushes any opposition: there is scarcely a breath in such council-rooms of popular feeling, and not a half-inch room for a statesmanlike view: not a scruple of sympathy for the provoking non-Christian, who refuses to hear and be convinced: not a grain of pity for the poor dark-coloured convert, or Mission-agent, who after centuries of Heathendom and Mahometanism, and one generation of a weak Christianity, does not at once "per saltum" live up to the high level of Evangelical purity and spirituality, which is only attained after an hereditary Faith of generations and centuries, if even then.

Church-Work, London, 1889, with additions, 1890.

XII.

ON THE SUBJECT OF THE ATTENDANCE OF BRITISH OFFICIALS AT THE BAPTISM OF NATIVE CONVERTS TO CHRISTIANITY.

I REPLY to your letter of June 1st, 1859, respecting an article in the Phoenix Newspaper, and regret that there are in this Station correspondents of the Public Press so indiscreet, and so incorrect.

I understand my duty as a Public Officer, both under the East India Company's rule, and in accordance with Her Majesty's Proclamation, to be entire abstinence in every public capacity from the affairs of any Sect or Religion, directly, and indirectly, and my convictions coincide with my duty, and that I have carried them into practice is evidenced by my opinions, recorded (1) against allowing Missionaries to preach in the Prisons, (2) in favour of demolition of a Missionary Chapel improperly built on the steps of a Sacred Hindu tank, (3) and against the transfer of the English classes of the State School at Amritsar to the Missionary School. And, while opposing any aggressive measures on the part of the Professors of the Christian Religion beyond the legitimate ones of free teaching and preaching, I have suggested the entire withdrawal

of State-management of the great Temple of the Sikh Religion at Amritsar, the duty of the State being to abstain from interference either way.

But, as a private individual, I have as much right to religious views as the Mahometan and Hindu employés of the State. So long as I confine their display strictly to the sphere of unofficial life, I have the right to attend at Chapels, or meetings, as may seem expedient to me, and to partake in the different ordinances of the Church, to which I belong.

It so happened, that in the course of April the baptism of four female, and of one male, converts of mature years, was to take place in the private house of the Missionary, who acts as chaplain of this station. Two of these females belonged to the Orphan School: two were wives of native Christians: the man was a Hindu, of whom I knew nothing, except that he was not in the service of the State. As a member of the Congregation I was interested in this event, and, accompanied by my wife, was present at the ceremony. I found other Englishmen there, with some of whom I was acquainted: others were strangers: among the former were my subordinates the Deputy, and the Assistant, Commissioners. There was nothing official in our attendance: we were not specially invited, or welcomed: we were as private members of the Congregation, and I have attended such ceremonies in other parts of India.

I understand, that on another occasion, though I have no personal knowledge, that the son of a Mahometan Moulavie was baptized in this City, but I have never seen the youth. I am further informed by general report, that some Sikhs of a Regiment have been baptized, but neither in my presence, nor with my knowledge. Nor do I think that, upon reflection, I should have attended on such occasions as this last, for the circumstance of the convert being a military servant of the State, and a member of the dominant local Religion, would have altered the complexion of the affair: however, the subject never came under my consideration, and it is sufficient for me to state distinctly, that no Sikh soldier, or Mahometan youth, were ever baptized in my presence.

Having thus stated candidly what has taken place, and bearing in mind the late prohibition of the Supreme Government to open out discussions on such subjects, I must add in my justification, that, if as a public officer I ought not to do more, I should have been ashamed, as a Christian, to do less. The Mahometan official goes with some degree of state to repeat his prayers at the Mosque: the Hindu makes no secret of his religion: the Sikh servants of the State solemnly bathe in the sacred reservoir, and attend, when converts undergo the initiatory rites, and are admitted into their communion. Is the Christian to be placed in an inferior grade of discreet and lawful liberty, because he is an official? As a private

individual, I am welcomed to the homes of the Hindu and Mahometan Nobles, and moneyed classes, on the occasion of their marriages, and other domestic events, which partake of a religious character, and as a private individual I have hitherto considered, that I was at liberty to attend on the religious ceremonies of my own church, so long as the public service was in no way affected, or the principles of Toleration compromised.

Amritsar, June 4, 1859.

The Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjáb coincides in the expressions of Mr. Cust, who does not appear to His Honour to have acted in any way inconsistently with his duty to the Government, nor is he aware, that the practice prevalent in the Panjáb differs from the course pursued on the present occasion.

June 11, 1859.

REPLY OF LORD CANNING, THE VICEROY OF INDIA.

His Excellency in Council agrees with the Lieutenant-Governor, in thinking that Mr. Cust has not acted in any way inconsistently with his duty to Government.

The Viceroy accords full credit to Mr. Cust for the sound judgment evinced by him in this instance, and in the other cases, to which he refers. His Excellency in Council does not question the right of an officer of Government, as a private individual, to his own religious opinions, so long as he confines their display strictly to the sphere of unofficial life; but the difficulty, which pervades many cases, in which this right is claimed, is the proper construction of the term "unofficial life." This must be left to the discretion of individual officers, and their immediate superiors, in guiding themselves by these rules: the strictest regard must be exercised towards the spirit of the Queen's proclamation, and allowance made for the difficulty, which is felt by the natives of India in a peculiar degree in distinguishing between the private and official acts of the servants of Government.

July 11, 1859.

XIII.

THE NATIVE CHRISTIAN VILLAGE IN NORTH INDIA.

PERHAPS a short description of one of our Native Christian villages may be new, and not uninteresting to some of our readers. The village, to which I now allude, is situated in the old part of Allahabad, not far from the Church, in which building a goodly congregation of Native Christians assemble every Sunday at nine

and four o'clock, the services being performed by the Missionary and Native Pastor in Hindustáni. I had been urgently requested by this Native Pastor to pay a visit to his village, and inspect his School, so one cool morning at six o'clock I walked, according to my promise, to see the School, etc. On entering the village, I saw the Pastor sitting at the door of the School-house, teaching a class of neatly-dressed tall girls. On my approaching, he came forward to welcome me, and the girls hastened back into the School-room, so as to appear in order in their class. I entered the room and proceeded to inspect the classes, and, at the particular request of the Pastor, to examine the elder girls. I had but lately arrived from England, and the low mud buildings, bare walls, and especially the dusky faces half-shrouded in white muslin scarfs, the day dresses (pink being the favourite colour), was to me a striking contrast to our English, lofty, map-covered walls, and rows of pale or white or rosy-cheeked pinafores children ; but the bright eyes, intelligent looks, eager answers, and merry smiles, were just the same as in an English school, and it was surprising to hear how well they read and pronounced English, translating the sentence into Hindustáni with great fluency. I found from their answers, that they quite understood what they read, but they could not converse easily in English, nor understand it well when spoken by us. Their knowledge of Bible history was very fair, and their writing in English character very good. They are taught by an intelligent-looking woman, who spoke English well, and a Monitor, an elder girl from the first class, who, for a wonder, had not married, a case very rare to find after the age of fourteen or fifteen. Sometimes they will come to school after they are married, but not often.

Passing from the girls' room we entered the boys' school ; here I found several classes, and elder boys acting as Monitors under the superintendence of the Head Master, a very young but clever-looking man, who also spoke English very correctly. All the classes are kept well up to their work by the daily visits and examinations of the Pastor. The boys read English fluently, but with a decided Hindi accent ; they answered questions in Bible, History, Arithmetic, and on the subjects they had just read, correctly, and appeared interested in their lessons. On entering and leaving the schools I wished them "Good Morning," which they responded to heartily with many broad grins : it was evidently a well-mastered sentence. From this house I went to another a short distance off, used for an Infant School ; here I found seventy-five children, not abundantly clad, but very neat and clean, arranged on tiers of benches reaching almost to the roof of the building ; they all looked very bright and merry, seeming to enjoy the lessons given to them by a grave-looking elderly man, whose appearance certainly belied his mode of instruction. Singing was the especial accomplishment of these little ones, not a very musical performance

certainly, but that deficiency was made up by energy and a most hearty appreciation of their own efforts. They sang the well-known Hymns "There is a Happy Land," and "Oh! that will be joyful," first in English, then in Hindi; also "God save the Queen," with great zeal; they then went through all the approved Infant School exercises, folding hands, raising them, clapping, etc., singing an illustrated song at the same time capitally, but their great surprise was kept till the last. They were told to represent a rising storm, and certainly I never saw or rather heard a better illustration: it is worth a visit to the school to witness this alone. Suddenly they rubbed their hands together, making at the same time a hissing noise like the distant rising wind; this grew louder and louder, all keeping in excellent unison, till a loud clap of thunder was heard, caused by the beating and stamping of the many little naked feet on the hollow wooden platform on which their benches were raised; this thunder increased, died away, and again increased as the teacher silently raised or lowered his arm; then the rain began to pour; this was cleverly imitated by the drumming and rapid playing of their fingers on the boards supporting their seat, the children remained seated so, still with earnest, almost grave faces, intent on their representation, all their arms being kept straight down on each side just reaching the boards, that they might have well been supposed to be unemployed. I greatly amused them by looking up at the roof and from the door, and exclaiming "Pani," "Pani!" "Rain!" Leaving these merry nicely taught little ones, I proceeded to make a tour of the village accompanied by the Pastor.

Women were standing about in groups, all neatly dressed, and most with babies in their arms. Some were able to employ nurses to take care of their children, and help in the household! All the men of this village are employed in the Government-Press, and earn good wages, differing according to their abilities for the work. For compositors really intelligent men are required, and they are accordingly paid highly. I spoke to several of the women, and delighted them much by enquiring after the number of their children, the employment and wages of their husbands, etc.; many a merry laugh was called forth. The round of the village being made, I said "Good Morning" to the Pastor and left him; feeling much pleased with all I had seen, and my interest much increased and aroused in the progress and well-being of the Christian Missionaries.

Should any of our readers feel inclined to bend their steps towards this group of huts, they will be sure to find an object of much interest for their morning walk.

Southern Cross, Allahabad, 1866.

XIV.

THE MISSION SCHOOL IN NORTH INDIA.

To all residents in Allahabad the chief scenes on the banks of the Jamna and Ganges are well known. There is the Fort, from the ramparts of which there is a splendid view of the meeting of the two rivers, a spot held in great reverence as a holy place by the native population. Some little way further up the Jamna is the new Railway Bridge, a magnificent structure, one of the marvellous achievements of modern science; especially picturesque it looked, as we first saw it on a summer evening, when its deep red iron railings were lighted up by rays caught from the setting sun, whilst on the calm, deep stream far below the shades of evening had already fallen. Passing on a short distance further, a large house may be seen built close on the river's bank, its balcony almost overhanging the water. The house is now occupied by American missionaries. The grounds are very extensive, and in them are several buildings; schools and dwellings for the native Christians. At one end is a long row of low mud huts, occupied by those natives, who are employed by the missionaries in different useful and lucrative employments. In the middle of the grounds there is a large building used on Sunday and Thursday evenings for Divine Service, and used during the week for the Girls' School.

The Missionaries are always ready to show their schools to visitors, so, accepting a kind invitation to come and see the progress of their work, I one morning accordingly went. The Girls' School was my first point of interest. As I entered the building, my attention was attracted by a row of small children seated on the ground: rough, unkempt, and most scantily clad little urchins they certainly were, very still and quiet, seeming to pay great attention to the native woman, who was trying to teach the alphabet; but school discipline was evidently a novelty to them, and, to most of them, probably an irksome restraint, there being no space for the usual rousing and amusing infant school exercises. I was told, that the Missionaries actually paid many of the mothers small sums, to induce them to send their children to school: of course these were not Christian families. The school is open to all the town, but so few comparatively as yet value the advantages thus to be gained for their children, that, until they can see the benefit in its true light, they must be persuaded by rewards and encouragements to allow their children to be instructed.

Passing from this group, I came to what formed the more important part of the school. At the upper end of the building about twenty girls were arranged in classes; their ages might have been from twelve to twenty; these were all Christians, daughters of Government clerks, or other respectable Christian natives; they

read English as fluently as any English school-girl and many of them spoke it easily. Their summing and writing was particularly neat and good, and the answers to my questions on various subjects correctly given. I told them that they wrote as well as English girls did, and if we did not see their faces, we could quite fancy we were hearing an English class read. This delighted them extremely. I was told that they liked anything English, and are often heard to wish that their faces were not quite so black. I thought however that some of these black faces were quite as pretty as many white ones, certainly as bright and intelligent-looking; their large dark eyes sparkled so brilliantly, and their bright muslin dresses, with clean white muslin scarfs, forming a kind of head-dress, and falling gracefully over their shoulders, gave them a very picturesque appearance.

Two or three of these girls were married, but having no children to keep them employed at home, they were allowed by their husbands to continue to attend school; they all had an easy, yet very respectful, manner, owing doubtless to their being chiefly taught by a lady, the daughter of one of the Missionaries. These girls are especially fond of worsted and bead work, and many of their brothers are smartly shod with slippers worked at the school; I saw some that were in progress, groups of flowers and many pretty designs, very evenly and nicely worked. The girls seemed delighted to show me all they could do in their studies and work, and it was with difficulty I could part from them to pay a visit to the Boys' School, which was held in another building also in the grounds. I was first shown into one of the class-rooms, where the elder boys were assembled: some of them lads of eighteen or nineteen, preparing, we were told, for College. None of these boys were as yet professed Christians, but they read and studied the Bible daily, and it may earnestly be hoped, that this constant reading may in time lead them to believe in the wondrous truths it contains. I listened to an examination of these boys in European History and found their knowledge to be very good; they also were evidently well instructed in the History of their Native country, both geographically and historically: naming readily the principal rivers, towns, mountains, present English Governors, famous Generals who had from time to time fought and conquered in the land, and Native heroes of ancient fame.

Leaving the class-room, I was taken into the large school-room, where all the boys assembled for the roll-call, a very long narrow room with a small raised platform at one end for the teacher. The whole school soon came trooping in, and arranged themselves in rows for our inspection. About 170 boys of all ages, races, castes and religions (for the school is open and free to all), a curious motley assemblage, some bright and intelligent, others hopelessly dull and ignorant, dressed in every conceivable style of costume and variation

of colour; some in flowing white muslin robes, others in coloured trousers, with a species of loose jacket of a strikingly different colour; others, again, with little besides a cloth bound round their loins. The diversity of head-dresses was also amusing: smart caps of coloured or white worked muslin, pink or blue handkerchiefs bound round their heads, turban fashion; some had their hair closely cropped, forming a kind of thick mat on the head, a sufficient protection from the sun, without the addition of a cap; others again were completely shaven, with the exception of one lock, which was allowed to grow long, and was twisted like a bit of rope, or plaited as a Chinese pigtail; these latter were indeed queer odd-looking little creatures; but whatever was their appearance, their rank, or religion, the fact that so many could be brought together, to be under the instruction of earnest, working, Christian teachers, must inspire the hope, that some at least, if not all, may in time be brought to a knowledge of the truth as it is in Jesus, and be made a crown of rejoicing to those devoted servants of the Lord, who have gone forth into a distant land to proclaim His glory and tell of His appearing.

All cannot be Missionaries, all cannot personally labour, to teach the heathen the glorious truths of the Gospel; but all, if they had the desire, could sympathize with and encourage this noble work. A friendly visit to these Mission Schools would show sympathy, and a few words of true praise would be an encouragement.

Let us not say, "These works are no concern of ours." They do concern every believer in Christ, and for love to that Saviour, who died and rose again, that all who believed in Him should not perish, but have everlasting life; let us try to do something, if only the sympathy of friendly visits and encouraging words, to help those who are striving to spread the knowledge of His Name amongst those who as yet know Him not.

Southern Cross, Allahabad, 1866.

XV.

ON THE ABORIGINAL RACES OF INDIA.

THE portion allotted to me in the day's proceedings is a humble one: it is merely to call attention to certain facts, and thus to elicit the practical opinion of persons acquainted with the subject.

It is universally known, that British India is peopled by races professing the Hindu and Mahometan religions, and that in the Indo-Chinese Peninsula the bulk of the population is Búddhist: but it is not generally known, or it is overlooked, that, in addition to the professors of these three great Book-religions, there are millions of pagans in a much lower stage of civilization, but who,

owing to their annually increasing numbers, can no longer be disregarded.

When the great wave of colonists from Central Asia, who spoke an Arian language, at some very remote period, crossed the Indus into the Panjáb, and worked their way down the valleys of the Indus and Ganges, they found the country already occupied by races in every way inferior to themselves. It is probable, that one stream of these so-called non-Arian aborigines had entered India at a still more remote period by the lower valley of the Indus from the West, and is now represented by the great Dravidian nationality of Southern India; and that a second stream at an unknown period entered India from the East by the passes of the Himaláya, or the valley of the River Brahmapútra. In early Arian legends they are described as the Nisháda, and in the great Epics are alluded to as monkeys and ogres: at any rate there they were, and there they are to this day.

The Dravidian races accepted Hinduism, and many of the aborigines of Northern and Central India subsided into the lower ranks of Hinduism, and in the official Census of British India are recorded as Hindu, though their habits are directly opposed to the principles of the Brahminical system. Many more escaped to the mountains on both sides of the Ganges, and have preserved their savage customs and Pagan religion to this day.

During the last half century they have increased in number and importance, though overlooked by the British Government, and despised by the Hindu. Every now and then there has been an uneasiness and commotion, as numbers began to press on means of existence, and as new ideas began to be taken in. The most important was the Santal insurrection of 1856, and the chronic raids on the eastern frontier may be traced to the same cause. It has been argued, that in such cases the Government can fairly adopt a different policy from that, which has been the rule with regard to the Hindu and Mahometan, viz. absolute non-interference: indeed, it has done so as regards the Santal tribes in 1856, and the Karén tribes in 1859. There is no doubt, that educational grants will be made proportionable to requirements, and that the appearance of a new civilization, alien from, if not hostile to, that of the Hindu and Mahometan, will be welcomed as a counterpoise in the Imperial congeries of Nations and Religions.

But the nature of that new civilization depends upon the measures taken during the present generation by such Societies as the one, which I have the honour of addressing. Colonel Dalton (whose absence I deplore on this occasion, though his good wishes are with us), in his excellent work on the Ethnology of Bangál, published by the Government of that Province, has fully described the customs, social and religious, of these so-called non-Arian races. Progress has been made, though still very insufficient, in the

acquisition of knowledge of the languages of these races, differing in vocabulary, structure, and primary classification from the great Arian vernaculars. Thanks are due to both Sir George Campbell, and Sir Richard Temple, two late Lieut.-Governors of Bangál, for all that they have done for the non-Arian races. The school-master is abroad: material prosperity, the result of peace and good government, has extended the area of commerce and agriculture; and it is against all reason and all history to suppose, that these races, as they become civilized, wealthy, and numerous, will continue to be pagans.

As we cast our eyes down the magnificent empire of Nearer and Further India, as far as the islands of the Indian Archipelago, we find the hills, the inaccessible interior, the forest, and waste places, occupied by wild non-Arian races, the remnants of the original inhabitants, who at a remote period succumbed to the great Hindu civilization. In the Indo-Chinese Peninsula the Hindu civilization gave way to that of the Búddhist, and in the Malay Archipelago to that of the Mahometan: but there is no instance of Nature-worship, and Animistic Religion, surviving the peaceful contact of a higher civilization, and the elevating effects of agriculture, landed property, commerce, and accumulated capital.

To what religion, then, are the pagan races of Central India and the Assam valley to belong? What form is their dawning civilization to assume? Is it to be monotheism or polytheism, monogamy or polygamy, sepulture or cremation, circumcision or uncircumcision? Is theirs to be a religion of outward form and hard dogma, to be carried merely as a flag, and worn as a state-dress, or a living principle, controlling every action and influencing every thought? We need not, on this occasion, allude to crimes or abominable customs, such as human sacrifices, for the strong arm of the civil power will put them down, whether the offender be Mahometan, Hindu, Pagan, or Christian. We need not lay too much stress on secular education, for gradually the British Government will supply *that*, with a Gallio-like indifference to race or creed. But the question is, whether these immortal souls, and those of unborn generations, are to pass before our eyes, and under the shadow of our sceptre, and through opportunities supplied by our strong Government, from a state of simple and excusable ignorance into a system of stolid polytheism such as that of the Hindu, or of narrow, monotheism, such as that of Islám.

No time should be lost. The angel has troubled the water; the movement has commenced. While we are pausing, others may step down, and a chance lost now will not be recovered at a later time. The existing generation may prove to be half-hearted, unworthy, weak, relapsing, immoral converts, with Paganism too tightly wound round their inmost hearts ever to get entirely free; but the missionary will get access to their children, and unborn

generations will come under the gentle influence, and grow up in ignorance of, perhaps despising, the silly, timid, and pitiable, rites of their ancestors. They have no priesthood, and are so far free from a misfortune of other religions; they have no Book, no religious literature, no temples, no national Epics orally handed down from father to son, no history, no culture; there is little or nothing to destroy, and good material for a new building; their old rites had nothing but custom to sanction them, nor could their origin and object be explained. Judson and Mason have shown what can be done in Barma; the Roman Catholic missionaries have set the example in the Indo-Chinese Peninsula, and the Indian Archipelago, notably in the Philippines.

My friend, Sir William Muir, I believe, is of opinion, that the Brahminical system will swallow up these races, as it has already done in ages past to an extent, that can only be measured by the numberless Castes and social fissures of this great people. I confess that I fear the Mahometans more. A great discovery was made on the occasion of the last Census of Bangál. The number of Mahometans in that province, which is so remote from the centre of Mahometan influences in Central Asia, and which had never come under the thorough domination of the Pathán or Mogul dynasties of India, was found to amount to twenty and a half millions, about half the total for the whole of India. Who were these Mahometans but the non-Arians of the eastern frontier, who had accepted this new religion with their new civilization, or as an improvement on their former skin-deep Hinduism, under which they found themselves at a social and ceremonial disadvantage? The phenomenon may here, as elsewhere, be attributed to the simplicity of Islám, which consists merely in the formula of "There is no God but one God, and Mahomet is His prophet," for the creed conveys nothing of a repulsive character likely to stagger reason, nor does it make an unreasonable demand on faith.

Upon these grounds I invite the attention of this Conference to the subject of devising some plan to strengthen existing missions in Central India, and of starting new ones in the valley of Assam and British Barma, where a great work has to be done, and a door may be opened to Tibet, Western China, and the Shan States. I am aware of the existence of missions in both provinces, which are doing good work, but not on a scale equal to the requirements of the situation. Some of the younger members of this Conference may live to see whole tribes come over, for of the 50,000 Karén 20,000 are Christians. Again and again would I impress upon the Society, that it is neither just nor advisable to demand too high a standard from converts, but to win over in every legitimate way the present, so as to get access to and control over future generations.

Church Mission House, 1877.

XVI.

ON THE EXTENT TO WHICH A MISSIONARY HAS A RIGHT TO PROTECTION BY THE CIVIL POWER.

It is no longer a secret, close or open, that the Royal Niger Company has made treaties with the several Negro Mahometan Powers in the Sudán of Africa, north of the Niger, promising that they will not only do nothing through their own employés to attempt the conversion of the Mahometans, *but will do all that lies in their power to obstruct others who come under their influence.* This amounts to open war of so-called Christian men with the Gospel.

Let us think it out. The company gives a free hand for the conversion of the Pagans. It is very proper and expedient, that the rulers of a country should do nothing directly or indirectly to influence their subjects in their religious views. Their kingdom is of this world, and entire toleration is the brightest jewel of empire. Such is the fixed policy of the Government of British India; and manifold blessings of every kind, material and spiritual, have attended it during the last half century. But the rulers of the Niger Valley, to whom the Imperial Parliament has delegated their foreign powers, propose to do something more. They promise their treaty-allies to obstruct the Christian missionary, to deny him passages in their steamers, succour from their stores, and to erase his name from the list of British subjects, entitled by the custom of Great Britain to succour in case of need, rescue in case of captivity, and retribution by the nearest British authorities in case of murder.

The true-hearted missionary asks not these things for himself. His friends raise no voice in the country, calling for vengeance for the slaughtered Hannington. That particular crime has, however, been avenged by a higher power. Whether the Royal Niger Company likes it or not, whether it will affect their dividends or their commerce with the Sudán or not, it is well that these gentlemen should reflect on the policy, which they are inaugurating, and consider what the House of Commons will say, when it comes to hear of it.

It is true, that the East India Company previous to the year 1815 adopted this same policy. They did so in timidity, in ignorance, and in material weakness. They had to face mighty empires, and armies of soldiers, supplied with cannon, trained by Frenchmen: they had to fight for their hold of India, and regarded matters from the point of view of a mercantile company. India was too far off for its affairs to be influenced by public opinion at home. Public opinion at home had not been formed: it was the day of

small things: and the individual missionaries, who appeared and were rejected, though saints of God, like Carey and Judson, had not the prestige of the associated strength of the great middle classes of Great Britain behind them. Moreover, it is admitted, that the East India Company did wrong; we palliate their offence, we do not excuse it, we cannot justify it.

Things have changed now. The thoughts of men have become "wider with the process of the suns." A great majority of the British people recognize, that the mighty power and vigour vouchsafed to them were not conceded by the Most High for the purpose of exporting liquor (of which sin we gladly acquit the Royal Niger Company), or making dividends of profit; but to benefit, in every possible way, the subject people, and to give them the free opportunity of accepting Christianity, which has made us what we are. The Niger Valley is not far from Great Britain. Public opinion will have its sway there. The missionaries were there long before this Company came into existence, and will outlive it. The Mahometans of the Sudán, whether Fulah or Negro, are pigmies in strength, culture, power, and population in comparison to the fifty millions of British India.

The gentlemen of the Niger Company talk with bated breath of the fanatical Mahometan, in his turban, cloak, and trowsers. The phenomenon is new to them, but Anglo-Indians have lived all their lives in the midst of noble, though fanatical, Mahometans. Some as fair in colour as ourselves, and many much more learned and polished; some of gigantic stature, and hereditary warriors. Yet the Gospel has its free course amidst the Balúchi and the Afghán, the Patán, and the converted Mahometan Rajpút, and the Empire of the Empress of India flourishes, because it is founded upon Righteousness.

We doubt whether treaties with such clauses should not be denounced as derogatory to the dignity of Great Britain, as if we were ashamed of the religion, which has brought us such blessings. The thing is doubly offensive when we are kindly told that we are allowed full leave to convert the Pagan; but must not address the Negro who has got himself up with the veneer of Mahometanism, for it is no more. Their knowledge of Arabic and the Korán is scant: all the bad salient features of Mahometanism are asserted; intolerance, polygamy, slavery, unnatural crime, contempt of human life, and overweening pride; while the better things to be found in the Korán, and the learning and refinement of the polished Mahometan of India, Persia, and Turkey, are totally absent.

At any rate, the public notice has been despatched, and January 1, 1890, fixed as the date of the new policy.

We must recollect that when a British subject is killed or imprisoned, something more than his life and liberty are lost to his country, viz. the prestige of our nation. The representative of

the British Government in China remarked in 1873, that *there was a necessity to protect the missionary from actual violence, but nothing more*. The present Foreign Secretary two years ago told a deputation of missionaries that the Great Powers of Europe asserted the right to deport an alien without cause shown from their territories, but they would shrink from the charge of ordering his death, or imprisonment, without the form of a regular trial. Mr. Jones, of the L.M.S., was expelled by the French Government from the Loyalty Islands; and, for the sake of argument, we may concede that the Mahometan potentates of the Sudán might deport a British missionary.

On the Afghán frontier of North-West India by an arrangement with the Amír of Kábul the free travelling of any European into the Independent Territory of Afghanistan is forbidden. The same rule prevails as regards the Kingdom of Nepál. If any traveller, scientific, sportsman, or missionary, cross the frontier into those States, the Authorities are empowered to arrest them, and convey them safely back to the nearest British Post. This is something very different from the policy now introduced, for when the Mahometan chieftains hear that there is no risk, they will certainly kill the Christian Missionary, who comes in among them dressed as a Native, and attempts to preach new doctrines subversive of Islám.

The Christian, London, December, 1889.

XVII.

THE LIFE OF CHARLES ISENBURG, MISSIONARY IN AFRICA AND INDIA.

THE Editorial Secretary of the Church Missionary Society was good enough to place in my hands a Manuscript Biography of Charles Isenberg, one of the Missionaries, for whom that Society is indebted to Germany as regards their birth, and true Protestant principles, and to Switzerland as regards their training. He was previously known to me as the compiler of a Dictionary and Grammar of the Amháric language, but beyond that fact I knew little of him, except that he was the friend and fellow-labourer of Gobat and Krapf, and that he sleeps by the side of the latter in the Friedenhof of Kornthál.

The perusal of these pages has supplied an interest, and inspired an admiration, which I little anticipated. The whole life of an honest, holy, plodding and devoted German Missionary, is presented to our view; a man, who from his youth to his death-bed had but one idea, one desire, to save souls; who was ready to bear hardships

like a good soldier, to spend and be spent; a man, who was not to be daunted by disappointments, humiliations and afflictions, who cheerfully and patiently underwent perils by land and by sea, uncongenial climates, and in the early part of his career the wayward opposition of evil men.

Let any modern Missionary, who wishes to be too comfortable, too much at his ease, consider the life of this veteran. This is one of the reasons for which I recommended its publication. We have not enough of this kind of literature.

But there is another reason. How wonderfully the Providence of God is marked, providing, as it were, by a succession of circumstances, which seemed to man's narrow vision untoward, for the evangelization of Africa! Abyssinia, in spite of the nominal Christianity of its cruel people, rejected Krapf and Isenberg, as the Jews rejected our Lord; but Krapf was led by the Holy Spirit to settle at Mombása, lower down the Eastern Coast of Africa, amidst a gentle, though Heathen, people, and founded what promises to be one of the greatest of Protestant Missions; while his colleague, Isenberg, was led by the same Spirit across the Indian Ocean to Bombay, where his kindly sympathy for the African released slaves enabled him to prepare indigenous material for the building up of a Native African Church in a region, which he himself was never destined to see. Krapf and Gobat attended the dying bed of Isenberg at Stuttgart, in Germany, while Rebman shed tears of joy in his solitary Mission House at Rabai, in East Africa, when he heard two young men of the Yao Tribe, who had been trained at Sharanpúr, in the Bombay Presidency, and sent over to him to work among his Wa-Nika adherents, singing Christian hymns at their family devotions. To myself, to whom the interests of the Indian and African peoples are so inexpressibly dear and near to the heart, these facts cause unbounded thankfulness, and surpassing interest. Honour to those good and wise men, who directed the affairs of the Society in Salisbury Square at that distant period, whose prayerful counsels were permitted thus, in spite of their own ignorance and weakness, to work out the inscrutable plan of an all-wise Providence!

Isenberg was not one of the great Missionaries of modern times, who tower up above their fellow-labourers, like Xavier or Livingstone, like Schwartz or Duff, like Martyn or Ragland; he has left no indelible mark of his personal work, either in India or Africa; but he was the useful man, ready to assist everybody in everything; the kind-hearted man, anxious to conciliate affection from Christians of other denominations; free from every kind of intolerance, and carrying the precepts of the religion, which he preached into the words and actions of his daily life, doing Christian things in a Christian manner, a method which some otherwise excellent Christians seem sometimes to forget.

As every Christian man and woman is in one sense a Missionary, though all are not privileged to spread the Gospel in foreign lands, there are features in the life of this holy man, which all must appreciate, and might imitate with advantage. The youthful consecration of his talents and life to the service of his Master; the total abnegation of self in this work; the obedience to his superiors; the fortitude under disappointments; the steady clinging to his life-work; the adaptation of his talents to every kind of duty; the simplicity of his daily life; the tender love, which he displayed towards Indians and Africans, however low might be their degree, or degraded their moral status; the orderly mind; the trained scholarly habits, which conquered Amháric and Maráthi, and many other languages; these are no ordinary characteristics. A man endowed with such gifts might have acquired sufficiency and comfort in a German Pastorate, or a German University. But at the age of seventeen he had given himself unreservedly, and to his last hour, to the service of his Master; and his last words, at the age of fifty-eight, were to praise God, that his sins were all washed away in the blood of Jesus Christ.

Let the young Missionary reflect upon the features of this life, and recognize the surpassing grandeur of his holy calling. The heart must be given as well as the body; a profession may be a hollow exterior; the Lord requires in his servant an unconditional consecration of the soul, and a deep humility, which forgets the existence of self in a sense of the greatness of the office.

Preface to Life of Isenberg, London, June 10, 1885.

XVIII.

OBITUARY NOTICES OF THREE MISSIONARIES.

THOUGH our thoughts are fully occupied with the great and daily increasing cares of our own enormous mission-field, yet it is well now and then to cast our eyes to the right and left, and consider what our fellow-labourers in the same or similar fields are doing, so as to enable us to rejoice with them in their successes, sympathize with them in their sorrows, and take lessons from the degree of success which has attended, or which has been denied to, their honest methods. "If one member suffer, all the members suffer with it." An occasion has now offered to express our sympathy with three other Missionary Societies.

I. Priscilla Winter.

I do not wish to leave unrecorded the death of a lady, to whom the people of Northern India are greatly indebted, Mrs. Winter, wife of the well-known S.P.G. missionary at Dehli. Priscilla

Winter was the daughter of the Rev. T. Sandys, one of the C.M.S. missionaries in Bangál. At the age of sixteen she went out in 1858 to Calcutta, and, before the idea of the Zanána-Missions had been developed, she practically set the example of enthusiastic and thorough Zanána-work. Her brother was one of the missionaries, who had perished at Dehli in the Mutinies; and when she married the Rev. R. Winter, of the S.P.G., she went to Dehli, to carry out that work to the inhabitants of that great city, which it had not been permitted by an overruling Providence that her brother should do. For nineteen years she laboured with unselfish devotion in the interests of the female portion of the community, developing new agencies, imparting to them the holy enthusiasm, which enabled her to cope with the multiplicity of duties which fell to her share. She died at her post: no braver soldier of Christ than her has fallen in India: her remains were followed to the grave by the Metropolitan and the Bishop of Lahór: she belonged, as it were, to both the great Societies of the Church of England, as in the one her great talents had been trained, and in the other her marvellous graces were developed. Her name will rank with the foremost missionaries of North India.

RE. Adam McCall.

The Livingstone Mission on the River Kongo is one of those small but enthusiastic societies, which reminds us, that the days of religious chivalry are not yet gone by, when the knight-errant sallied out on his enterprize of benevolence with an escort of a few followers. Our own serious convictions are, that the problem of the evangelization of the heathen will only be solved by the heavy battalions of large Societies, endowed with unlimited resources; still there is room left to admire, and a tear ready to fall, upon the untimely grave of the good and gallant youth, who has been called away.

He had had experience of South Africa in some secular calling, but his heart overflowed with earnest purpose to carry the Gospel of Christ into the great Kongo Valley, suddenly thrown open by the descent of Henry Stanley from Nyangwé, Livingstone's furthestmost on the Lualába, to Tuckey's furthestmost point on the Kongo. Two years ago McCall left these shores, and his earnest, yet judicious, career, has been watched month by month, by many, who knew him in the flesh and loved him, and by many more, who, like the writer of this notice, knew him not, but loved him for the work, and the manner, in which he did that work. He had upon him from the first the germ of an insidious malady, which has cut down so many young lives in tropical climates, but he fought against it. He was earnest in his endeavours to push forward station beyond station on the right bank of the

Kongo, so as to reach Stanley Pool, and from that point carry on a noble rivalry of Christian missionary work with the English Baptist Society, and of Christian civilization with the Belgian International Society. He ought sooner to have left his post and hurried to England, but he tarried on to see some of his newly-arrived fellow-labourers settled. His malady caused him agony, and he was unable to walk; but he could be carried, he could steer the steamer, he could give orders, dictate letters, and provide, as far as human intelligence permitted, for the carrying on in his absence of the great enterprise, the success of which so much depends upon the organizing power of the chief.

On the 8th of October, 1881, he was put on board the steamer for England at Banána, a dying man, though he did not realize it. As he lost sight of the River Kongo, he prayed, that God might preserve and protect his beloved Mission, till he came back! He little realized the boundless extent of that fervent and repeated prayer. He reached Madeira, and on landing found, that he had arrived at his journey's end, that he was neither to see England nor the Kongo again, and after an outburst of bitter grief he resigned himself to the will of God. It so happened, that a Presbyterian minister in the island heard of a dying young man at the hotel, and arrived in time to comfort his last moments, and chronicle his dying words. They are such as every Christian, and every missionary, should desire to appropriate as his own, when his last moments arrive. He was very weak, when his unknown visitor entered, and his first words were: "Yes, I am very weak, but He is strong: I am strong in Him: He will never leave me, nor forsake me." He spoke about his English home, and his Mission in Africa, but so modestly, that his visitor had no idea, that he was the leader and prime mover of the great enterprise until after his death. They prayed together, and as the voice of the minister ceased, the voice of the dying man was lifted up in a strain, that the hearer writes that he can never forget: he had never seen before the blessed Grace of God so wonderfully exemplified: nothing remained to be wished for, but that the Lord's will should be done. The utterance was difficult, and interrupted, but the tones were direct, simple, and earnest:

"Almighty—Eternal—God—I am—very near—Thy presence—at this time. I am not able—to use—many words to Thee:—but that—is not necessary. Thou—knowest—all I want. Thou knowest—the circumstances, Lord: do—as Thou—pleasest,—I have—nothing to say: I am not—dissatisfied, that Thou art—about to take me—away. Why should I be? I gave myself—body, mind, and soul—to Thee: consecrated—my whole life and being—to Thy service, and now—if it please Thee, to take myself—instead of the work I would do for Thee—what is that to me?—Thy will be done."

He then prayed on, ejaculating fervently but with difficulty, and as if speaking closely to his Saviour: "Yes, blessed Jesus, I shall be with Thee:" his voice mingling with his tears.

"Come and see a Christian die," said Havelock in the hour of victory to Outram. The heart beats high, and Faith in unseen things is strengthened, when one is admitted to be as it were a witness of such a scene. The bitter disappointment of being cut short in his career had passed away from McCall: his Master required of him an example of self-abnegation, and entire surrender of will, and he had the Grace vouchsafed to him to give this example, which will bring a greater blessing on the Kongo Mission than the most strenuous endeavours to advance its material interest. In an age of self-exaltation and self-seeking, such examples are required among missionaries. From the death of such confessors may be dated the birth of many a new Christian, and a prolonged life to the Universal Church of our Lord.

Church Missionary Intelligencer, February 5, 1882.

III. M. W. Pinkerton.

To walk by Faith and not by sight: to make every provision suggested by earthly wisdom, and yet acquiesce in the decisions of Heavenly Wisdom: to have strong and lively affections towards family and friends, and yet readily to surrender all, if called upon to do so: to conciliate all men, with whom he came into contact, so as to advance the interests of the cause, which he had undertaken: to be ready to offer his own life as a sacrifice without a murmur: such were the characteristics of this excellent man. He died without reaching the field, to which his services were consecrated, and humanly speaking his life was a failure, but a perusal of his letters to his Board and family, printed in the March number of the *Missionary Herald* of Boston, U.S., would be useful to missionaries of all types of character: the timid man could learn to take heart, the over-anxious man to take it easy, the unduly careless man to take heed of what is necessary and convenient; the quarrelsome man would see the advantage of gentleness of speech, and a loving nature; the selfish man would learn the lesson of entire self-abnegation; and the half-hearted man would recognize the surpassing greatness of him, who has counted the cost, and is ready to give all to his Saviour.

These letters do not bristle with stock-quotations of Holy Writ, but the writer is so imbued with the spirit of Faith and obedience, that he gives back the true sound almost unconsciously, like a plate of metal that is struck accidentally. After nine years' experience among the Zulu in Natal, he was chosen as the pioneer to the new field in Umzila's country, between the rivers Limpopo and Zambesi. He conducted his wife and little ones to Chicago, in North America, where he left them, nothing doubting that the Covenant-Jehovah, who had called him, would be more than a Father to his children, and started with alacrity on his journey, picking up his companions

at Durban. He proceeded by sea to Delagoa Bay, with the intention of being conveyed thence to Inhambánc, but a change in the course of the steamer baffled him. When the steamer of the next month came, he was again thwarted, and carried on to Zanzibár, whence he was brought back by Captain Wybrants to Mozambík, and after further delay he at length reached Inhambánc. He was received with kindness by the Portuguese authorities, who, although Roman Catholics, gave him every possible assistance, as during his enforced delay at Delagoa Bay and Mozambík he had made valuable friends. His last written words to his Society. were: "The Governor proposes to send me directly across country to Umzila."

The Governor of the Universe had other plans for him, and not very long after he caught a fever, and died in the jungle. He had his senses to the last, but was too weak to speak, and we know not what thoughts passed through his brain during those last hours: if we may judge from the character of the man, as revealed in his letters, all rising murmurs of disappointment were soon silenced in the sense of humble acquiescence in the purposes of his Master, who had no further occasion for his poor services.

A letter to his wife, as follows, was the last reflection of his feelings:

"Now, my dear wife, as I start forth on this new stage of my journey, let us hold fast our trust in that living God, who used to keep you and me, while in Natal, through dangers of various kinds. Let us patiently hold on, and bear a brave but humble part in our peculiar work. I shall, if all goes well, soon get to where I begin retracing my steps, if I think the Lord calls me to hasten to you. Make personal piety and personal consecration to God the great object with yourself and the children. If God returns me to you, or brings you to me, I shall try to be more faithful in that respect. The future will bring its needed light, and work, and solace My thoughts turn sadly towards you, and our dear children All well: we go right on."

In a few days he died, and it was all well with him still. His example may still aid indirectly in the conversion of the Amatonga and Umzila.

Church Missionary Intelligencer, London, March 14, 1881.

XIX.

LETTER TO A DECEASED AFRICAN MISSIONARY.

DEAR BROTHER AND FRIEND,

I received your letter of February 24th on the 5th of June, on the same day that your touching letter with regard to the death of my honoured friend Bishop — was read in the Committee, and announcement was made that the Rev. Mr. — had separated himself from the Society on theological grounds. Under any

circumstances I could never have written to you except in terms of charity and forbearance: at this moment I am peculiarly constrained to do so.

We have never met, and perhaps may never do so, though I much wish for your own, and the Society's sake, that you could return home, and refresh your soul by intercourse with your fellow-Christians, and then return to the field of your labours.

Years ago, in the time of the Rev. —, when there was an attempt to recall you from —, I, with others, stood up steadily for you: only a few days ago I came across the correspondence on the subject. I recognized in you those qualities, which you have since so remarkably displayed: over and over again on the platform I have described you as the man, "who held the fort," and displayed manhood, and faith, and ability. I always regretted the narrowness of your vision, owing to your long isolation, and looked forward to your return. After a year in England, you will see some things differently.

Permit me to remind you, that your letters to the Committee, and those of Mr. —, and all other Missionaries, are deemed *confidential*, and are never quoted in Newspapers. The Editorial Secretary does indeed publish portions, and, as his publications are for sale, the contents become public property; but I have never allowed myself to allude to them in my writings.

But, when a Missionary forgets his holy position, and publishes letters in such periodicals as the Anti-Slavery organ, or, when the relations of Missionaries publish letters from their relatives in the Public organs, or send for publication resolutions passed by Meetings in County Towns, with a view of bringing a pressure upon the Committee, or the Government of the country, it is the duty of independent persons to speak out, and reply to such statements.

Before you and Mr. — were born my heart was given to the subject of Christian Missions, not of one Church, or one denomination, or working in one Region, but of the whole World. I have the accumulated experience of reading reports for more than forty years, and the acquaintance of Missionaries of all Nationalities and denominations. Nearly everybody, who knows anything about Africa, is known to me, as I am connected with the Aborigines Society, the Anti-Slavery, and the Bible Societies, the S.P.G., S.P.C.K., London Society for Converting the Jews, C.M.S., and *all* the Nonconformist Brethren, who are as dear to me, as members of my own Church. I have thought, talked, and written, and read, on all the vexed questions, and, when any one transgresses what seems to me the right line of conduct, I come down upon him very distinctly, but in a spirit of love to the Worker and the Work, for the Work's sake.

As regards Mr. —, let me say that I deeply regret, that we

are to lose him. No wonder that you speak up for him, and I honour you for so doing, and I can tell you, that throughout his stay in England his first, if not his only, thought *was your welfare*. It seemed to him a crime, that he should be in comfort, while you were in danger: no brother was truer to brother than he to you. Independently of this feature of his character, which many of us admired, he is a loveable, sweet-spoken, and devoted man: his errors were those of his youth and inexperience, and impulsiveness, and he was in a high state of excitement during all the time of his stay in England. A kind of African fever was upon him.

You tell me, that I acknowledged my error to him: you are wrong. I should have done so most certainly, if I had convinced myself, that I was in the wrong, but I am satisfied more and more that I was right. In my letter to "The Record," I remarked that it was the "*peculiar sin*" of the Roman Catholics of maintaining, that their Christian converts had a right to French protection, and I implied that Mr. — appeared to have fallen into this *sin* with regard to his converts, who in my opinion had not in the remotest degree come under British protection. My honoured friend, Bishop —, remarked to me, that no sinner had a right to impute *sin* to others: as I entirely agreed in this view, I wrote to Mr. — to express my regret, that I had used such a word in connexion with him. I recalled the word, but I condemn now, as I did last year, all those portion of Mr. —'s statements, on which I commented.

Bishop — has commented upon the sad moral failings of many of the Missionaries in Equatorial Africa. This makes us rejoice that men like yourself, and Mr. —, and many others, have maintained, under similar circumstances, such a high standard of conduct, *which fact encourages the Committee to persevere in their great work*, though deeply humbled.

It has been given to you, dear Brother, in your youth, to do a great work for your Master, and to establish a great reputation. Guard against the temptation to be puffed up thereby. I thank God, that He put it into your mind to do as you have done; that He gave you strength, and endurance, and success. While many, whom you will admit to be better than yourself, like the good dear Bishop —, have been called away, you have been spared. and we expect still greater work from you. As an old man, I can only express to you, that, though we consecrate ourselves to His service, and lay upon the altar our time, talents, wealth, and even lives, we are still unprofitable servants, and the last and hardest lesson has always to be learnt, Humility and Self-abnegation.

May the Lord bless you and keep you!

London, June, 1888.

XX.

THE GOSPEL IN AUSTRALIA.

DR. BARRY, Metropolitan of Australia, has lately appealed in the public Press for assistance in establishing Church Missions in British New Guinea. It is fair to mention, that in the Dutch portion of New Guinea a Protestant Mission from Holland has long existed, and has published a portion of the Bible in the Mafur language. In the German portion of the Island no less than three German Missionary Societies are commencing operations: in the Islands attached to German New Guinea, the Duke of York's Island, and New Britain, the Wesleyan Missionary Society of the Australian Conference has established Missions, and published translations of the Scriptures in the languages of both those Islands. In British New Guinea the London Missionary Society has established a row of stations by locating Native Teachers from Polynesia and Melanesia on the main land, and in Murray Island, and Saibai Island, and translations of the Scriptures have been published in the Motu language on the main land at Moresby Bay, also in the peculiar languages spoken at South Cape, and in the languages of both the two Islands: thus in all there are seven Bible-Translations in New Guinea and six Protestant Missionary Societies, in addition to the Roman Catholic in New Guinea and its smaller Islands.

No doubt there is room in New Guinea for an Episcopal Mission, and we would in no way discourage it: but the question arises: why has little or nothing been done for the natives of the great island-continent of Australia? The last native of Tasmania has died: the indigenous races of that Island, like rats, have been killed out: is the same process to be followed out in Australia?

I quote from Mr. Alfred Wallace's *Australasia*, p. 186 (Stanford, London, 1879), who is one of the greatest authorities on the subject of Oceania generally:

"When Australia was first settled by Europeans, the native population must have exceeded 150,000: they have since greatly diminished owing to the occupation, and settlement of the more fertile parts of the country, as well as from diseases and vices introduced among them by the convicts and lower classes of settlers. Notwithstanding all these causes of depopulation, great numbers still roam the interior, and it is believed, that they amount to from seventy to eighty thousand, and it seems not improbable that the degraded Australian may continue to exist long after the much higher New Zealander and Tahitian have disappeared."

Again at page 603 of the same volume I find no less than eighty-two languages enumerated, and the notable fact is recorded at page 602 by a competent philologist, that the comparative perfection of their language is in striking contrast to the degradation of their customs: indeed analogies have been pointed out, which connect

this group of languages with the magnificent Vernaculars of the Dravidian Family in Southern India. I have myself in a late Report published in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society enumerated thirty-four languages of these poor neglected races, illustrated by Grammars, Vocabularies, and Texts, and yet not one single page of the Scriptures is sold by any of the Colporteurs, or taught in any school, or read in any Church, to these poor people in their own vulgar tongue, and yet Christ died for them as well as for the Polynesian, Melanesian, and Mikronesian, who are gradually being supplied with copies of the Scriptures, and each in their own idiom can read of the wonderful works of the Lord. In one language one Gospel was translated, the *Narinyéri*, but the Edition was sold out, never reprinted, and I have tried in vain to get a copy, as it is no longer in circulation.

Surely we are literally "our brother's keeper" in this matter: we have taken away the lands of these poor races, encroached on their hunting-grounds: if some stories are true, which I am unwilling to believe, we have cut them down like wild dogs, and hunted them out like vermin. Shocking to say, the mixed race resulting from illicit intercourse of Europeans with Native Females, instead of becoming a respectable class, amalgamate with their maternal relatives, and become more degraded, because physically more strong and more daring. A woman, who has once been impregnated by a European, is unable to bear children to a Native husband.

Is the Missionary's hand shortened? Has he forgotten his cunning, and his methods sanctioned by experience, or his power to devise by God's Grace new methods suited to the endless variety of human circumstances? Why is a new field thus ostentatiously sought in New Guinea before the Church has occupied in its entirety the island-continent of Australia? No steamers are required for this service, no dangerous collision with savage and warlike tribes need be feared. The Moravians have done something: the Church of England has done something: the labours of Mr. Gribble (author of "*I am Black and Comely*"), and of Bishop Hale and others have not been without fruit: the Wesleyans, Independents, and Roman Catholics have been in the field: indeed the Spanish Roman Catholics have set a good example in New Nursia in West Australia. But it is required, that the Church of Australia should take up the subject in its entirety, and marking off the regions occupied by our Protestant Nonconformist Brethren, divide the remainder into Mission Fields managed by the Church in its collective capacity, remembering that these poor races are, as it were, aliens in their own country, and outcasts from their own lands. Give them something in exchange better than gold, and land-reserves. Let them hear the Gospel in their own tongue.

Here are two positive facts: try and get over them. Nearly every tiny Island in Polynesia, Melanesia, and Mikronesia, has its

Missionary, European or Native, and its Bible in its own language. The Australians have not a single translation of God's word, and very few Missionaries. I quite admit, that a new method of Mission is required. Bishop Selwyn had the Grace to devise new methods for his Island-Mission. The Natives are Nomads, and the Missionary must be a Nomad also: he must learn the languages of the Natives, as Selwyn and Patteson did, have schools, where the children are taught in their mother-tongue, have chapels, where the Bible is read in a language understood by the Men, Women, and Children: if necessary, he must live in tents also. As a fact all the Missions in the Dominion of Canada are more or less Nomad: the tribes come and stay some time, and then move off: the Missionary follows them in spite of the snow: in Australia there is no such hardship to undergo. Some of the Clergy of Australia have conceived the Idea, but have they carried it into practice on a scale to embrace the whole Continent? They have written about a village community, when a Nation required help. This is the ideal: a Christian village of natives, reclaimed from barbarism, trained to the duties of social Christian life, and walking in the fear of God, through knowledge and faith in the love of Christ their Saviour, and in the power of His Spirit. In Psalm ii. 8 we read: "Ask of me, and I will give the heathen for thine inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the Earth for thy possession." The Commission given on Mount Olives was "to go and teach all Nations," "preach the Gospel to every creature." There is no exception made to exclude the Australian.

I conferred with the Bishop of Perth on this subject: he admitted the evil, but he was powerless. I asked the Bishop of South Queensland what he did for the natives: he seemed hardly aware of their existence. If my statements are erroneous, and if the Natives of Australia are being systematically converted to Christ, if they have among them on the North Coast Missionaries, who care for them, if they have Churches and Schools, where the Gospel is preached and taught in their own language, if Colporteurs are going about with Bibles in the Vernacular, I shall rejoice: I see the vision, but it is far off. I thought of getting up a meeting of all the Churches in London, and wrote to a friend this summer on the subject, but I should prefer to see the Church of Australia do it "*propria voluntate pro amore Dei*."

Let me add another astounding fact. As the ethnologist descends down the different rounds of the Ladder of Humanity, and arranges his knowledge according to certain admitted types of human culture, he comes at last to the lowest round of the ladder, where Man is in the most degraded type: these are the only real savages: the occupiers of the upper rounds of the ladder may be classed as Barbarous, Semi-Barbarous, in a low civilization, moderately civilized, and so on, till the European round is reached.

On the lowest round of the Ladder are

- (1) The Australian,
- (2) The Bushman of South Africa,
- (3) Some other scattered races.

No attempts have been made to evangelize systematically either of the first two classes. Being distressed about the Bushman, I went over to Herrnhut in Germany, the headquarters of the Moravians, and urged their case: they are the Missionaries, who seek out the humblest, and most degraded of the human race, whom the other Societies avoid: but I found to my surprise, that it is God's pity alone that has no limit: there is a limit, nearer or further, to all human pity. Christ on the Cross looked down with pity on the whole of mankind. Men, all of us, have our exceptions. A Moravian Missionary at Herrnhut, who had laboured years among the Hottentots in South Africa, told me, that the case of the Bushman *was hopeless, that it was no use trying to convert them*. I replied, that a century ago, when the Moravian Missionary Schmidt commenced his Mission among the Hottentots at Genadenthal, the Dutch told him the same story, that the case of the Hottentots was hopeless, and yet experience has told us that they have souls also, and can be saved, if only a sufficiency of self-sacrifice can be found in the Christian Churches: the lepers have been looked after: why not the Australian and the Bushman?

Hear the opinion of a late Missionary in the Hebrides, extracted from his life.

"The breakdown of a coach brought Mr. Paton into contact with the aborigines, and he takes occasion to correct Mr. Kingsley's idea that, 'the Black people of Australia . . . cannot take in the Gospel.' After referring to 'the case of Nora, an aboriginal Christian woman, who ministered to her own people, Mr. Paton proceeds:

"Recall, ere you read further, what the Gospel has done for the near kindred of these same aboriginals. On our own Aneityum 3500 cannibals have been led to renounce their heathenism, and are leading a civilized and a Christian life. In Fiji 70,000 cannibals have been brought under the influence of the Gospel, and 13,000 members of the Churches there are professing to live and work for Jesus. In Samoa 34,000 cannibals have professed Christianity, and in nineteen years its college has sent forth 206 native teachers and evangelists. On our own New Hebrides more than 12,000 cannibals have been brought to sit at the feet of Christ, not to say that they are all model Christians, and 133 of the natives have been trained and sent forth as teachers and preachers of the Gospel. Had Christ been brought in the same way into the heart and life of the aborigines by the Christians of Australia and Great Britain, equally blessed results would as surely have followed, for He is 'the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever.'"

It is stated in the *War Cry* of September, 1890, that the Salvation Army has commenced work among the aborigines of Australia.

In the Indian papers I read, that the Hindu, or Mahometan, or both, purpose to send out a Mission to convert their fellow-subjects in Australia: whether the term "Australia" implies the

Bishops and the Clergy and the British Settlers, or the poor Heathen, is not clear. On the other hand, last October a Missionary Meeting was held at Melbourne, with the Bishop in the chair, who declared that they were only "beginning to realize the paramount claim of the Heathen," and accordingly Missionaries were sent out to the China Inland Mission, but not a word of allusion was made to the poor aborigines of Australia, who had been robbed of their birthright, and were now shut out from their blessing.

London, 1890.

XXI.

WOMEN'S WORK AND THE CHURCH OF ROME.

ONE of the most interesting developments of the Missionary spirit of modern times is that of woman's work among heathen and Mahometan women. When we see secular institutions like Lady Dufferin's Fund start, we rejoice, because it is Christ's Work done, though without the blessed accompaniment of Christ's Word. But what shall be said of the Papal development of this movement? I have received a paper in the English language from high Roman Catholic quarters, headed "The Missionary Catechists of Mary Immaculate." It goes over all the reasons for making the movement, the necessity, and the opportunity, and then follow these words :

"Mary seems to wish to respond to the solemn proclamation of the Immaculate Conception in preparing the liberation of Eve's poor daughters. She has inspired Christian souls with the thought of founding under her high patronage a work of prayer and sacrifice.

"Pope Leo XIII. has enriched by precious Indulgences the work of Mary Immaculate."

From India a Bishop writes :

"My heart inundated with joy, overflowed in thanksgiving before the Blessed Sacrament, and the altar of Mary Immaculate, who has inspired generous souls with the thought of rehabilitation of Pagan women."

From China a Bishop writes :

"I pray the Virgin Immaculate to extend the mantle of her protection more and more over a work, that must be so pleasing to her. . . . The Eagle of Patmos saw a multitude led to kneel at the feet of the Lamb by the voice of the devoted soldiers of Mary Immaculate."

The author of this Pamphlet goes on to say :

"To these innumerable approbations of the work of Mary Immaculate must be added that gratitude, which our zealous Missionaries lay at the feet of our Saviour, and His Immaculate Mother, when they bear witness to the fruits already attained by its means. I now see to whom after God we owe the muscle of our perseverance, viz. to the prayers and good works of the Association of Mary Immaculate.

"Of so many supplications, made to Mary Immaculate, and presented by that sweet Mother of God at the foot of the throne of her Son Jesus, the fruit should be to inspire numbers of Christian women with the heroic resolution of hastening to the succour of their poor Pagan sisters, and leading them to filial tenderness towards the Blessed Virgin, who is the dispenser of all God's graces."

A Missionary in China writes :

"I pray to God to move the Council of the Association to have confidence in the Virgin Immaculate."

The Council speaking for itself says :

"Witness of the rapid development, attained under the visible protection of the Blessed Virgin, the Council with entire confidence in its august patron faces the great work."

"The associates of Mary Immaculate are finally exhorted to redouble the ardour of their prayers, and the generosity of their voluntary sacrifices, in order that the patronage of the most Blessed Virgin may day by day display itself more powerfully over this work, of which after God she alone has the whole glory."

This paper was printed at St. Andrew's Press, Barnet, in Great Britain, and circulated in February, 1888. It reads like a romantic legend of the dark Middle Ages: the odd statement of the date and place of printing may recall the reader from the world of wonderful romance, and priestly delusion to the hard facts. Throughout there is not one word quoted from the Bible, so rich in appropriate passages, no allusion the most distant to the Holy Spirit, and only a passing notice of Our Saviour, as a kind of lay figure, and a conventional use of the phrase "after God." All power, all willingness to help, all motive to good works, all aspirations to holiness and work of charity are centred in the person of the lowly handmaid of the Lord, the Virgin Mother, who is fondly and fancifully without any authority of Scripture presumed to be omnipresent, omniscient, cognizant of all that is going on in the world, with power to inspire the hearts of her devotees, with an ear open to their prayers, and the only medium of God's Grace. Can it be doubted, that in the Roman Catholic Church there exists a Quaternity, *not* a Trinity, or, if a Trinity, that the Virgin Immaculate has usurped the place, and the functions, of the Holy Spirit?

The Record, February, 1888.

XXII.

THE REREDOS IN ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL.

DURING the last twelve years I have visited every great city in Europe, Western Asia, and Northern Africa, and examined with a critical eye all the celebrated churches, monasteries, and pilgrim shrines of the Roman and Greek rite from the celebrated Monastery

at Troitzka near Moscow, where a good Hindu would feel himself quite at home, to the black Virgin of the Pilár at Saragossa in Spain, which is worthy of a Hindu Temple also: from the mediæval fraud of the Holy House at Loretto in Italy to the brand-new Nineteenth Century abomination of the Cave of the Immaculate Virgin, who spoke French at Lourdes in the Pyrenees. At each shrine I purchased a copy of the description of the place, as sold to the pilgrims, and studied the history of the delusion.

Two considerations force themselves upon me. Is a picture, or a painted-glass window, worse spiritually than a marble alto or basso-relievo or a statue? In the Greek Church no statue, or any sculpture in the round, is allowed: pictures with or without flat metal coverings are abundant. In the Church of Rome statues and pictures are both permitted. The Priests and Educated men will tell you, that these representations are not objects of worship. Brahmins in India have often told me, that they see through the hideous idol in their temples the hidden and divine object of their worship, and indignantly protest against the charge of idolatry. I believe both the Priests and the Brahmins: but the ignorant, uneducated herd see nothing but the material object of their blind idolatrous adoration. If there is any object more dreadfully debasing than the toe of a stone or brass image worn away by the constant osculation of ignorant thousands in a Papist Church, or a Hindu temple, it is to see pictures held up by the Greek Priest to be kissed by kneeling crowds of respectable ladies, little children, and hoary mendicants. The question therefore arises: why is there this excitement about a representation of Scriptural scenes in white marble, when pictures of the same scenes are found in so many churches in oil colours, on canvas, or on stained glass?

The second consideration is this: the Reredos is denounced as a daring advance Romeward in erecting an image of the Virgin and the Divine Child; but the advance towards Rome, as it now is, is very slight indeed. Ever since the promulgation of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin, statues are erected of the Virgin by herself, a type of the greatest female beauty, *without the Divine Child*, with her head crowned with twelve stars, and the moon under her feet: in fact she has become an object of adoration not as the Virgin Mother, but in her state as she was before she was overshadowed by the Holy Spirit, before the mystery of the Incarnation. Thus she appears at Lourdes: the words, which she uttered, were:

“ Je suis L'Immaculée Conception.”

She is the outward and visible expression of the Dogma forced by Pope Pius IX. upon an unwilling Council. As such she appears on the top of the Column in front of the Propaganda at Rome, erected to record the promulgation of the Dogma: as such she

appears in gigantic proportions on several mountain tops visible far and wide. In the Vatican is a gigantic fresco, in which the Pope is delineated as promulgating the Dogma in St. Peter's in the presence of the Cardinals and the Bishops, and in the clouds above are seen the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and the Virgin, stepping forward, like a prima donna on the stage, to bow to the audience, and thank the Pope for a newly-conferred honour. If the Dogma be true, it was always true, though not revealed to men: a newly-discovered planet might as well be described as returning thanks to the Astronomer for entering it in the Almanack for the first time, though it had for myriads of years been running its celestial orbit.

The sarcasm of the infidel French writer is just, that the Church of Rome now worship Dieu Père, Dieu Mère, et Dieu Fils: but, as Archbishop Whately truly remarked, the Roman worship is but a reflex of the Pagan worship of the Pre-Christian period. The Dieu Mère is in fact the Rhea of the Greeks, the Cybelé of the Romans, the Great Mother of Asia Minor: she can be traced in the worship of the Egyptian and the Hindu, and is in fact the conception of Nature, the Mother of all. The Virgin Mother holding the Divine Child is something very different, and strictly Scriptural.

The Record, February, 1888.

XXIII.

THE GOSPEL AND THE SWORD.

IN the pages of the "Catholic Missions," the organ of the Roman Catholic Bishop of Salford, a periodical of a high stamp both in ability and tone, February, 1888, appears the following astounding suggestion with regard to recent persecutions in U-Gánda, and headed as above. It suggests, that the Missionary (called by the Roman Catholics "Missioner") should arm his flock, in order that they may defend their rights amid the heathen, by whom they are surrounded. These heathen are not "savages," but may be classed as "barbarous," in a low state of culture, but they are well up in the lower rounds of the ladder of civilization, dwelling as they do in houses and villages, governed by chieftains, cultivating the soil, understanding the use of metals, building boats, wearing clothes, abstaining from human sacrifices and Cannibalism, and recognizing matrimony.

For this suggestion of arming the Neo-Christians to resist the authority of the lawful sovereign of the country the ill-omened example of the Jesuits in Paraguay is quoted, who in the last century armed their converts, fought battles against the Portuguese,

and the result was, that the Mission was destroyed. It is proposed to arm thirty or forty Native Christians with repeating rifles, and resist Native Potentates and Slavers under the direction of the Missioner. It is remarked, that such an organization possesses the advantages without the disadvantages of a military regime, for it teaches order and discipline, insures the preservation of rights, extends its influence and prestige, and offers an attraction to others to seek refuge beneath its power.

Let us imagine a party of successful Roman Catholic converts under the leadership of a French Missionary defeating a united force of heathen and heretics (for they are usually in Roman Catholic Bulls and other documents classed together) under an English or German Protestant Missionary, who would be put to death or deported. Then would follow the sack of the village, the appropriation of the Protestant women by the victorious Catholics, and a large concourse of runaway slaves, and the French Missionary, having had the advantage of one year's military service, would develop military talents, and find himself at the head of an army difficult to control, and perhaps some stronger native from their midst would manage to control him, and compel him to proceed to the bitter end of brigandage and reckless conquest: then would come a revolt against law and morals, which even he could not swallow, and he would be put out of the way by his heathen lieutenant: "All that take the sword shall perish by the sword."

This suggestion is made after the terrible lesson taught to the French in Tonquin. Christian villages have been destroyed by an infuriated Heathen Monarch, who would not have his subjects turned into Frenchmen. I trust that such ideas may never be suggested in a Protestant Missionary Society. It cannot be too often stated, that a native by changing his religious faith does not alter his status as a subject to his Sovereign. The Emperor of China has clearly announced this as against the French Missionaries. Where independent Christians take up arms on their own account, that is their affair: that European aliens should suggest such things to the subjects of a friendly Monarch shows how very far the policy of the Missionaries of Rome has departed from Christian principles.

As regards U-Ganda the question is settled: it is now under a British Protectorate, and no Church Militant will be allowed.

The Record, February, 1888.

XXIV.

THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE
FAITH AT LYONS.

On the 3rd May the sixty-fifth anniversary of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith was celebrated at Lyons. This Society is, however, only one of many others of the same kind in France. Cardinal Lavigerie, Bishop of Carthage, was present on this occasion, and in the Cathedral addressed a vast congregation.

On the duty of preaching the Gospel to the Heathen and Mahometan he insisted with much eloquence, and throughout the quotations from his address in the *Missions Catholiques*, there is not one allusion to a Saint, nor is there any abuse of Protestants. On the contrary, he remarks that the Protestants of Europe supply Twenty-five Millions of Francs (One Million Sterling) to their Missions, which spread over the world, and France barely subscribes Six and a Half Millions to the Missionaries, who are preaching the Eternal Truth in Asia, Africa, and Oceania. It is calculated by him, that Roman Catholic Missions scarcely receive one-twentieth of the sums supplied to the Protestant Agents.

France, indeed, is the only Roman Catholic country which really interests itself in Missions: with rare exceptions a Roman Catholic Missionary is a Frenchman, who does not forget to preach "France" as well as Christ.

The Report of the Society shows a slight increase upon the collections of last year, and it is worthy of notice, that nearly one-third of their funds are collected from foreign centres, including the British Isles, which supply £65. The Report enlarges on the annually increasing importance of the work, the abundance of Missionaries, but the lack of funds, owing to the universal distress, industrial and commercial, and the necessity of a large expenditure to maintain the Faith in a country once the most favoured, viz, France.

It is obvious, that the Government of the Republic, entirely hostile to the Roman Catholic Church in France, and constantly threatening Disestablishment and Disendowment, still for political purposes in every way supports the Missions of that Church in foreign countries: large sums were supplied from the Secret Service Fund to Cardinal Lavigerie in Tunisia: in China France asserts her right to the protection of all Roman Catholics, of whatever Nationality: the Chinese Government resists this claim, and the result of the quarrel has been the Edict of Toleration in all China, thus getting rid of the necessity of Protection at all. The Roman Catholic Church is a tool, and a willing tool, of French aggrandizement everywhere.

The Record, May, 1887.

XXV.

THE POPE ON MISSIONS.

ON the 3rd of December Pope Leo XIII. issued an encyclical letter in favour of the work of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith, of which the head-quarters are at Lyons, in France. It is worthy of note, that the text is published in Latin and French in a late number of *Les Missions Catholiques*, the weekly Chronicle of Roman Catholic Missions.

In the opening paragraphs the Pope describes the necessity of preaching the Gospel to the heathen, and of the duty of every Christian to assist by his money and prayers. So far we all agree with his Holiness.

He then alludes to the great Society for the Propagation of the Faith established at Lyons, and its two affiliated associations, the "Sacred Infancy of Jesus," and "the Schools of the East," and praises their work. He then regrets the sad perverseness of modern affairs, the diminution of the resources of this Society at the very time, that the sphere of their usefulness is extending. He specifies the particular grievances, the breaking up of the monastic institutions, the compelling the priests to render military service, and the sale and confiscation of the property of the Church. He then attacks the Protestant Missionaries in the following words :

"Sape enim viri fallaces, satores errorum, simulant Apostolos Christi, humanique præsidiis affatim instructi, munus catholicorum sacerdotum prævertunt, vel deficientium loco subrepunt, vel positâ ex adverso cathedrâ docentis obsis-
"tunt, satis se assecutos rati, si audientibus verbum Dei aliter ab aliis explicari
"aucipitem faciunt salutis viam. Utinam non aliquid artibus suis proficerent!"

He then stirs up the Church to supply men and means, for it appears that year by year the difficulty increases of recruiting new missionaries. The Bishops are exhorted to invoke the Virgin, Mother of God, who has the power to destroy all the monsters of error, and "her very pure Husband" (Joseph), whom many Missions have already accepted as their guardian and protector, and whom lately the Holy See has established as Patron of the Universal Church, especially in Africa.

This marks an epoch in the career of Joseph, who is gradually mounting up the same ladder as the Virgin. Joachim and Anna, the reputed Parents of the Virgin, are annually pushing themselves forward in public esteem, and expecting promotion.

In the *Missions Catholiques* of Lyons, dated Jan. 7th, 1881, the Pope is thanked for his encyclical letter, and a general view is given of the progress of Roman Catholic Missions all over the world.

"We find," says this journal, "that Europe, in spite of its serious agitations, is the theatre of consoling and glorious conquests. In England the Catholic

"movement goes on with good results under the firm and valiant hand of the bishops. Perhaps the time is not far off when Great Britain, becoming an apostle, will consecrate its gold and prodigious activity to the truth.

"In India there is an admirable movement of conversions. Without counting the little children, *who are sent to heaven by baptism*, how many souls have heard the good news, and been fortified by Christian hopes?

"But a new danger has arisen in these regions. As long as the duty of an apostle was accompanied by martyrdom, the heretics left our missionaries in their solitude, and left to them the dangerous monopoly of preaching. Nowadays the English missionaries advance under the protection of the British flag, sustained by the influence of the English and American Consuls, and surrounded by all the prestige of opulence. One single society out of the numerous *biblical societies* receives yearly a four times greater income than we do. If our contributions increase, we shall be able to open a Catholic school at the side of each Protestant school. This must be our policy in every Christian settlement."

The writer then alludes to the establishment of the Mission on the Nyanza, and its "triumph over the Protestant Society":

"Quel spectacle consolant ! L'Afrique, bénie autrefois par les Cyprien, et les Augustin, paraît devoir être pour l'Évangile une terre hospitalière, et ses rois accueillent presque partout avec respect les prêtres de Jésus-Christ. Déjà nos lecteurs ont connu les travaux, et les succès, des Pères de la Compagnie de Jésus, des Oblats, des Lazaristes, des missionnaires du Saint Esprit, des prêtres de la Société des Missions Africaines ; ils ont suivi le hardi voyage des Missionnaires d'Afrique, leur providential établissement au milieu des tribus du Nyanza, et leur triomphe sur la Société protestante." (Jan. 7, 1881, p. 8.)

Then he refers to Madagascar :

"In Madagascar, heresy, supported by all the forces of England, and resting upon the English flag, threatens the Roman Catholic Mission to the Betsileo. Religious liberty is indeed proclaimed by the Queen, but the English preachers, after a hypocritical fight against the Catholic schools, have launched into a violent and brutal attack on the pupils and on the teachers. Unfortunately the Catholic missionaries find only a half-hearted protection from the Consuls of Catholic nations."

It is worthy of note, that the French Priesthood justify their claim to the entire control of secular and religious education, to the exclusion of the Civil Power, by the following quotation: "Be ye not many *Masters*: one is your *Master*, even Christ."

Several considerations suggest themselves: 1st, the importance of strict truth and no exaggeration in our own reports: we all know that the British flag and Consul do nothing for any Protestant Mission; 2ndly, that England is not on the verge of becoming "Catholic"; 3rdly, that the Roman Catholic Mission has not triumphed in U-Gánda.

The zeal of the Romish Church, and the devotion of its priests, deserve all honour, but their whole method and object are wrong, and Protestant Missions must learn to consider them more deadly enemies than Hindu, Mahometan, or Búddhist; they should hold no intercourse with them, except that of mere human sympathy, which would be extended to any fellow-creature in suffering, sorrow, or want.

The Record, London, 1888.

XXVI.

ROMAN CATHOLIC MISSIONS IN NORTH AFRICA.

IN my late visit to Rome I tried to collect what information I could with regard to the Missions established among the Heathen by the College "De Propagandâ Fide." I had introductions to an English Cardinal, who offered to be of use in any way he could; but, when I informed him as to the nature of my object, he sent me word, that his previous reply had been intended as an invitation to dinner. I had an interview with the Monsignore in charge of the Propaganda. All, however, that I could extract from him was, that information was to be had, that it was possible to give it, but that it was not published. He then abruptly went off with his umbrella under his arm to Vespers at St. Peter's. I turned into the Book Dépôt, and went carefully down the shelves of books published by the Propaganda, when my eye fell upon a little volume published in 1879, called *Il Risorgimento delle antiche chiese Africane*, which I at once purchased. It is a pretty little book, written by a sincere and simple-minded Christian of the Roman Catholic Church, and commences with a regret, that so little interest is shown at Rome and in Italy in regard to the great work of Missions to the Heathen. The book is declared to be the narrative of a visit paid by a priest of the city of Rome to Algeria, and the author very justly remarks, that precisely in proportion to the vast extent of our opportunities and facilities, should be the enlargement of our zeal to make the inhabitants of barbarous countries sharers in the blessing of Christianity.

Starting from Leghorn our traveller went by steamer to Marseilles and hurried up the hill to pay his respects at the shrine of "Notre Dame de la Garde." He introduces, apropos of this, the fabulous tale as to how Lazarus and the Magdalen were conveyed in a small boat from Palestine to Marseilles, and there founded the Christian Church of France, the eldest son of the Church Catholic. At Marseilles he saw a large vessel on the point of starting from the harbour for the South and East, and he remarks with gratitude, how Commerce is a handmaid to the spread of the Gospel, and how Missionaries are often conveyed, by the overruling of an Almighty Providence, in vessels designed solely for worldly purposes. When fairly at sea he gives vent to the usual commonplace expressions of travellers on their first voyage, repeats his Benedictus, describes his fellow-travellers, and is very sea-sick. He then remarks, that Africa is dead, that all countries, which are not Christian, are in the same sad state, and that nothing but the Roman Catholic faith can ever revivify the Land of St. Augustine and St. Cyprian, names utterly forgotten now in the birth-place of those that bore them.

Arrived at Algiers he enlarges on the variety of nationalities, which crowd around him: the Negro, the Moor, the Jew, and the

Kabail, which latter race he traces back to the Vandal invaders and the Roman Colonists, instead of to the ancient Numidian and Mauritanian stock. Our friend was clearly not strong in linguistic or ethnological science. He makes the usual observation of the thoroughgoing Churchman, that the Church finds its greatest obstacle in the quarters, from which it ought to have derived its chief support, *i.e.* the French Government and the Colonists, who, compromised in character themselves and utterly godless, are thoroughgoing opponents of Christian Missions. We seem to hear in these unsupported charges an echo of the abuse heaped elsewhere so often and so generously upon everything and everybody else by the Missionary, who does not succeed in getting his own way. Still, in spite of these obstacles, the Catholic Life is described as having developed to a degree far beyond expectation. In the City itself there are three Parishes served by a sufficiency of Priests. There is a Monastery of the Jesuits, and several educational establishments for both sexes under the direction of Sisters of different Orders, all of which enjoy great prosperity. These are the Sisterhoods of "The Sacred Heart," the "Trinity," "Charity," etc.

He visited the very day after his arrival the justly famous establishment of the Trappists at Staoueli. This excellent Fraternity, in addition to vows of Celibacy, Mendicancy, and Total Abstinence, superadds the precious grace of absolute silence. When we reflect upon the waste of time, and the many idle words of Committees and Social gatherings, we may hold up to commendation these worthy religionists. They settle in a desert, and, by devotion to agricultural pursuits and dint of hard labour, they turn it into a smiling garden. It took a whole day to go carefully over the extensive establishment, and the spectacle afforded on the occasion filled the visitor with pious joy. I myself visited the Trappist Convent outside the walls of Rome on the spot where St. Paul was decapitated, and was so much struck by the practical nature of their operations that I sent to Lyons, which is their head-quarters, for full details of their plans.

Another religious establishment we are led to make acquaintance with is the Diocesan Seminary, described as a magnificent building with a fine cupola. On the other side of the city is the sanctuary of "Our Lady of Africa," founded by Monsignore Pavy, the Father, as it were, of the New African Church. This is a place of pilgrimage. It so happened, that very shortly after the arrival of our traveller the day set apart by the Italian colony of Algiers for a pilgrimage to this shrine came round, and he was invited to conduct the service in the Italian language. He remarks, that Nationality in a foreign country, which has had the blessing of being sanctified by the true faith, invariably developes into a noble sentiment, while the same word in the mouth of Italians in Italy is merely a pretext for disorder and revolution. The

Sanctuary is in charge of a Missionary body, who bear its name. They have an orphanage for young Negroes purchased from slave-dealers from the interior of Africa with a view to their being trained as elements of civilization, and to their becoming Priests. It is a magnificent Institution, and depends upon agriculture for its support. Our traveller saw a large number of young clerics preparing for the work of evangelizing Africa. They are dressed in the costume of the country, so as to facilitate their intercourse with the people. There is a branch establishment of this Institution at Jerusalem in the Sanctuary of St. Ann, and the whole, which is under the superintendence of the zealous Archbishop of Algeria, Cardinal Lavigerie, gives evidence by its success of the manifest blessing of God. The blessing of God is not always manifested in this manner; in fact all Missionary Reports have an unjustifiable acquaintance with God's dealings.

From Algeria our priest took ship, coasted along to Philippeville, and took the train to Constantine. He was delighted to find at Delyz and Bougi, where he stopped, a parochial organization, and substantial churches and schools conducted by Sisters and Brothers of the Christian Doctrine. He remarks, that the Cathedral at Constantine is a Mosque appropriated to a better purpose; had a transformation in the opposite direction been made, we should have had at least half a page denunciatory of religious intolerance. He tells us also, that the French Government had built for the Arabs a magnificent new mosque attached to a Mahometan Seminary: he makes no remark upon this lamentable departure from high Christian principles. It is difficult to say which was the greater error, the unrighteous appropriation of a Mahometan mosque as a place of Christian worship, or the degradation to a Christian Government of erecting a Mahometan place of worship. He entered the Seminary and passes his opinion that the Mahometans are grossly ignorant, and have no prayer but the one repeated by them hundreds of times each day, "There is no God but God, and Mahomet is his Prophet." He scoffs at their reply, that they followed the traditions of their ancestors, and remarks, that the human intelligence under the influence of Mahometanism is indeed in the darkness of the shadow of death, and that the state of Mahometans is that of a brute beast. Have we not heard vain repetitions, traditions of men, and intellectual darkness of the lower classes, attributed justly to the Church of Rome?

He made his way by coach and train to Bone, the ancient Hippo, the city of St. Augustine. He found a church dedicated to the Saint, served by five or six Priests, and he was honoured by being allowed himself to preach on the spot, where sixteen centuries before the voice of St. Augustine had been heard, and where he had written his Confessions, which the world will never allow to be forgotten. He quotes the Saint's famous apophthegm, "Rome

has spoken: the matter is decided," as a splendid testimony to the infallibility of the Roman Pontiff. The Christian traveller cannot here abstain from offering a prayer to the Holy Doctor, who must have obtained from Heaven the favour of being permitted to see his Diocese flourish again, and the Faith re-established. A statue of bronze has been erected to him, and day by day devout worshippers carry to the venerable image of the Saint their prayers and their lighted lamps. One is irresistibly reminded of the pious Hindu. Our friend met at Hippo a worthy Italian family, who had come to offer up thanksgiving for the restoration to health of their little daughter, and to ask for the same blessing for their son. This act of simple and sincere piety consoled and edified the wayfarer, and he made himself a partaker of their devotions. Even the Mahometans, he adds, share somewhat the same feeling of devotion to the great Doctor, sing hymns and prayers at the feet of his statue, and ask for the blessings of personal health and favourable seasons. The thoughtful Christian, who cherishes the memory and values the writings of the great Evangelical Bishop, turns away with a feeling of despondency from such manifestations, and ceases to wonder how the great Theism of Mahomet sprang into existence as a protest against the idolatrous forms of a fallen Christianity.

At Tunis, the next place visited, there was a Parish Church ministered to by a Capuchin Friar; also a School for Boys, Girls, and Infants, conducted by Brothers of the Christian Schools, and Sisters of St. Joseph of the Apparition. The Narrator was invited to say Mass, and, having done so, went off the same afternoon by a Sunday-train to Carthage! He dilates on the martyrdom of St. Cyprian, St. Felicitas, and St. Perpetua, the writings of Tertullian, the death of St. Louis, and the imprisonment of Saint Vincent de Paul. Over the supposed site of the death of St. Louis has been erected a small Sanctuary, kept by an establishment of Missionaries of Africa and Algiers. These worthies purchase infants from the interior of Africa, and educate them for the ordinary duties of life, or for the Priesthood. They minister moreover to the ailments of the Mahometan population, and try in this way to extend the Christian Faith, and Evangelical Light. One of these good Fathers seems to have played a practical joke upon our good traveller, for he took him to visit a Nomad Arab in his tent, and made him believe, and record as a fact, that these Nomads were in the habit of cleansing the platters upon which they eat their food by putting them down for the dogs to lick! Our friend had swallowed so much, that he was able to digest this monstrous fiction of private life. He returned next day by train to Tunis, and mentions an ancient Church in that city, which had been converted into a Mosque. He mentions an orphanage, and a hospital ministered to by the Sisters of St. Joseph of the Apparition. We

could wish, that his narrative ended there, for all unconscious of the import of his remark, he goes on to congratulate these Sisters upon the opportunity often afforded to them of administering Baptism to some Mahometan child, sick to death, and by these means "locating near the throne of God an Angel to intercede for the eternal welfare of this poor Mahometan population."

It appears, that no Order of modern foundation is so largely extended as this Order of St. Joseph of the Apparition. This our traveller attributes to a miraculous dispensation of the Holy Spirit in these sad and calamitous times. He visited also at Tunis a large school kept by the Brothers of Christian Schools, who were preparing a generation of good Christians. From these worthy Fathers he heard with surprise the curious details of the story of a young Jew, who had insisted upon being admitted to the Congregation of the Christian Faithful. An "instance of the Grace of God working in him before Baptism." Had he read the Acts of the Apostles with attention, there would have been no surprise. On his return to Philippeville, in Algeria, he finds that the French authorities had forbidden the procession of the Corpus Domini in the streets on the most frivolous pretexts. A notice of this prohibition had actually been affixed, by a refinement of cynicism, to the Church door. This leads to a long tirade against degenerate France, so fallen since the time of St. Louis. He remarks, that the Jews and Arabs rather liked the procession of the Corpus Domini, as the crowd of good Christians circulating in the streets secured a good sale for their wares. The prohibition he declares was issued merely to please the followers of Voltaire, the Freemasons, the Free-thinkers, and the Apostates of Paris. "Oh that European Governments would reflect upon what they would gain rather than lose " by assisting the Church in the country of the Infidels, and how " they would thus add to their authority among a barbarous people! " Instead of that, these foolish Governments, now called Christian, " actually throw obstacles in the way of Missions, and thus a great " benefit to the people is paralyzed or arrested. God grant that " they may reflect upon the consequences." Do we not here also catch the far-off echo of the cry uttered by some of the least wise of our Protestant Missionaries, who call upon the State to interfere?

He mentions another instance of the blind fanaticism of the State against the Church. The Government had actually opened exactly opposite to the schools of the Trinitarian Sisters in the city of Algiers an *atheistical* school under the Law of Public Instruction. In this school they admitted neither Catechism nor any religious exercises: nor did they allow God to be spoken of as the Author of Nature; nay, to such an extent did they carry their principles, that the Teachers of Music had to expunge from their songs any sentiment of even a non-Christian religion! It was

distressing to our traveller to hear, that there were found Parents, who withdrew their children from the Schools of the good Sisters, and sent them to these Institutions of the State; and that even schools maintained by *lay* Sisters of good principles were deserted, if they taught Religion. Our friend considers the state of affairs not to be very far from violent persecution. He does not however apparently remember, though a citizen of Rome, the time, only a few years back, when no one in that city could marry, or proceed upon a journey requiring a passport, without a certificate from the Priest, that he had received the Sacrament. On the whole he considers the apostate French of the present Republic as worse than Mahometans.

From Algiers he went by railway to Bildul, and thence to the villages of St. Cyprian and St. Monica, small in population, but important in the history of Missions. Wherever Mahometanism exists, there, according to him, it has been found quite impossible to form even the Nucleus of a Native Christianity. Although the whole kingdom of Algiers has been evangelized, it has been impossible to found a Christian-Arab, or other Native community. Among the wildest and most savage Heathens the Catholic Missionaries have succeeded in planting some germs of the Faith, but Mahometan countries have remained quite inaccessible to the truths of the Gospel. These two Christian villages of only three hundred inhabitants are the solitary exceptions and the first-fruits of the new Church. The propagation of the Gospel is not effected by Miracles. It is the result of long, self-sacrificing, and unselfish labour, with the most insignificant apparent results, and the bad opinion of men. But God knows the value of these labours, represented by the villages of St. Cyprian and St. Monica. To Cardinal Lavigerie, Archbishop of Carthage, the praise is entirely due of having brought about the result that is here spoken of. He has waged a tedious war, and surmounted incredible difficulties. His attempts to effect the conversion of the Arabs by works of benevolence have met with every kind of obstacle on the part of the French Government, and with opposition enough to damp the greatest zeal. The population of the two villages consists entirely of orphans collected during the times of Famine, and educated by the Archbishop. They still adhere to many Arab customs, and they are placed under the charge of a Missionary of Africa. Near the village of St. Cyprian is a Hospital managed by the Sisters of Our Lady of Africa. These ladies have need of heroic virtue in the discharge of their duties towards the unhappy Arabs, whom they nurse with motherly love. The unfortunates they have to deal with are filthy in habits, suffer under disgusting diseases, and do not appreciate the tender care of the Sisters, but get away from the Hospital as soon as they can. The Sisters are thus left without the consolation of converting them. Our author adds that "when

“the poor creatures are dying, so stupid are they, that they actually beg to be carried to the tomb of some ridiculous Mahometan Saint, in the hope of being healed by his influence.” One can hardly help a smile of pity, when one remembers, that the traveller who pens these words, and who thus holds up the Mahometans to ridicule, is the self-same man, that only a few pages back portrayed an exactly similar scene, and with much unction described to us a family attributing their restoration to health to the prayers of Augustine, a man of like habit and passions as ourselves. The visitor to Africa appears to have had a long interview with an Arab, and to have carefully studied Arab customs, ideas, religious actions, and traditions. The description of all these, given with supreme contempt, fits exactly *The Neapolitan Peasant*! In gross superstition, gross ignorance and materialistic ideas of the future world, no two could be more alike. Our enlightened critic describes with pity the Arab's foolish attempt to procure rain in time of drought by prayers and processions, as if this were a practice altogether unknown elsewhere. He marvels at the French Government allowing these processions of the people in their own country, while they interdict the processions of stranger priests in the country of others. His whole narrative indeed is a marvellous instance of the blindness to all ideas of natural equity of an out-and-out propagandist, who has no consideration for the rights and weaknesses of the people, and who fails to see the ignorance and idolatrous customs of his own sect, even whilst actually occupied in denouncing them in others.

In the town of Oran, which he next visited, he found that the Government had there also interdicted the procession of the Corpus Domini in the streets; but the Bishop collected the faithful to the number of many thousands in the Sanctuary of Our Lady of the Sacred Cross; thus, according to our Author, confounding the enemies of the Church, and consoling the hearts of all who stood up for the good cause. Our friend could not, or would not, see the difference between an offensive procession through crowds of Mahometans, who loathe all form of idolatry, and a harmless gathering within private precincts. In the neighbouring villages he found three great and flourishing Communities; that of the Sisters of the Good Shepherd, that of the Trinitarian Sisters, and the Brothers of the Annunciation. The first had a refuge for penitent women; the second a home for orphans, and for old women who are imbecile; the last have a greater and a more important work still. The motive power in this last case is Agriculture, so necessary to Africa and to all Christian Missions. The Brothers, besides agriculture, however, teach various arts and professions at the same time that they inculcate Religion. By their patient labours during thirty years they have come to possess very large establishments. Their chief and founder is a French

priest, who gathers all his fellow-labourers round him in a patriarchal manner, and Religion permeates the whole procedure of the family. The traveller, whom we have been following, remarks with justice, that such establishments should be multiplied indefinitely, as securing the well-being of the people and the stability of a self-supporting Mission. So far we are with him, but we suspend our judgment when he adds, that they are a palpable testimony of the efficacy of the Holy Catholic Religion as an instrument for the civilization of Barbarous races.

Our Guide passed on to Morocco; and found at Tangiers a Mission of Spanish Franciscans, who, with branches in other parts of the Empire, numbered about thirty Missionaries. They appear to have made but little progress in the work of evangelization; but the Emperor is described as in no way hostile to them, and as having allowed them to settle in the interior of his dominions. Here again the simplicity of our traveller and his profound ignorance of the customs of any country but his own, exposed him to be ridiculously deceived as to the alleged morals and national customs of the people of Morocco. He gravely narrates stories on this subject analogous to that of the English selling their wives with a rope round their necks. Discovering also that the Arabs look upon personal stoutness as a not unimportant element in a satisfactory wife, our Clerical Friend, supremely regardless of his position as to matters of this kind, bursts out with a tirade against Mahometanism, and an exaltation of the Gospel, as restoring true dignity to our fallen Humanity. The slave market attracted his attention, and his indignation is strongly aroused because a girl of twelve, whom one of his companions bargained for, cost less than the price for which a beast of burden may be bought in Italy. He tells of children being sold in times of Famine at two francs each, and wishes, that Government would interfere and buy up the poor creatures, since the task of doing so far exceeds the means of the good Missionaries. He does not tell us what they would do with the purchases thus made in the Empire of Morocco.

He returns to France *via* Spain, and congratulates himself on being in a Christian country, with a Church founded in the blood of the Martyrs. Such a Church ought to be in peace; but, while Rome was sending out Missionaries to convert the Heathen, Error and Heresy were sending their Missionaries to Rome to pervert a Catholic people, and to place the Bible in the hands of the Laity. Those (he tells us) who have visited Africa, know what must become of a country deprived of the Roman Catholic Religion, which *alone* is able to create and sustain society by establishing the Kingdom of Jesus in Peace, Prosperity, and Holiness. He winds up by an appeal for contributions to Foreign Missions. He remarks, that people at home care so little for such Missions, because they know so little about them. Whose fault is that, when the Records

of the Propaganda are thus sealed up? He contrasts forcibly the abundance and splendour and comfort of the Priests, Churches, and Congregations at home, with the scantiness, poverty, and suffering of the Missionaries in Foreign Parts. He grasps the conviction, that a Church is dead which does not put forth living and growing branches, and that a responsibility falls upon this generation to make use of all the material helps so largely and wonderfully afforded. Our Wayfarer concludes his work with an account of a project to found an Arab Colony in the Roman Campagna. We pity the poor Arabs. One thing is clear, that the project would soon come to an end in a row of Arab graves.

To the thoughtful amongst us this account of the Roman Catholic Mission in North Africa will be suggestive. All along the West Coast there are establishments as above. On the East Coast they are in process of being founded. We must consider them fairly. The same Cardinal Lavigerie of Algiers is the Supremo Director of the Mission on the Victoria Nyanza. Celibacy of both sexes, purity of life, zeal, devotion, poverty, a readiness to live far from friends, comforts, and domestic ties, a readiness to die, when the Lord summons them, an aptitude for agricultural and self-supporting manufactories, a large heart of sympathy for the people in the way of schools, hospitals, and orphanages, a strong discipline, a decided plan of operations, and much carnal wisdom: such are the leading features of these Missions. The Religion which they teach is quite another matter. Must not the Mahometan feel keenly the contrast between the idolatrous forms, that are offered to him on the one hand, and the simple grandeur upon the other of his own pure Theism? Will not the Heathen worshipper of Nature be led inevitably to recognize in some of the minor Heroes of the new Cosmogony, the same Elements, Attributes, and Notions, which he and his ancestors and his Medicine-men have blindly worshipped? Can any one say that in this fanciful Ritual stands embodied before us the simplicity and power of the Gospel of the Lord Jesus?

Church-Work, London, 1880.

XXVII.

COUNT ENRICO DI CAMPELLO.

WHILE I was at Venice in September, 1881, for the International Geographical Congress, one of the reporters for the English newspapers mentioned to me, that he had received the startling news from Rome, that a Canon of St. Peter's had left the Church of Rome. The fact was noticed in the Italian papers, and the head of the noble family of Campello, to which the convert belonged,

undertook in the public prints to malign his cousin, and to insinuate unhandsome things against him. Upon my arrival at Rome, early in October, I had the privilege of a personal interview with the ex-Canon, and I purchased a copy of a pamphlet, which he had published to explain the reasons of his secession from the Papal Church. While on the one hand it is not wise to lay too much stress upon individual conversions, on the other hand there exist, in this case, several remarkable features, which are worthy of being recorded, and which may give rise to much reflection.

In a late number of "*Mission Life*" allusion was made to the case of Father Curci. He had come to a complete rupture with the Vatican, and had published attacks upon it, as well as translations of the New Testament in Italian, yet he had not left the Roman Communion. Canon Campello, on the other hand, had openly repudiated the Roman Church, and joined himself to an Evangelical one in Rome. This is the essential difference of the two cases. The weight of advanced years, and the prejudices of long religious habitude, prevented the elder man from taking the step, before which the younger had eventually no longer hesitated. The political events of 1870, the destruction of the temporal power, and the frightful dilemma placed before honest men of choosing between being true patriots or true papists, were the primary causes of both the partial and the complete separation.

On the 13th September Canon Enrico di Campello announced to Cardinal Edward Borromeo, Arch-Priest of the Vatican Basilica (whose death was announced in the "*Times*" of December 7th), that he resigned his post, as Canon of St. Peter's, and left the Papal Church. His letter was published in all the Roman journals. Let no one read such facts without thankfulness, that in Rome a man is now able to exercise his free judgment, and that the Public Press is not afraid to announce his decision. Fifteen years ago the priest would have been consigned to the dungeon, and the newspaper would have been confiscated. On the same evening, in the heart of Rome, with open doors, Campello publicly announced his secession from the Church of Rome, and he still resides in Rome, and will exercise his functions as a Minister of the Gospel among the people of that city. All this is in striking contrast with the time, when English Protestants were only permitted under tolerance to worship outside the walls of the Eternal City, and, as an act of favour, to be buried in a distant corner.

Campello in his oral address stated, that the believers in Christ would applaud, and the enemies of Christ would denounce the step, which he had that day taken; to the former he would reply, that to the Grace of our Lord he was indebted for freedom from the servitude of twenty years, and to the latter he would answer: "Why do you rage so much and tremble on account of the loss of one man? Are you not constantly saying, that the Reformation

of the sixteenth century is about to expire? Is it not because you perceive that civil liberty and knowledge of evangelical truth are advancing daily, and threaten to swallow you up? Do you wish, by an inexcusable blindness, like the Jews of old, to be buried under the ruins of your own temple?" Turning to the congregation he remarked in conclusion, that no one, but those who have had to take such a step, knew the nature of the struggle, which the soul had to endure in undergoing it. In his letter to Cardinal Borromeo he states, that more than once in the lifetime of Pius IX. he had been on the point of writing to his Eminence a letter of the character of the one now sent; but he had been kept back from an unwillingness to vex a man so aged, and to whom he was personally so much indebted as he was to the late Pope. When Cardinal Pecci succeeded to the Tiara, like many others, he had hoped for a change of policy, but all hope had now passed away, and nothing remained but to discharge a solemn duty. He could not remain part of an Institution, which, being worsted in secular matters by Progress and Liberty, sought to place the Priesthood in the position of an Indian Caste. The condemnation of the late book of Father Curci (*La Nuova Italia*) had removed the veil from his eyes, and convinced him, that the "Church" and the Nation were irreconcilable. Therefore he had left the Church of Rome, and intended to exercise his functions as a minister of Christ in a purer Church, and show himself to be a Christian without being a hypocrite, and an Italian citizen without being a traitor to his country. No one will suspect him of taking this course from fancied wrongs or disappointed ambition, for he would ever cherish the memory of the kindness of his colleagues without any exception; and the honour of being a Canon of the greatest Church in the world left nothing further to be desired. He wished to add as a further reason for the step the disgust, which he felt at the five or six hours occupied daily in an empty ritual, which to any man of sense appeared as only a degrading idleness, and he had been determined in his act by the study of books on theology, both modern and ancient, by authors, who were Italian, and Papists. He tendered his resignation of his Canonry as a spontaneous act, and insisted, that the fact should be noted, that it *was* spontaneous in reality, and not fictitiously so styled, as had lately so often been the case with distinguished and unfortunate victims of secret intrigues.

In conclusion, he remarks, that he has had ten years of mature reflection, and could bear witness before God and Jesus Christ, that the step, which he now took, was dictated by no other object than to obtain peace to his conscience; that many distinguished ecclesiastics could bear testimony to this fact. He knows that he will be the object of the murderous and merciless attacks of the Pontifical Press, controlled by the party, which now rules at the

Vatican, but God be praised, that these newspapers were held in universal contempt; at any rate his only reply would be silence and the prayer, that there might be many others, who, having like him been deceived in their youth, and terrorized by the most tyrannical of systems, would follow his example. Some may not be able to do so, from the deficiency of their knowledge, their advanced age, the continuous disillusionings of a long life, and sorrows and oppressions of every kind. For such there was no escape but the grave.

It will be gathered from the above, that the Conte di Campello has not been influenced by any unworthy intentions. His walk has hitherto been that of a nobleman and ecclesiastic of a high stamp, and he has never forgotten that he is a Christian and a gentleman. In anticipation, only too well grounded, of the libellous attacks of the papal press, he published at the printing office of the Roman Senate an autobiographical sketch, which to cold northern tastes seems verbose and egotistical, but which lays bare a state of things such as could scarcely exist out of Rome.

The Canon was the son of Count Solone di Campello, and of the Baroness Clementina de Zenardi. He was born at Rome in 1831, and had the honour of being godson of Prince Henry of Prussia. When the troubles of 1848 broke out, he was studying in a college of the young Roman nobility. His father had accepted the Directorship of the Post Office from the then Republican Government, and his uncle had been member of the Constituent Assembly, and Minister of War. When the reaction came in 1851, they had to escape for their lives, and were deprived of every honour and office. These were only restored by the intercession of friendly Cardinals, on the condition, that young Enrico di Campello, then at the age of twenty-two, should accept the career of an ecclesiastic. He would of course thus become a spy upon the proceedings of his own family. We are told in what way the young man was talked over to accept this profession, how prospects of worldly advancement were held out to him, how he was pleased by the idea of being the restorer of the fortunes of his family, and the mainstay of his brothers and sisters. Cardinal Serafini undertook the delicate charge of bringing up the victim to the altar, and when the poor lad urged his objection on the score of losing his liberty (to which phrase a lax Italian interpretation must be given), the Cardinal burst out laughing, and told him, that he had been made a Prelate, had held lucrative offices, a Canonry of St. Peter's, and was now a Cardinal, but had never at any time "renounced his liberty." The disclosures, which took place at the death of Cardinal Antonelli, give only too much reality and probability to the accuracy of this story.

Young Campello was sent off to Tivoli to be influenced by a Jesuit, and when brought sufficiently under control, he was brought

back to his father's house, where he found in his room a beautiful suit of ecclesiastical dress, all other garments having been carefully removed. He was by special permission of the Pope admitted into the Academy of Noble Ecclesiastics, and the President, Cardoni, was instructed to accelerate his preparation for taking Holy Orders. In April, 1854, two months after his return to Rome, he took the first and second steps, and in August of the same year the third and fourth steps preparatory to Ordination. Within two months afterwards, on October 10th, he was ordained deacon; on June 2nd, 1855, he was ordained priest in the Lateran Basilica. He was then but twenty-four, although canonically it was required, that he should have been twenty-five. The Pope had overruled everything, and in the short space of thirteen months the transaction was completed, by which a shy, retiring, ignorant, and inexperienced youth became a priest. On the following day he celebrated his first Mass, at the Altar of the Virgin, in the Basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore, in the presence of all his family; and seated upon a chair at the foot of the altar his hand was kissed by all present. The party adjourned thence to the private apartments of the Cardinal, where a repast was spread for all who had attended, and the whole Chapter of the Basilica. This repast was followed by a family banquet next day in his father's house, given in honour of the young ecclesiastic. On the day after he was taken to the Vatican to kiss the feet of Pius IX., who gave him a book of devotions, and the following words of advice: "My son, cling to your vocation, and beware of the desire of making a career; leave your further advancement to God. I once desired to become a Canon of Santa Maria Maggiore, but failed; and yet, after all, I am Pope."

Campello's next duty was to deliver, in the presence of the Pope and the Cardinals, under the Dome of St. Peter's, the annual Panegyric of the Papal See. As a reward for his success he was admitted to a private audience of the Pope, and presented with a silver medal, stamped with the features of the Pontiff. He next took to preaching in a small chapel in the districts beyond the Tiber, to a congregation consisting mainly of boatmen and sailors, and was most successful. In 1861, to the surprise of all, he was appointed by Pius IX. to the honour of a Canonry in the Basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore. This caused no little dissatisfaction to his colleagues, and envy to those, who were less fortunate in their promotion. To occupy his leisure, and soothe the troubles which began to rise in his mind, he threw himself into a new sphere of usefulness, the management of night schools for the lower classes. In 1867 Pius IX. appointed him Canon of the Basilica of the Vatican, and he had the honour of again kissing the Papal feet; but his feelings seem, in the interim, to have greatly changed. He appears to have lived in harmony with his colleagues, who

belonged exclusively to noble families. A Canonry of St. Peter's was deemed a sure stepping-stone to higher fortunes, for no less than seventeen Popes, and Cardinals without number, had passed through this Chapter on their road to honour. The Chapter consisted of thirty Canons, thirty-six Beneficiaries, four Chaplains, and twenty-six Beneficed Clergy, and the Services of the Basilica were considered to be going on always without interruption. Campello inveighs against the tedium of the prolonged ritual, lasting four or five hours daily, wearisome and profitless. Even more objectionable were the displays on days of festival, when the soprano parts of the musical performance were taken by eunuchs, and the Church was degraded to seemingly little more than the likeness of a Pagan Temple.

It was the Vatican Council, and the events of the last years of Pius IX., that converted Campello's uneasiness into doubts, and his doubts into convictions. The internal history of that famous Council has still to be written, with an account of the miserable intrigues, the terrorism, and the chicanery, practised. Upon the Council, suddenly, like a thunderbolt, came the Franco-German war, the absorption of Rome into Italy, and the end of the Temporal Power of the Pope. Italian patriots had to reconcile, in the best way they could, their duty to their country and their Church. The entry of Victor Emmanuel cleared away the clouds, which had so long obscured his vision. He was not one of those, who abandoned their belief in Divine Revelation, but he threw away the veil which obscured it.

When I reached Rome, in the beginning of October, the event I am relating was still fresh, and I went to the church of the Jesuits to hear what the preacher of the day had to say. I found a platform raised in front of the pulpit, with two chairs and a crucifix. We were to have one of the famous dialogues, in which two Jesuits act parts. A stalwart priest seated himself on one chair with the air of a man of learning and candour; a thin old man on the other played the part of the inquiring countryman, who in his ignorance could not understand: "What Protestantism and free thought meant." To my amazement, roars of laughter through the crowded church accompanied every word of the "countryman." The most ridiculous arguments and comparisons were used so as to bring the subject down to the level and turn of thought of the Roman females, for the majority were of that sex. It was gravely asked by the stout priest, what a Roman housekeeper would do, if she found rats in her larder? "Kill them, of course," said the "countryman," amidst screams of laughter. "No," rejoined his burly opponent, "under the new rule in Rome you must feed your rats with milk and cheese, and take care of them, and let the city swarm with them." Ostensibly this shaft was directed against the numerous Protestant Churches, which

are being opened in conspicuous streets in Rome, and which can with safety be abused from the pulpit; but covertly a blow was struck against the King and the Constitution, which they dare not abuse. The remarks of the priest against the evil of immoral books, which are sold freely in the streets, were just; but what shall be said of his insinuation, that the "Mysteries of Paris" were the production of a *Protestant* press? The ignorance of the ordinary Italian Ecclesiastic is often only equalled by his audacity. The Jesuits on this occasion desecrated their own magnificent church, and caused peals of laughter to ring through its aisles for the sake of maligning their adversaries, and retaining their hold on the lowest class of the female population. The educated classes have left them for the cold refuge of utter infidelity.

London, 1881.

I have repeatedly met Count Campello since, and attended a Meeting in London this very year, where he assured us of what we were all previously convinced, that the story of his having been reconciled to Rome was false: he is still doing a good work in Italy, and bearing hardships like a good soldier.

London, 1890.

XXVIII.

A REPORT OF THE KINGDOM OF KONGO, AND SURROUNDING COUNTRIES, DRAWN OUT OF THE WRITINGS AND DISCOURSES OF THE PORTUGUESE, DUARTE LOPEZ, BY FILIPPO PIGAFETTA, IN ROME, 1591.

IN the *Church Missionary Intelligencer* for 1879 is a review of a pamphlet, entitled, *The Lost Continent, its Re-discovery and Recovery*. Incidental allusion was made in the course of the narrative to an almost forgotten volume, written in cinquecento Italian, by Filippo Pigafetta, Chamberlain to Pope Innocent IX., telling the story of the travels and experiences of Duarte Lopez, a Portuguese. Great interest attached itself to this chronicle, which was contemporary with the brightest period of Portuguese exploring, and a desire was expressed for a modern translation of an obsolete work, known more to librarians than practical geographers. This desire has now been gratified.

On the title-page is a translation of the famous passage in Camoens' *Lusiad*, in which the boastful assertion is made, that the inhabitants of the kingdom of Kongo had been converted to Christianity. We give the passage in original, as another proof, if

one were necessary, of the falsehood of Roman Catholic Priests, both in past and in present times :

"Alli o mui grande reino está de Kongo,
 "Por nós ja convertido á fé de Christo,
 "Por onde o Zaire passe claro e longo,
 "Rio pelos antigos nunca visto."

We are introduced to the work by a short Preface from the pen of Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton, who asks the momentous question, how the Portuguese nation established their authority in Central Africa, how far in the interior it extended, what was the nature of their administrative system, if they had any system at all, and how it came about, that their power wasted away, and the knowledge of these tracts disappeared like a dream, justifying the assertion, that the Continent was lost, and had in these last days to be re-discovered. And it is noteworthy and full of suggestions with regard to the present, that the Roman Catholic Church, which had been established with such outward display, perished also root and branch, as the Mission-system of Rome depended then, as now, on the aid of the secular arm, upon outward show, upon a baptized but unconverted crowd, who were Pagans in heart, and habits, and tribal customs, in spite of the veneer of pseudo-Christianity spread over them. Let Protestant Missions take warning in time, and seek to plant a living National Church, which will, by the Grace of God, flourish long after the alien power of England has passed away.

The introduction lets us into the secret of the motive of this translation. In the course of preparation of lectures on the Lost Continent, 1878, the necessity arose to refer to the books bearing upon the period of the Portuguese rule in Central Africa. Mr. Major's *Prince Henry the Navigator*, Captain Burton's *Land of Cazembe*, and Captain Elton's *Chronicles of the Monambique*, had let in light, but there was an author, whose name was constantly quoted, but whose works were never read, because never accessible, who had possessed peculiar opportunities of obtaining knowledge, and whose narrative was singularly naïve and truthful, one of those faithful chroniclers, whose ingenuous statements of fact, coming from a friendly pen, are more damning to a system based upon fraud, than the bitterest attacks of an open enemy : and that author was Pigafetta. The work in Italian, or the early translation by Hartwell, is exceedingly scarce : the copy, which forms the basis of the present translation, belongs to the Royal Geographical Society, and had been lent for some time to Henry Stanley for his perusal. At the suggestion of Sir T. Fowell Buxton, this new translation has been made, and is accompanied by explanatory notes.

In the same introduction we find an interesting letter from the Secretary to the Geographical Society of Lisbon, which tells us,

that the Portuguese scholars and geographers have roused themselves from their long slumber, and are vindicating the character of their forefathers as gallant explorers and efficient chroniclers. This leads us to hope, that this able translation of an Italian chronicle drawn from the writings and discoveries of the Portuguese, Duarte Lopez, will lead to the publication of more original Portuguese chronicles of forgotten explorations, for the Geographical Society of Lisbon is now put on its mettle. The subject is of much greater importance than it may appear at first sight. Livingstone would have been saved many years of unprofitable wanderings, if he had been posted up to the level of the actual geographical knowledge contained in old volumes in the libraries of Lisbon. The Missionary Societies from this volume will learn, again and again, how an erroneous method of teaching the precious truths of the Gospel became a scandal to Christianity, and a curse to the people inflicted with such teaching, and the geographer and the explorer can thus pick up the thread of discovery, as it was dropped centuries ago, when by the decree of an overruling Providence Spain was tempted to absorb Portugal, invade England, and oppress the Netherlands, and at the close of the struggle lost for ever its power of doing mischief to Southern Asia, Southern Africa, and Southern America, leaving behind, as a beacon of warning to the Anglo-Saxon nation, traces and records of the most iniquitous system of colonization, and the most un-Christian method of evangelization, that the world has ever seen, and which carried in itself the seed of its own destruction.

Duarte Lopez, the Portuguese explorer, whose experiences are chronicled by the Italian Pigafetta, went to Africa in 1578. His narrative, and his remarkable map, excited the attention of Europe at the time, and a larger interest is attached to it now that the lacustrine origin of the great rivers of Africa has been ascertained to be a fact, ignored during the last century, but still faithfully portrayed on the walls of the gallery of the Vatican, as the writer of these remarks had an opportunity of testing by actual observation in the autumn of 1879.

The pamphlet, *The Lost Continent*, has given an abstract of the contents of the work, as far as the narrative would be interesting to the general reader, but to those, who make Africa their particular study, every page of this volume suggests subjects of reflection: and the review of the pamphlet, in the *Intelligencer* of 1879, has given such full information, that it is unnecessary to do more than express unqualified praise of the elegance of the translation, and of the mode, in which the work has been printed and published. In the two maps we have a peculiar treasure, to possess which alone it is worth while to purchase the book. One is a reprint of the famous map published by Pigafetta (Rome, 1590), of the whole Continent of Africa, and the other is a map of the Kingdom

of Kongo, on a larger scale. It is depressing to think, that as regards the second map, we have not materials for making a much better one even at the present date.

But a subject yet more suggestive of sad reflection is, that the Church of Rome should still urge claims to the spiritual supremacy of the kingdom, and that a priest calling himself the Missionary Apostolic of Landána should, at the close of the year 1879, address the King of Kongo by letter, telling him the old story of the so-called concession of his kingdom 200 years ago, alluding in the nineteenth century to the appearance of St. James in one of their battles as a fact of history, claiming jurisdiction, and calling upon the King forthwith to eject our Baptist brethren from San Salvador, where they have established themselves. By a singular irony of fate, the King handed the lengthy letter of Père Carré to Mr. Comber, the Baptist missionary, to translate and explain to him the contents, and the letter has been published *in extenso* by the Committee of the English Baptist Missionary Society.

The translation of Pigafetta's narrative has been published most opportunely. The surest antidote to the poison of Rome's Missions among African and Asiatic races is to publish from their own reporters, such as Pigafetta, and others who wrote after his date, the accounts of their proceedings in past times. The Portuguese priest is indeed the lowest type of the Roman Catholic priest, and the nobler races, who cleave to Rome, would scarcely acknowledge the missionaries, who flogged naked women with their friar's rope, purchased sacramental elements by the sale of slaves, dealt largely in slaves, and with a view to persuade an ignorant people to give up tribal customs and fetishes, substituted other customs and other worship of reliques, which differ from the thing abandoned only in name. Still, what they did once, they may do again. In their revived Missions they exhibit the old methods with a larger infusion of Mariolatry, or the worship of "the Divine Mother," which appeals to the senses of all nations in a low state of culture, as is evidenced by the history of mankind in all ages and climes.

We cannot leave the subject of this interesting country without expressing a deep sympathy in, and our best wishes to, the labours of our Baptist brethren on the Kongo. They are established at San Salvador, and their position at the court of a capricious Native sovereign, pulled here and there by the sinister influences of Paganism and Romanism, resembles the position of another Mission at the Court of King Mtesa at Rubága, with the fortunate absence at San Salvador of the Mahometan element, but the ill-starred presence of rum, which has not reached the Victoria Nyanza yet. There is one other interesting feature with regard to Kongo: let us not forget, that an English woman has consecrated to us San Salvador by dying at her post, the first Protestant missionary who

has given a life to that cause; and we mistake the spirit of the Protestant Churches of England, if they ever allow the link to be snapped, that attaches them to the grave of Mrs. Comber.

Church Missionary Intelligencer, 1880.

XXIX.

CURCI'S "LA NUOVA ITALIA,"

ED I VECCHI ZELANTI. STUDIUM UTILI ANCORA ALL' ORDINAMENTO DEI
PARTITI PARLAMENTARI. FLORENCE, 1881. PSALM CXVI. 10.

"I BELIEVED, therefore have I spoken: I was greatly afflicted." This is the motto of the latest work of this remarkable author, who cannot shake off Rome, and whom Rome cannot shake off. The Pope has lost no time in placing it upon the Index, but it will be read by the thoughtful through the length and breadth of Italy for all that, and will act like leaven upon the Italian conscience. When I was at Rome in the Autumn of 1879, I had an opportunity of examining the New Testament translated by the same author into the vulgar tongue, and commented upon in exegetical and moral notes, and sold freely all over Italy. The translation was made from Jerome's Vulgate, the excellency of which is admitted by all; and, though the notes were added by a Jesuit, still the battle may be said to be half-won, when the printing-press issues faithful translations, and individual freedom of judgment is applied to the interpretation of the contents, whatever that judgment may be.

The volume before us contains two hundred and forty-five closely written pages, divided into ten chapters; and of each chapter a summary is given, divided into headings, indicating the logical order of the author's mind, and his desire to leave a work susceptible of instant reference. A brief preface explains his motive. He remarks, that forty months have passed away since his last work; and the evils, caused by the entire disunion betwixt the Church and State in Italy, have become aggravated, and compromise more than ever beyond hope. His book is intended for the Laity as well as the Clergy, having for its object to remove the dark cloud of prejudices and deceptions, which have deprived Italy, the most Catholic of countries, of all Catholic element in its National Constitution. In the decline of life he turns his thoughts to these half-political and half-religious necessities; for the nearer that he is to his heavenly home, so much the dearer seems his earthly one, which is but the ante-room to the former. He remarks that his book is published without ecclesiastical sanction, but that it has been reviewed, and approved by two of the most illustrious of the Clergy, who will answer for their opinions before God, but who, for just reasons, are precluded from doing so before men.

His first chapter shows the necessity of a religion to Italy. Society cannot exist without morality, or without God. Christianity alone offers a clear and certain morality, and unties the hard knots of life. In Christianity alone can the material and moral evils of poor human nature, with its accompanying pain, be explained, soothed, and compensated for. It is a childish illusion to suppose that the void caused by the absence of religion could be made good by Human Science. So far our readers will accompany the author with entire sympathy. But at this point he strikes a new note, and remarks, that "Protestantism," although favoured, never can thrive in Italy. If any Italians have become Protestants, he undertakes to show whose fault it was.

In his second chapter he discusses at length the folly and short-sightedness of the Papal party, who refuse to accept actual facts, such as presented by an United and Monarchical Italy; and who live in hope that, either by external pressure, or by inward dissension, the old state of things may possibly return, and the Pope regain his Temporal Power. He shows at length the great evils, which have accrued to the Church from this attitude of expectancy, both as regards the material comforts, the religious character, and the literary capacity of the Priesthood. The late Pius IX., the author of the dogma of Infallibility, is blamed most distinctly for this fatal policy.

In his third chapter he describes with astonishing freedom those, who were the cause and mainstay of the fatal policy of "waiting on the future," instead of acting for the "living present." "*Dominus dedit, Dominus abstulit: sit nomen Domini benedictum,*" is the poor comfort, that he has for the Pope groaning under the loss of Peter's Patrimony, and for the Clergy, regular and secular, deprived of their vast estates, and lucrative offices. By way of rubbing a little salt into the wound he remarks, that the Sabæans and Chaldeans, who plundered the flocks of Job, proved in the end to have been his real friends, and illustrates the position of the Pope by reference to the policy adopted by Æneas on the sacking of Troy, who at once made a new start "for another kingdom," exclaiming reverently:

Διὸς δ' ἐτελείατο βουλή.

In the heat of his argument he does not spare Pius IX., who appears to have been his old friend both before and after his Pontificate, and he tells how, in 1856, he reasoned with his Holiness on the subject of the incapacity, and unwisdom, of his advisers. The Pope admitted the errors of Cardinal Antonelli and of his party; but justified his retaining them in power by the following words, too important, as the words of an Infallible Pope, to be translated: "*E' vero: sono inetti: nondimeno la barca va.*" Our author does not hesitate to record, that, when he heard this reply, he thought

of Paganini, who was able to execute marvellous variations on *one single string*. But States are not managed like violins. He then denounces in unmeasured terms the abuses of the Ultramontane Press.

Chapter the fourth shows how dangerous the possession of Temporal Power was to the Pope, and of great wealth to Ecclesiastics. He sees the hand of God not only in the destruction of the Temporalities, but in the opportune moment of the destruction, when, by the changed circumstances of the time, such human appliances were no longer necessary. Padre Curci does not hesitate to brush aside, as with a feather, the proposition of the Syllabus, "which casts blame on any one, who dares to assert, that the abolition of the Temporalities can possibly work good to the Church." He waxes very bold here, and says that, in his opinion, the laying down of such a proposition, at a time, when the Pope was actually in possession of his Temporalities, amounted to a forejudging, or limiting of, the counsels of the Most High.

The fifth chapter is devoted to a description of the evil arising from a forced political abstention, both to the Church and the Parliament. While the book was passing through the press, certain remarks were made in public by Pope Leo, which led the author to attach a remarkable note to this chapter. "If," said he, "these words contained an absolute and universal forbidding of abstention, I would at once commit this chapter, or even this book, to the flames. But when the Pope's words are carefully weighed, it appears that no new order is issued, only that the old one is affirmed, and that good Catholics should be guided by the Vatican, since the time is not yet opportune." The author then affirms, that it is a thing most lawful to every Italian to take a part in political elections, and that no leave of the Church is necessary, as no actual prohibition has ever been issued.

The sixth chapter is headed, "Two weighty Stumbling-blocks placed by the Zealot-party in the way of the Gospel and the Laity: the Syllabus, and the Doctrine of Infallibility." Our author treats of the three modern Liberties: that of the Press, that of the Conscience, that of Public Worship, all of which, if not in so many words, are condemned in the Syllabus, placing before the Italian laity the awful choice between their Country and their Church. And here we perceive the struggle of the Jesuit to free himself from the ideas of his youth, and to recognize the existence of religion outside the circle of his own Church. He assumes, that *de jure et de facto* a Society, all whose members profess the same religious belief and adopt the same religious cult, may legitimately forbid the exercise by others, sojourners or strangers, of the liberty of conscience and of their particular cult. He goes on to remark that in modern Europe such a state of things is impossible, and admits that by the courtesy of International Law entire liberty is

the rule; nay more, that it is not, perhaps, the best, but still the only policy practically possible under present circumstances, and he allows that any attempt to contract such liberty would be resisted by the rising generation. However, since 1860 a new name has appeared in the classification of the population. Italy might have continued half Atheist or half Pagan, but, if she had been permitted to remain Catholic, would never in any appreciable degree become Protestant under any circumstances. Now numbers are becoming Protestant, not from motives of pique, or levity, but in sober earnestness. These numbers are increasing, and there is no appearance of future diminution. This calamity has not fallen on his dear country from the fault of the Revolution, but from the cruel unwisdom, with which the Zealots have placed the thoughtful and working laity in the tremendous dilemma of Indifferentism or Clericalism. Worse even than this, in the opinion of the writer, was the case of these delicate temperaments and noble minds, to whom the religious instinct was a light indispensable to the mind, and a necessity imperative to the heart, and who, having once known Christ, could not live without Him. Such as these have had the misfortune of separating from the Church of Rome, which offered them doctrine and morals of the highest legitimacy, and making a miserable sacrifice of the religion of their ancestors for the mere sake of some kind of spiritual food or other, they have joined the heretical Confessions, cleaving most readily to that form, which differed least from the Catholic Ritual. Now, if the advocates of "Liberty of Conscience and Cult" take the case of such as these under their protection, and say that they are as good Italians as any others, enjoying similar rights, discharging similar duties, paying similar taxes, it is of course impossible to deny to them the liberty recognized as the right of all, unless it be on the ground of their fewness rendering them as nothing compared with the whole population. Yet the fact of their being less or more does not alter their nature, or their inherent rights, and they are in every way on the increase. So far as regards himself, Father Curci adds, that he petitions the Divine Goodness to spare them the fulfilment of an inauspicious forecast.

The seventh chapter touches upon the state of the Clergy during the Pontificate of Pius IX., and at present: the necessity and yet difficulty of recognizing what that State is, and what is the work, and the attainments of the Clergy. Our readers can well understand the piquancy and severity, with which an Ecclesiastic, advanced in life, and of great abilities, would review the merits of a whole generation of professional brethren, perhaps more fortunate while less meritorious than himself. One remarkable section attracts special attention in this chapter. "If," he says, "the course of "theological instruction of the Priests is devious and weak, the "biblical instruction can be affirmed, in fact, and universally, to be

"non-existent. In the preface to my translation of the New
 "Testament I exposed the unquestionable truth of this ruinous and
 "shameful fact. I showed the causes of it and the consequences.
 "And to the best of my knowledge, no one has disputed my state-
 "ments seriously. Opinions can only be formed from books actually
 "published, and from the time of starting to the present moment
 "such books can be counted upon the fingers. At the present time,
 "when the Press teems with works of all kinds, the most eccentric
 "branch of study will be found to have given birth to more
 "publications than the Bible. And the extreme penury of this
 "branch of our Literature appears more to our shame, when con-
 "trasted with the extraordinary fecundity, during the same period,
 "of heretical teachers, the very title of whose works would fill a
 "large volume; and since these writers have, under the influence
 "of time, laid aside much of their prejudices against the Catholic
 "Church, their works contain a stupendous store of new and
 "erudite observations, principally philological, which can be of
 "remarkable use to us in obtaining a knowledge of a book in
 "which, coming as it does from God, great as is the amount of
 "Truth that we have already discovered, there is still more to
 "discover.

"And can it be believed? This very same alacrity of Protestants
 "in their biblical studies, instead of being a stimulant to us of a
 "noble emulation, has been a pretext upon which to calumniate
 "them, so much so that in some great dioceses among the younger
 "clergy there is an undercurrent of rumour, that to pretend to
 "understand the Bible was blasphemy, and that to study it was
 "the action of a Protestant. My God! To what have we come?
 "Shall we give up believing in, and adoring Christ, because the
 "Protestants believe in, and adore Him also?"

Curci next quotes St. Augustine that the "'Written Word' was
 "not essentially different from the 'Word in the Flesh.' That
 "God had communicated the inestimable treasure of this Word,
 "authentically sealed as His own. That the Church had adopted
 "nearly the whole of it in her Liturgies in order that it might be
 "read daily by her Ministers. That a large portion was read to
 "the people, and, if for grave reasons it was read to them in a
 "language not their own, that it was still intended that it should
 "be explained by the Ministers. But how could they read it to
 "their own profit, or explain it to the people, if they did not
 "understand it? or how could they understand it, if they did not
 "study it? At the time of the first outburst of heresies, from the
 "16th to the 18th century, there had been an abundance of pro-
 "found biblical studies from Etzelio to Culmet, but now the
 "Zealot-party have other thoughts than for biblical studies, and
 "instead of making themselves acquainted with the stupendous
 "stores of Scriptural Exegesis, which the heretics are piling up,

"and confuting such errors as may be found in these writings, our only reply is a foolish and haughty disdain!"

Well done, Father Curci! Another generation of such bold thinkers and outspoken reformers as yourself may compel the Church of Rome to change her front. If a profound study of the Bible has not enabled you to become perfectly free from her trammels, it has at least taught you to protest against one of the greatest of the errors in the system of the Church of Rome.

The distinguished writer next gives us an account of his Bible-work. In 1872, seeing that it was impossible to serve the Church in Rome except in one way, and that that way, in his opinion, was *false and ruinous*, he became convinced, that there was no remedy available to the moral and religious necessities of his countrymen, except in a better knowledge of the example and precepts of Jesus Christ. He moved to Florence, and published a translation of the four Gospels, with notes, in the vernacular. And, in spite of the general want of sympathy, he placed in circulation, either by gift or at a reduced price, about thirty thousand copies of this work. The favourable reception of this attempt encouraged the author to publish in five volumes *A Commentary of the Four Gospels*. The singular blessing vouchsafed by God to this enterprise contributed not a little to bring down upon him a heavy storm in 1877. He was interdicted from his priestly duties; but he only turned the more vigorously to his favourite task of rousing the clergy and laity to a more ample knowledge of Christ and His teaching. His life and strength were spared to be devoted to the service of God, and his neighbour, and in 1878 was published a new version of the New Testament, which is the part of the Bible that is most living, and pregnant, and that which touches the heart most closely. With this translation were Exegetic and Moral Notes, that made the whole a complete Commentary. He hoped that such a work would revive in the clergy a taste for biblical studies, and arouse among the cultivated laity a knowledge of the love of Christ. But the facts showed, that the hope was an illusion, as indeed were all the hopes of this kind in the whole of his long life, and he had never entertained hopes of any other kind. His book, if not stifled in the cradle, died soon after its birth, being scarcely noticed anywhere in Italy except at Florence. He remarks bitterly that, had he published a Commentary on the Korán, he would have found more readers than were attracted by the New Testament.

Then follows an outburst of noble indignation. "Men may think as they like, but God is my witness, that I do not write under feelings of puerile mortification. Among other human vanities I have personal experience of the worthlessness of literary success, and I consider, that my want of success in this work is a special favour of God, who has permitted me thus to offer to Christ, without any hope of human reward, not only all

" my poor intellectual labour, but also my material resources, which, however much the world may esteem such things, I treat as dung, believing that I have a heavenly Father who feeds the ravens, and clothes the lilies. I have a boundless love for the Church, and I am cut to the heart, and my face is suffused with blushes at the consideration of the degree, to which that Church has fallen, when the only translation of the New Testament, which has appeared for a century, should be treated with such disdain, if not dishonour. I shall have occasion to notice the part, which ought to have been taken by the Zealots, to whom it appeared of importance to destroy this translation, as they have already destroyed the translator. They did not think it wise to remit any portion of their deadly hate to Christ, and His Holy Word. Separated as the laity is from the clergy, the only hope of retaining and improving all that remains of Christianity is by publishing the Bible."

In chapters eight and nine he looks into the future and speculates upon the course, which Providence would compel the Church to take. He argues that separation of Church and State is not an unmixed evil, and that the Church of Christ (which position he asserts to be the peculiar privilege of the Church of Rome), can exist independent of all human authorities. He denies that a Protestant Church can exist without the support of the civil power, and illustrates his position by referring to the Established Church of England, which is upheld both by the party of Gladstone *the Liberal*, and of Disraeli *the Puritan*. He seems unaware of the existence of the great Protestant Churches of Europe and America, which are entirely independent of the State.

In chapter nine he suggests the various reforms, to which the Church must submit to enable it to walk worthily in the new path indicated by Providence. It is known too well at the Vatican, that, if once the smallest reform were admitted, the door would be opened to changes, the nature and extent of which no one living can predict. The author illustrates the evil of this centralization, which has been carried to such a frightful extent in late years, by alluding to the manner in which a book is placed upon the "Index," or, in other words, forbidden to be read by a dutiful son of the Church, and implying, of course, that the perusal of all other works is lawful. It appears that the Congregation, entrusted with this censorial duty, consists of forty unpaid honorary members, and that it would be ridiculous to suppose that such a body would, or could, take upon itself to inspect and place into two categories the numberless works in every language, with which the press teems. How, then, is action taken? There are always found those, who from spite or malice are ready to play the part of "Delator," once so famous in Pagan Rome, and to denounce the writings of an unpopular, or

too independent, Catholic author. The "Index" is thus converted into an engine intended to obstruct the publication of the Truth. On the other hand good Catholics are considered quite at liberty to read all other books not entered in the "Index," however abominable they may be for the infidelity or immorality which they treat of.

In his last chapter he goes over the same subject: his style is terribly diffuse; he ventilates his own personal grievances, for, as is well known, he has been expelled from the Order of Jesuits, to which he had belonged for fifty years, and which he had stoutly defended in several celebrated treatises. He founded the celebrated "Civiltà Catholica" in Rome, but left it in 1865. Up to 1870 he energetically defended the Temporal Power of the Pope; and he gained a popularity in many cities of Italy by his preaching. But the time came, when he bowed to the logic of facts, and recognized the necessity laid upon the Church to accept the new condition of affairs, and be contented with a spiritual kingdom. This brought him into direct antagonism with his old friends, and the supporters of the Centralized System, with their cuckoo-cry of, "Non-possumus." At the age of seventy-one he publishes this, his Apology, and like a wise man shuts himself up in a retreat, where neither praise nor blame can reach him; for on the last page there is a note intimating, that he never looks at periodical literature, and that so far from taking any notice of attacks upon himself, he will not be aware of their existence, as he is dedicating the remainder of his faculties to another great biblical work, probably the Psalms. We can only hope that the blessing of Peace will attend him in his closing labours, and that at "Eventide" he will find "Light" in some of the dark places, which still exist in his commanding intellect.

Mission-Life, London, August, 1881.

XXX.

A GERMAN FOREIGN BIBLE-SOCIETY.

IN 1886 I attempted, but in vain, to induce the twenty-two Bible Clubs of Germany to unite themselves into one great German Society, and undertake the Bible-work of their own Colonies, and of the Non-Christian World. I issued the following appeal:

"Das vereinigte Deutschland ist jetzt eines der grössten und mächtigsten Länder der Erde. Nicht nur gründert es Kolonien in Afrika und Asien, sondern es nimmt auch hervorragenden Anteil an dem Werk der Bekehrung der Völker, die noch auf dem Pfade der Finsternis wandeln. Der deutsche Missionar ist

“ ebenso bekannt wie der deutsche Gelehrte. Eine Nation aber
 “ kann unmöglich vollständig organisiert sein, wenn sie nicht
 “ ihre eigenen Angehörigen mit der h. Schrift in ihrer Sprache
 “ versorgt, noch kann sie vollständig unabhängig ist von einer,
 “ wenn auch blutsverwandten und eng befreundeten, so doch im-
 “ merhin fremden Nation.

“ Die britische und ausländische Gesellschaft hat für lange Jahre
 “ das grosse Vorrecht genossen, ihre geliebten deutschen Brüder
 “ mit dem Worte des Lebens zu versorgen. Was würden aber die
 “ amerikanischen Brüder, oder das schottische Volk, sagen, wenn
 “ man sie auffordern würde solche Almosen von England anzu-
 “ nehmen. England scheut durchaus nicht die Kosten, und es kommt
 “ ihm nicht entfernt in den Sinn, seine Beihilfe in Zukunft zu
 “ verringern, oder gar einzustellen. Ich gestehe sogar gerne zu,
 “ dass ein eigener Reiz in der Ueberlegenheit liegt, die es einem
 “ kleinen Inselreich giebt, im stande zu sein, ganz unschätzbaren
 “ Segen einem Lande zu teil werden zu lassen, das viel grösser ist,
 “ als es selber. Ich schlage auch nicht vor, die römisch-katholischen
 “ Provinzen mit der Bibel zu versehen, das mag mit der Zeit
 “ kommen, aber ich erhebe meine Stimme laut und mit Nachdruck
 “ zu dem deutschen Volke und rufe: Versorgt eure eigenen *pro-*
 “ *testantischen* Gemeinden mit der Bibel.

“ Ich bin mir sehr wohl bewusst, dass viele Schwierigkeiten zu
 “ überwinden sind. Aber tretet ihnen nur mutig entgegen. Lasst
 “ alle provinziellen Gesellschaften sich vereinigen zu einer einzigen
 “ grossen deutschen Bibelgesellschaft unter dem Protektorat Seiner
 “ Majestät des Kaisers! Oder soll das Land, das hunderte von
 “ Missionaren nach allen Teilen der Erde entsendet, das Land, ohne
 “ dessen Hilfe England überhaupt die Uebersetzung der Bibel in
 “ fremde Sprachen nicht ausführen konnte, soll dieses Land sich
 “ nicht der ersten und wichtigsten Pflicht entledigen, die h. Schrift
 “ unter dem Kostenpreis in die Hände von Mann und Weib und
 “ Kind in Deutschland zu legen!”

XXXI.

WHAT WOMEN HAVE RECEIVED FROM THE BIBLE, AND WHAT SERVICES THEY CAN RENDER IN RETURN.

“ *The kingdom of heaven is like unto leaven, which a woman took and hid in three measures of meal.*”

SINCE the earliest epochs and in all countries, women have been more or less oppressed by the stronger sex; whether in a high Oriental civilization, or in the low level of the barbarian of

North America, Africa, and Oceania. But from the earliest days, wherever the spirit of the Bible prevailed, women were treated with respect, love, and honour: there was, indeed, polygamy up to the time of the Captivity, but we find no trace of it after the return from Exile. Daughter, sister, mother, were words accompanied with a blessing, as they suggested blessings. The Jews had need to learn of our Lord, but in this particular there was less cause for reproof. By placing the mark of His disapproval on divorce He corrected the only flaw in the relation of the sexes. Throughout the Epistles of Paul we find tender salutations full of respect and love to his dear fellow-workers, and no doubt they were worthy of the honour, though history is silent as to the nature of their services to him personally. Nothing, however, is more striking in the Gospel-narratives than the fearless and persistent devotion of the daughters of Jerusalem to their Lord, who had been deserted by his male followers with the exception of John. First at the Sepulchre; last at the Cross!

It would be out of place here to chronicle what women have done for the work of Missions. I wish only to record how much they have done and are doing for the British and Foreign Bible Society.

1. What would become of our local organizations in this country, if women were not forward in every detail! How altered the appearance of audiences, if women were not present to hear the speakers! How vain would be the efforts of secretaries and deputations without those "sisters, who laboured much in the Lord!" How strange, on our annual gatherings, would Exeter Hall appear in the absence of the devout women, a great multitude, who show so impressively by their numbers, how deep is their devotion to the work of their Lord.

2. Love is more valuable than wealth; still to carry on this great work money is required, and, if the gold and silver in our treasure-house could cry out, how many coins would say, "Directly or indirectly, by the influence of mother, daughter, and wife, 'a woman sent me.'" If Eve tempted man to sin, to how many good actions have women led men by good example and gentle persuasion!

3. In the foreign field women have not been absent, in their labours in the *Depôt* or as *colporteurs*. We all recollect the notable instance of that good lady at Neufchatel, who so many years, without remuneration, from simple love of the Book, kept the *Depôt*, and did the work of a silent evangelist. Two years ago, at Moscow, I was in the *Depôt*, when a woman entered and began to fill her empty sack with Bibles, and I found that she was a book-hawker, who went her daily round, content with the small percentage upon her sales. She looked for her full tale of wages for her work to heaven, and to her Master there.

4. In the home field we bless the name of Bible-women, and of the dear departed friend, who set on foot the enterprise. In the streets and the homes of the poor, in the docks and the manufactories, wherever sinners are collected together, there Bible-women are found. Not many, that are wise in things of this world; not many that are great, as man calculates greatness; nor may they be beautiful to the eye, that sees only the outward form; they are only humble handmaidens of the Lord, but their names will be written among the angels.

5. In Oriental countries, where women are by the custom of the country secluded from the men, what chance would a poor woman have to know the truth but for the appearance of her sister from Europe and North America, some to teach, some to heal, and some to bear about the Book of Life, to read it to ears, which never heard the story of the great promises before, to leave it in the hands of those, who have found out its value: is not this the leaven, which a woman took and hid in a measure of meal? Will it not be remembered in the great day, when all things are revealed?

6. Let me allude to even higher things. All gifts come from the Lord, and as they belong to Him, to Him must the first-fruits and the last gleanings be rendered. Women have not been wanting, to whom this great gift has been granted of a sanctified power of rendering the meaning of inspired words in the Hebrew and Greek into the Vernacular spoken by the natives. Let us reflect how mighty such a gift is; how blessed are they who have been chosen to exercise this gift. Some may have converted souls by their living voice; this is a great Grace, but to the sister, whose voice speaks beyond the grave, we must say, "Thou excellest them all!"

Thus I have noticed briefly the good work of our sisters. The Lord will reward them!

British and Foreign Bible Society Reporter, July, 1890.

XXXII.

COPY OF REPORT OF INTERNATIONAL MISSIONARY CONGRESS

Presented to

EACH STUDENT OF THE CHURCH MISSIONARY COLLEGE, ISLINGTON,
ON THE OCCASION OF HIS ENTERING UPON HIS CHRISTIAN WARFARE.

MAY GOD'S HOLY SPIRIT GUIDE HIM!

- (1) To feel a warm sympathy in the preaching of the Gospel throughout the World, not only in his own particular Field.

- (2) To recognize, that the path of the Missionary is one of failures and chastenings, of self-abnegation and humility, sanctified with humble prayer and renewed efforts, based upon experience as well as faith.
- (3) To know that the great agent for conversion of souls is love : that the Missionary must have the tender pity as of a father for the Heathen sitting for so many generations in darkness ; an inexhaustible patience for their waywardness and backslidings ; and a sympathizing indulgence for their ancient customs, however foolish in his eyes.

1880.

XXXIII.

"EAST AFRICA AND ITS BIG GAME."

BY A CAPTAIN OF THE ROYAL HORSE GUARDS BLUE.

THE narrative of wholesale wild-beast slaughter for the sake of slaying, and boasting of it afterwards in domestic circles, by two young officers of the Household-Brigade gifted with more thews than brains, and more gold than common sense, would in a serious journal be scarcely worth noticing on its path from the mess-room-table to the trunk-maker's shop, where the good paper used for the pages supplies good lining for trunks, perhaps the only real usefulness, of which the book had been guilty. As Erasmus wrote of one of his antagonists :

"Tuum librum, nisi in malum usum, non servavi."

But certain unjust and unmannerly attacks on the Missionaries of the two great British Societies, who are living and dying in Eastern Equatorial Africa, and certain sneers based on ignorance, and statements from whatever cause false with regard to the poor African converts to Christianity, require a reply, at the risk of giving a worthless book another week's lease of life.

The Captain arrived at Zanzibár on November 28, 1886, and left Mombása for England on May 1, 1887. He penetrated as far as Kili-Manjáro, but we look in vain into his flimsy pages for any geographical, ethnographical, or botanical, information. He had not many ideas, and the words "Kill and Drink" seem to have included them all. He tells us, that the Bishop of Mombása had promised the use of the Mission-steamer, but was anxious, that the crew should be back at Mombása on Sunday to attend Divine Service. The Captain considered this to be a rare joke. The representative of the Household-Brigade is in favour of Slavery, and thinks, "that it is suitable to the wants of the Natives, *from what he knew of them*, as needful to fit them for higher callings."

In his opinion "the conversion to Christianity will not fit them, "as under such conditions the low-class native deteriorates into "an utter blackguard." He visited the Mission-Stations of the Missions on the Island of Zanzibár: he records, that instead of the girls being taught to cook, and the men to work, the observance of ritualistic exercises seemed to be the chief occupation of the existing Missionaries. He had no doubt, that the Bishop had altered all this now, and is endeavouring to do good among the veritable Heathen on the Mainland, instead of trying to induce those, who have a religion (the Mahometan), which suits them, and which they understand, to change it for one which does not. He admits, that "there are some excellent men among the Missionaries, but "few are well educated, the majority having been manufactured "out of traders, clerks, and mechanics. The process is not a "difficult one: a man, thinking that he can improve his position by "missionary work, has only to go to school for a year or two, and "learn a certain amount of medicine and carpentry, flavoured "with a little theology, and he is turned out into a full-blown "Missionary, and orthodox Deacon, by the local Bishop." The Captain must have been told all this by some one, who knew the intellectual capacity of the Household-Brigade, and took a rise out of it: it is understood, that his informant was one, who had striven to decoy one of the budding negresses in the Mission-School from the path of virtue, but had been checkmated by the Missionary in charge: hence his venom: it is notorious, that the Missionaries at Zanzibár are all University men, who war at their own charges. A good Missionary need not be born of gentle blood; but as a fact the majority of the Missionaries of the Universities Missions are so. His expressions as to Religion indicate an absence of all religious instinct in himself, and one, who writes in such a way, can scarcely be entered in the Census as a Christian: he does not tell us what form of religious belief suits and is understood by himself.

At Mombása he came into contact with the Missionaries of the Church Missionary Society. One of them objected to the engagement of men belonging to the Mission without permission. It struck the Captain, that these freed slaves, who were fed, protected, and instructed by the Mission, and also had families dependent on them, had only left one form of servitude to embark in another, and it seemed hard, that they should be prevented from taking service with the Camp, to be beaten at pleasure, employed to beat up the lairs of dangerous game, and left possibly to die: however, he did secure one hundred and twenty Mission-men, whom he found a class very difficult to manage, and we wonder, that he engaged them, "for their *disposition and physique had been injured* "by their religious training, and the majority were idle, drunken, "and untrustworthy. The donkeys, who helped to carry the tent, "required three other donkeys in the shape of Mission-boys to look

"after them." Further on we read that "the Mission-men relieved him of seven valuable rifles in addition to their own valueless presence." Again, "A typical representative of the disreputable Mission-convert brought the gift, and was half drunk when he arrived: his knowledge of English found its only expression in a request for whisky, intermingled with a string of oaths. On taking leave he expressed his hope, that we should come again, and bring lots of whisky, as he could get none at the Mission-Station."

The Captain met the lamented Bishop Parker, who had had long experience in India, and took care, that the burden of his porters should be proportioned to their strength. The Captain thought, that the Bishop was imposed upon by his Missionaries, who would not allow their adherents to carry a weight exceeding fifty pounds; and he supposed that "it made a difference when you are spending old ladies' money instead of your own." The Bishop had learned in India to be kind and just to the Natives: the gallant Captain, whose experience was limited to Windsor, Hounslow, and Knightsbridge, knew better.

The Bishop and his colleagues went out to exhibit patience, self-denial, and self-consecration for the saving of souls. In a few weeks after he laid down his life: these jaunty young horse-soldiers went out to kill big game, to get talked about at the mess-table, to waste idle hours, and to leave the jungle-path strewn with empty liquor-bottles: their lives were spared to return home: throughout the book there is not the faintest allusion to a halt on Sunday, which is the universal rule in India: there is no allusion to Sunday-worship: their lives were marvellously protected from beasts, disease, and the hands of savage men, yet there is not one ejaculation of thanks to the Hand, that protected them: they might be classed as downright Pagans, for the amount of liquors consumed by them forbids the idea of their being Mahometans. We are told at p. 41, that "they had with them champagne, claret, port, brandy, and whisky:" they had introduced whisky into the remote region of Chagga: their feasts are described: "Our meal consisted of roast gazelle, but luckily we found that a case of champagne-had arrived, and this we had open in no time: what a pick-me-up it was! I am sure that none of us had ever appreciated a drink so much before." Allusions are repeatedly made to "voracious feeding." The Captain records, without any sense of shame, that he flogged Natives. Which was the greater savage? The sportsman or the big game? Are these the civilizers of the poor African?

The Rock, 1890.

PART IV.
MISCELLANEOUS.

I.

MOROCCO.

I HAD long proposed to visit this country, but something had interfered. I had gone over Spain on one side of it and Algeria on the other, and looked at its coasts and the lighthouse of Cape Spartel from the P. and O. steamers, but it was only in 1887 that I managed to set foot in the Empire. I had read up all the books about it, English, French, German, and Italian, and nothing seemed new. I had the good fortune to meet Sir John Drummond Hay, the representative of the old system, and Sir W. Kirby Green, the newly-installed representative of Great Britain. It so happened, that owing to the expected death of the Emperor, or some political crisis, such as are constantly occurring here, ships of all the great Powers were in the harbour, except of Great Britain; but the *Duke of Edinburgh* and other warships were lying ready actually within sight from Tangier in Gibraltar harbour. The secret of the political position is this: Spain would like to annex the Atlantic littoral, without having the means or energy to make any use of it; France would like to annex a large slice to Algeria up to the River Mulûwa, as a kind of first bite, but in doing so would only add to her already existing difficulties. Great Britain, the United States, Italy, and Germany, will not allow such schemes; the geographical position of Morocco places in its hands the key of the Mediterranean, and a strong Government holding Morocco, brought up to the level of other European Governments, might disturb the balance of power of Europe.

Let me describe the country geographically and physically. It lies betwixt 36° and 30° north latitude in the same zone as the south of Spain, Sicily, Syria, and Mesopotamia, and betwixt 1° and 9° west longitude in the same zone as Spain, the west coast of France, and Great Britain and Ireland. It faces two great seas, the Mediterranean on the north, and the Atlantic on the west. It has numerous harbours capable of being made thoroughly efficient for warlike and commercial purposes, all now neglected and useless. From its south-west corner on the Atlantic to its north-eastern on the Mediterranean, extends the noble Atlas-range, fringed on both sides by lower ranges of different altitudes. The highest peaks are at an altitude of 11,400 feet, and are covered with eternal snow. From both sides of the range descend rivers. The area of the empire is one-fourth part larger than that of France, which gives a better idea of its size than a long row of inappreciable ciphers; the population is about one-eighth of the population of France, six and a half millions.

And of what races is that population composed? Long before historic times, before Egypt had settled itself into a compact kingdom, blocking up the land-road from Asia to Africa, certain tribes, who are described as Hamitic, akin to but distinct from the Semitic races, passed from Asia into Africa; they are totally distinct in their speech at least from other families; the Egyptians belonged to this family, and, settling on the Nile, rose to an eminence among the nations of the elder world. But beyond them, towards the west, their congeners spread as far as Morocco and beyond to the Canary Islands. When Dido left her Semitic home to found Carthage, she found the Hamitic people already in possession. The hypothesis, that the Libyan races came across the Mediterranean from Europe, is quite fanciful; we have some idea of the early races, who occupied Italy and Spain; how comes it, that these immigrants into North Africa from the Straits of Gibraltar to the Nile all speak kindred languages, not in the least connected with any language ever spoken in Europe, but akin to the Egyptian, one of the oldest in the world, and akin to the language spoken in the region betwixt the Red Sea and the Upper Nile? The Greeks founded colonies like Cyrène, but did not disturb the original inhabitants. The Romans conquered and colonized North Africa; but the races called by them "barbari" and "berber" survived, intermixed with the descendants of Semitic, Greek, and Roman colonists, and the Christianity of North Africa attained a great lustre. Expeditions were being constantly made against the mountaineers. The Vandals from Europe conquered the country about 450 A.D., and the Visigoths from Central Europe in 621 A.D. The whole had been named Mauretania, but the province of Morocco was known as Tingitane Mauretania, so named from its capital called Tingis or Tingi, and now Tangier.

It is well to recollect, that this province was quite as much a Christian province as the neighbouring Hispania, or any province of the Roman Empire: it belonged sometimes to the Western or Latin Empire, and sometimes to the Eastern or Greek Empire seated at Constantinople. The Berbers were in constant revolt; but upon them and the colonists of Europe, against whom they rebelled, fell a sudden and unexpected chastisement, when, 681 A.D., Sidi Okba, the general of the Mahometan Caliph in Egypt, fell with his Arab Mahometan invaders upon the province, annexed it, and called it "Maghrab al Akxa," or the Extreme West. Christianity was extirpated, and Tangier became the stepping-stone to the conquest of Spain. The original inhabitants accepted a light form of Mahometanism, but have maintained a rude independence in the mountains. They are known as Riff and Shlu, and their language is distinctly Hamitic. They are in fact more than half Pagan; they were poor Christians, when that faith was dominant; they are poor Mahometans now; they are neither fanatics nor

hypocrites. The descendants of the Arab settlers, if in the towns, were called Moors, and if in the open plain, Arabs, sometimes settled in permanent villages and sometimes in temporary huts as Nomads; these are called Dwars or Tent-villages; the numbers have been increased by the refugees from Spain, when Grenáda was conquered. The number of Jews is very considerable, amounting to half a million; some of these were polygamists: this class of the community was greatly increased by the expulsion of so many from Spain. To these three distinct factors in the population, the Berber, the Arab, and the Jew, must be added the Negro, amounting to at least one million. From the earliest period there has been a steady flow of negro-slaves from the regions south of the Senegál and Niger Rivers into Morocco, and it continues in full force to this day; and the finest races, the Haúsa, Surháí, and Bambára, have been imported. No idea of caste prevails, and the negro blood has acquired a strong influence, and apparently there is no prejudice against it, as in Europe and America, for the Emperor of Morocco himself betrays the negro origin of his female ancestors, and the well-known Sharíf of Wazan is the child of a negress. This is remarkable, as in so many Asiatic races (and the Emperor claims Arab blood) the descent of the mother must be as pure as that of the father, and in one very large section of Oriental populations, the race of a man is traced through his maternal ancestors. In addition to these four great component parts of the population, there is the low European resident element, men escaped from Spanish prisons, or refugees from Spain, and a terribly mixed class below them. The Mahometan population of Morocco as a rule are monogamist, and the Berbers do not practice circumcision; women are not veiled, and are married after puberty, sometimes the result of choice of the parties. The power of divorce is restricted by rules: the Berbers eat the wild boar. The number of half-bloods is very considerable.

When the Mahometan invasion took place, the Christian European colonists, or half-bloods, disappeared; some were killed, some fled to Spain, but many took refuge with the Berbers in the mountains, and became blended in that race. But they left traces; the Berbers, contrary to the Mahometan practice, use the solar year, and call the names of the months by the Latin names. Latin words have survived in their language and fair faces among their women. We may reflect upon the unrecorded misery undergone by the women and the old men and children in these perilous times, and the same fate may await the descendants of the European settlers in British India; the men would be killed, and the women and children absorbed into the lower strata of the great Indian people, with some survivals of English words and customs. There appears to be in Morocco no practical prohibition of the use of wine.

The country itself divides itself into two great regions, north

of the Atlas-range, and south. The north is by far the most important, and has three zones: (1) the coast of the Atlantic and Mediterranean; (2) the intermediate plains; (3) the rugged highlands which form the frontier of the French colony of Algeria; these are respectively the residences of the Moor, the Arab, and the Berber, though of course there is a considerable admixture; at least, Berbers are found in the littoral and the plain, but it is doubtful, whether Moors or Arabs would venture into the mountains. As the country is called Morocco, the best name for the people in their collectiveness is "Moroccan," as "Moor" strictly applies only to a small section, and Maghrabi, or "Western," by which name they know themselves, is inapplicable in the mouths of nations, who dwell in the same longitudes. Morocco was once the granary of Rome, and now scarcely produces enough for local consumption. They once domineered over the ships of Europe in the Mediterranean; now neither the State nor the people have a vessel afloat. Morocco is extremely fortunate in its supply of rivers, in fact the presence of the Atlas-range secures a regular discharge of melted snow, and a regular supply of water for irrigation and navigation, if ordinary care were taken to control and husband it. In old times we read of forests in the description of the country; it is now quite treeless. There used to be large lakes and regular rising of the rivers; there is a liability now to violent and destructive floods, and then a total want of water. The agriculture depends upon the seasons, and the soil even now is fertile; the style of farm-labour is so reduced, that a donkey yoked to a goat, and a woman yoked to a cow, can be seen pretending to plough the land. There is a regular recurrence of famines; no attempt is made by the ruler to assist the sufferers or anticipate the evil. A peasant describes the perils of the agriculturist as follows: "Locusts come sometimes; famines often; the revenue-officials always." The farmer is deterred from increasing his cultivated area by the certainty, that he will become a prey to greater exactions. The utter want of equity, or ordinary wisdom, on the part of the officials, and their constant change, renders the lot of all, who are attached to the soil, most miserable.

The traveller sometimes comes upon stretches of country of surprising fertility, showing what might be under a good government. The owners may perhaps be able to protect themselves, or be themselves men in power. The view of the Atlas-range is charming from the plains. I transcribe the description of an eye-witness:

"We had been climbing a narrow mountain-pass for some hours, a relief from the dusty plain, that up till now we had been travelling over, when, on reaching the summit, we saw the great mountains and the plain stretched out below us, Morocco half hidden in its groves of palm-trees. It was a lovely sight, the green below, and the great snow-peaks above, the nearer mountains a brilliant blue in the clear bright daylight. We stopped some time and gazed. One

"could scarcely realize, that one was looking upon the great peaks of the Atlas-range, rearing their head some thirteen or fourteen thousand feet into the sky, "the backbone, so to speak, of Africa, the barrier, that divides the wild tribes of "the Sus and Sahára from the Moors."

Attempts have lately been made, in spite of the extreme unwillingness of the authorities, to find tracks across the range, and have partially succeeded. Good roads across the mountains would have the effect of controlling the provinces beyond, over which the authority of the Emperor is little more than nominal. Bordering on the Sahára are the Oases of Tuat, Figuig, and Tafilet; they are fertile, and occupied by another race of Berbers, the Tuwarég, exceedingly independent. They live in walled villages called Ksúr, and their subjection would give trouble to any European Government. Beyond the Atlas, also, are the valleys of Dra, Sus, and Ghir, which are fed by the snow of the southern slopes, and find their way into the Atlantic. Their boundaries are most uncertain, but their importance is, that the slave-caravans from the Sudán find their way through them. There is no shipping of slaves here, but they proceed by land. The introduction of a European Power at this place would extinguish the slave-trade and the slavery of Morocco, as it would bar the entrance of caravans. All importation of slaves into Algeria and Tunisia has ceased.

By a singular chance, a British factor in African politics has appeared at Cape Juby, on the West Coast of Africa, opposite to the Canary Islands, beyond the limits of any *bond fide* authority of the Emperor of Morocco. Here a commercial establishment has been fixed. The Emperor had the audacity to send people to attack it. This placed him on the horns of a dilemma: either it was not within his territory, and if so he was an invader; or it was within, and in that case he was bound to protect the lawful British trader. Mr. Donald Mackenzie appears to be a man of enterprize, and full of schemes, one of which is at a particular point to introduce the sea through a canal into a depressed basin, and thus create a vast internal sea, on which steamers could pass well on the way to Timbáktu. This scheme is somewhat of a rival in conception of Mr. Lesseps' scheme of introducing the waters of the Mediterranean into the chain of lakes in Tunisia. Neither scheme seems very practicable. Another scheme, projected by a Frenchman, but unsupported by capital, is to construct a railroad from Cape Juby to Timbáktu. All these schemes, which seem to be dreams in the nineteenth century, may become realities in the twentieth. Africa seems more suited for caravans of camels than railways or artificial seas. The climate would not suit either; and who would maintain and protect such works in their length of desert?

There have been, and are, a great variety of bad Governments in Asia and Africa, but none so bad as that of Morocco. The accounts of all writers agree in this, that Government has fallen to the very

lowest possible ebb; it is scarcely possible, that things can go on longer as they are. Bad Governments generally perish by a foreign invader, by a national uprising, or change of dynasty. It is a remarkable illustration of the degradation of the people, that neither of the latter have been had resort to. The Emperor pretends to be a descendant of Mahomet, with as much proof of his pedigree as one of the innumerable Saiyad in India, who make the same vaunt. He is entirely absolute with regard to the persons and property of his subjects. Each change of the crown is accompanied by a civil war, and the besieging of towns, and heads are cut off, and a new reign commences: there is not a word to be said in favour of this sovereign and dynasty. He has a kind of council of relations and personal friends, who fill the offices usually held by ministers. A word of the Emperor removes them, plunders them, imprisons them, kills them: and indeed, as far as character goes, they are hardly worthy of life. The official charged with foreign affairs resides at Tangier, beyond which no European representative resides, but a formal visit is allowed upon appointment. Much has been said of the advantage of the European Powers insisting upon residing at the capital; but this would not help much, as the Emperor migrates with his whole court from Fez to Morocco, from Morocco to Mekinez, and spends a large part of his year in expeditions, attacking and plundering his own subjects under pretence of collecting revenues. The power of the Emperor is theoretically limited by the Korán and Men of Religion, and practically by the advice and warning of the European representatives. As a fact, the area of the Empire is only half subject to the Emperor. What is called the Empire of Morocco is not identical in area with the region occupied by Moroccan nomads and settlers. Every province has a governor or *ámil*, and every city a *kaid*. Among the Berber mountaineers each tribe has a chief, who is nominally under the governor. The Jews have their own ruler, and each village its head.

The servants of the State have no salary, or a ridiculously small one; in fact, they purchase their office, and are obliged to extort bribes and contributions from those whom they are sent to protect. Whilst in power, they are corrupt, unscrupulous, and cruel; but the day comes, when they are supposed to be fat enough, and the Emperor squeezes them, and makes them disgorge their plunder. The art of doing nothing is extensively cultivated. Procrastination, lies, and protestations, are their weapons. It is difficult to say, whether they have more in them of the bigot or the barbarian. The army, such as it is, is maintained, not to invade foreign territories, or protect its own frontiers, for the sea washes two sides; the desert is the boundary of the third, and the fourth, or French side, is saved by the interference of the Great Powers. The duty of the army is to collect taxes, to bully independent tribes, and

conduct expeditions, which leave ruined villages and smoking homes behind them. While I write, my eye falls upon a notice in the *Times* of the day.

"A despatch from Tangier of to-day's date says, that the Sultan of Morocco, while proceeding along the Tadmra road, changed his course unexpectedly and turned to the north, taking in the rear the Zemmour tribe, who lately attacked the camp of the Sultan's son, and massacred a number of his troops. The Sultan attacked the Zemmour, and, after a battle in which he was the victor, decapitated 80 of the prisoners. The Sultan's action, adds the despatch, has had a great moral effect upon the Berber tribes."

The policy of the State seems to be to oppose progress and civilization and Occidental ideas in every form; to lean upon the minister of one country, to oppose the other, to try to cajole all, to wear them out by procrastination, to do nothing till ships of war compel obedience. Their fiscal policy is antiquated: the export of grain is forbidden, and every produce of the soil. No roads or ferries are allowed. There are signs all over the country of better days in the past; ruined cities and bridges, traces of old roads, blocked-up harbours, decaying moles. This is a country in decadence, not in a virgin state. Of course, if Europeans were allowed to settle and hold property, matters would soon be brought to a crisis; but they are not allowed. Any proposal to erect a harbour is resented; the lighthouse of Cape Spartel was constructed under actual diplomatic violence; the submarine telegraph from Tangier to Gibraltar was constructed by the British representative without permission. The taxation in itself is not heavy in its incidence, but the mode of collection is so abominable, that the land is often left waste to spite the collector. That fertile feature of oppression is in full play, demands for presents at weddings, or funerals, or any possible occasion. All foreign travellers get an order for free quarters on the villages, and abuse the privilege. The desire for plunder is contagious; the soldiery exact what they like. The soil is fertile, but some amount of culture and manure is required, and nobody cares to make any outlay. There is no security for life; the Emperor sets the example of reckless murder: the officials follow suit. The whole race seems to have deteriorated under this environment for centuries. The great art of governing a nation in a low state of culture is to meddle with them as little as possible; to maintain peace and order, and repress violent crime, and leave the rest to the people themselves: a wise governor strikes hard, when he is obliged to strike, strikes early, and is the first to leave off striking, and keeps an iron hand in a velvet glove. In all these particulars the Rule of the Emperor of Morocco has miserably failed. The Berber mountaineers might have developed into something like the Hill-Rajpút of Northern India; the nomad Arabs might have developed into the really magnificent men of Arabia, or the orderly Mahometan classes of British India; the Jews might have become like the Jews

of Europe; a blight has fallen upon all. It appears doubtful, whether, under a more favourable government, they would recover their lost fibre; a generation or two must pass away, and the old bad time be forgotten. It goes without saying, that anything in the way of public instruction, or press, or literature, does not exist.

The language spoken by the Moroccans is a subject not devoid of interest. Little enough of Hebrew do the Jews know. This is one of the widespread delusions, that the Jews in any part of the world speak Hebrew, the language of the Old Testament, in their families as their ordinary vernacular. As a fact, neither our Lord nor His Apostles spoke Hebrew, which had become a dead language soon after the return from the Captivity. The Jews, scattered all over the world, spoke, as their vernacular, the language of the people amidst whom they dwelt; their learned men knew Hebrew as an acquired knowledge, and amongst themselves they had often a gross jargon. I found the Jews in Tunis all speaking Arabic, and the Jews in Morocco, as a rule, speak Arabic in the corrupted dialect of the West; a patois of Spanish is spoken on the coast; and the Arabs, whether settled in towns or nomads in the plains, speak Arabic. Gibraltar, called after its great Mahometan conqueror, "Jabal al Tarik," tells its own tale to any one, who knows Arabic. The word "funduk," for "inn," is more curious; it is the Latin word *fundus* Arabized. The Executive Government is called Makhzan, analogous to our Treasury; but the word passed over the Mediterranean into Europe, and has given birth to the popular word in every city, "magazin." The Straits of Gibraltar were, in the Roman and Greek period, called the Pillars of Hercules, represented by Calpe and Abile, or the Rock of Gibraltar and the Ape's Mountains across the water. It never was explained what was the connexion of Hercules with the Straits, and it has been ingeniously suggested, that the legend grew out of the Phœnician words, "he rokel," "the merchant," possibly alluding to Melkart, the national god of the Phœnicians, who were the first to discover the outlet leading on to the Fortunate Islands and the garden of the Hesperides, the first idea of the Canaries and Madeira. In Morocco was situated the famous mountain of Atlas, who supported the globe, whence the word has crept into general use in the library of the geographer, and the class of the public school. Another notable legend is, that the giant Antæus was buried near Tangier, and that his wife Tinga gave the name to that very ancient town, which in its turn gave the name to the province. It goes without saying, that in the country so geographically and politically situated, slavery and the slave-trade flourish. But it is not the worst form of slavery, (as there are no plantations, and, without doubt, the most accursed form of involuntary labour is field-work; the domestic life of a slave, who has become a Mahometan, is tolerable. Nor is the slave-trade caravan across the

Sahára from Timbáktu accompanied by the usual horrors. It takes about sixty days, and is uninterrupted by warfare. I quote the following detailed account of the caravan and the trade :

"The slave-caravan from Timbáktu arrived early last month at Tendúf, near the Wad Draa, in fifty-five days, and as you are aware, it takes seventeen days from Tendúf to Mogador. I met here one of the head-men of the caravan, one of the wealthiest traders, and also several other persons of the party, from whom I obtained the following details :

"Two caravans left Timbáktu together, and travelled for eight days as far as Arawan, at which place they separated, one proceeding to Tanizruft and Tuat, the other coming this way through Eldjuf, Djidi, and Tendúf. The traders come from Sus, Marakesh, Fez, Tlemsen, Tunis, and Tripoli, to await the arrival of the caravan at Tendúf, where most of the traffic with Timbáktu is transacted ; what is not sold there being taken to the fair at Sidi Hamadon-Mussa, near Ilirgh, in Sus. I must mention, that the caravan, which arrived February 2nd, consisted of 350 men, with 650 camels and 520 slaves, the majority girls from eight to sixteen, and boys of from six to twelve. A camel-load is generally 300 lbs., which is not excessive ; but their owners do not overload them, so as to be able to mount the slaves on them when necessary.

"The caravan brought :

40 loads Ostrich feathers, worth at Mogador 75 to 80 francs per kilo.

85 loads Ivory (some tusks weighing 30 lbs.), worth 800 francs per 54 kilos.

120 loads Giraffe skins, sold at Tendúf at 90 to 100 francs per 100 kilos.

These skins go to the Atlas, and not to Mogador.

30 loads Incense, a kind of aromatic resin, of which there are two qualities, white and black, worth 400 to 600 francs per 100 kilos.

20 loads White and blue Djelabs, of linen and of cotton, very well made ; and also piece goods of camels' hair, for tents and burnous.

The load is worth about 500 to 600 francs.

15 loads Camels' hair and goats' hair, value 100 to 140 francs per load.

225 loads Gum Arabic, worth 100 francs per 54 kilos.

45 loads Wax, worth 90 to 100 francs per 54 kilos.

30 camels laden with water, provisions, etc.

650 camels.

"I could not ascertain the quantity of gold-dust brought, as, not being ordinary merchandise, it is carried on the person ; but I reckon that each of the 350 men of the caravan had 1 to 4 parcels, containing 30 to 40 metkels each parcel, worth 13 to 14 francs the metkel, which weighs a little less than 15 francs in French gold coin. I calculate the total value of the merchandize and slaves by this caravan at about three million francs (£120,000)."

In 1876 Lord Granville addressed the following letter to Sir John Drummond Hay :

"The reports on slavery in Morocco, forwarded by you in your despatches of the 1st of May and the 10th of June, show that this evil exists in a form and to an extent which it is painful to learn. Though the reports differ as to the treatment which slaves receive at the hands of their masters, they show that men, women, and children are hawked about through the streets of many of the towns, and sold by auction ; that they may be re-sold on the death or bankruptcy of their owners ; that there is no security against the separation of wives from husbands, or of children from parents ; that cruelty is not infrequent, and that the only remedy for which an ill-used slave can hope, who

"cannot obtain his freedom, is a change of master. No security is provided for the chastity of women, nor for their rescue from degradation. Many instances, perhaps the majority of cases, might be appealed to, in which slaves are kindly treated and well cared for, but the fact cannot be gainsaid, that the system of slavery exists in the Empire with some of its most revolting features.

"Her Majesty's Government have no ground for interference founded on conventions, nor do they wish to make protests in individual cases; but they would, in the interests of humanity, make an earnest appeal to the Emperor, and ask him to consider, whether the time has not come, when he would be ready to place himself on a level with other civilized rulers, by taking steps to abolish slavery in his dominions. They are aware of the difficulty, which the Government of the Emperor may meet in dealing with a long-established custom, but that difficulty has been found not to be insuperable by other Mahometan sovereigns. His Majesty might be assured, that any step taken by him in this direction would be welcomed not only in this country, but in the civilized world; whereas the position of his State, as the only territory bordering on the Mediterranean, in which no effort is made to combat this evil, must become daily more intolerable in the eyes of all nations, whatever may be their religious creed.

"I have to instruct you to make a strong representation to the Moorish Government in this sense, and to lose no opportunity of renewing your efforts whenever a favourable opportunity may offer."

Some slight improvement was made, but the evil is still rampant. Mr. Donald Mackenzie lately visited Morocco, and was entrusted with a memorial from the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. He reported as follows:

"When the Anti-Slavery Society heard, that I was coming out to Morocco, they entrusted a letter to me on the question of slavery for presentation to the Sultan, which I hoped he would accept, as I was most anxious to serve this excellent Society, and I trusted the Sultan would favourably consider its prayer on behalf of the slaves. I then handed to His Excellency the Wazir the petition, which he read, and said he would present it to the Sultan. He remarked, that some time ago the British Government made representations to the Sultan on the question of selling slaves in the public markets, and that His Majesty had issued orders, that there should be in future *a separate place for the sale of slaves, and not in the public markets as before*. He further remarked, that the holding of slaves was in accordance with the Mahometan faith, and, if they were to give liberty to the slaves, they would die of hunger. I remarked, that in Turkey and other Mahometan countries the slave-trade was abolished, and I hoped Morocco would follow the example of those countries, and blot the iniquity of slavery out of their empire. With this our interview came to a close, and I was heartily glad, that the address had now a fair chance of reaching the hands of the Sultan. The Wazir was very kind and attentive all the time, and discussed the slave-question in a friendly manner."

This indicates how far the Emperor has moved in 1889. The Mahometan Sultan of Zanzibár has abolished the slave-market, but as yet has not had the courage to abolish the status of slavery in the islands of Zanzibár and Pemba, as has been pressed upon him by the British Government. In Egypt slavery is slowly dying out under the pressure of public opinion, and the slave-trade is destroyed by the state of the southern frontier. In Tunis the Bey was more noble, and, even before the annexation by France, had abolished slavery and the slave-trade, showing how ridiculous was

the pretence that Mahometanism exists by the slave-trade. We in British India know that fifty million Mahometans get on very well without slaves.

There is something contaminating in the air where slavery prevails. I copy a notice from a native paper:

"According to the journal, *Almogrer Alakia*, of Tangier, the French Government has instructed M. Ordega to prohibit French subjects, or Moalems, protected by France in Morocco, from holding, buying, or selling slaves. The British Minister has already sent to the British vice-consuls, and to those of nations diplomatically represented by Great Britain in Morocco, a circular to the above effect. It is expected, that the other Powers who have representatives in Morocco will follow suit. Satisfactory as it undoubtedly is to record these prohibitions, precursors, it is to be hoped, of the complete extinction of the slave-trade in Morocco, the mere fact of their promulgation appears to prove, that hitherto slavery in that country has been semi-officially protected by Christian Powers supposed to be anxious to put an end to it."

We see, that in Morocco it was not only African Mahometans who purchased and held slaves, but Christian Europeans.

One of the inevitable consequences of an intolerable absence of proper administration, and upright executive and judicial courts, is, that the strong alien Governments, whose subjects have commercial dealings with such States, insist, and properly insist, by force of arms, that injustice should not be done to such subjects, and they constitute themselves judges of the fact, and if negotiations fail, the inevitable war-ship appears. It is out of the question, that any kingdom can, like Japan and China in olden times, send all other nations to Coventry, and lead a secluded life of their own. All such barriers are broken down. With countries like Turkey, China, and Japan, treaties have been made, which are galling to the dignity of the inferior power; but it is their own *misfeasance*, that has brought it about. They have attempted to rule nations without learning the art of rule, and they find it difficult to regain their position. Japan is trying to do so at present. But a bad thing begun leads on to worse; the legitimate protection of men of British blood, engaged in lawful commerce, leads on to the protection of Maltese adventurers, also British subjects, men of half-blood, men who had, somehow or other, become British subjects, and the British representative finds himself the protector of an anomalous herd of irresponsible and discreditable people; and the representatives of all other States in Europe and America are in the same position. More than this. The protection extends not only to these subjects, when injured in their persons or unjustly sued, but is made an instrument to oppress the unprotected subjects of the Emperor of Morocco, by false suits brought by Moroccans protected by European or American powers. For fear of misstating my case, I quote public journals.

"If you ask a Moorish landowner why he does not increase his crops, he will tell you that, did he do so, it would only excite the cupidity of the Sultan, or the kaid, and might bring ruin upon himself and his family. This deplorable

"state of things gave rise perhaps to the system of '*protégés*,' which has been productive of so many and such scandalous abuses. The primary object of the foreign consulates and legations, in granting protection papers to native Moors and Jews, who were in any way connected with or employed by foreigners, was evidently the laudable one of saving them from the cupidity and tyranny of the Moorish authorities, and thereby securing the interests of their foreign employers; but, when these *protégés* were found to be misusing their privileges, their protection papers should have been withdrawn. The system degenerates into a source of income by the sale of these papers to persons not really entitled to them; and this irregular protection, afforded indiscriminately, soon led to grievous consequences. Availing themselves of their position as *protégés*, many of them, chiefly native Jews, have preferred claims, which the Sultan has been obliged to settle under pressure from the legations: claims, in the majority of cases, either grossly exaggerated or shamefully usurious, and which have been collected from the Sultan's subjects under circumstances of great cruelty. Then again, they trump up extortionate demands and doubtful claims against alleged debtors, who, without investigation, or being given any opportunity of contesting the claim, are forthwith imprisoned and allowed to rot there until they pay. Thus, and in other ways, the irregular '*protégé*' has become a source of much evil and abuse, and the system of granting such protections should be abolished or modified. The most revolting practice arising from it, is that of 'selling a Moor.' A native will often pay as much as £400 to the person, who will procure him a patent or paper of protection. This native may be possessed of considerable property, upon which the kaid of the district keeps a watchful eye. When the latter discovers that his prey has escaped him through the ægis of a foreign legation, he will, if it be worth his while, offer a handsome sum to the patron of the wealthy native for the withdrawal of the protection. Well, this has been done, and by Europeans, to their own disgrace and to the dishonour of their country. Need we say more to advocate the speedy recession of all these 'irregular protections'?"

And again,

"Mr. Reed Lewis, American Consul-General at Tangier, has arrived in London on leave of absence. He has been engaged in endeavouring to secure the liberation of the Moors, who were confined in prison on American claims under the *protégé* system, which the United States Government have now decided to abandon. There is reason to believe, that some untried Moorish prisoners are still detained in captivity on the claims of English *protégés*, but Sir Kirby Green, Her Majesty's representative at Tangier, is doing his best to obtain their release." *Daily News*, August 11th.

On this subject we quote the following from *El Anunciador*, a paper published in Gibraltar:

"Within the last few months there had been in the Larache and Alkazar prisons seventeen men at the suits of American *protégés*. Nine of the prisoners have now been released, three have been relieved by death from their sufferings, and the rest, in order to obtain their liberation, have compounded with their alleged creditors. A most serious evil of the system, under which *protégés* claims are enforced, is, that the alleged debtors are not tried, or even confronted with the persons claiming against them; they have no opportunity of showing receipts or of proving payment of the sums alleged to be due; and recent investigations have brought to light the fact that many of the foreign *protégé* claims are false and fraudulent. The prisons themselves are filthy, fetid dungeons, where the inmates are heavily ironed, and at night chained together with iron collars round their necks. When it is remembered, that many of the suits are made by natives, who have not the slightest right to the protection of a foreign flag, it is evident that a full inquiry into the entire system would be of much use, and would probably lead to a reform which is so urgently required."

And again,

“ The United States Consul-General is reported to have asked his Government to send at once a war-vessel to Tangier, in order to force the release of a Moor under American protection, who has been imprisoned by the Moorish authorities at Rabat.

“ The Moorish authorities refuse to release him ; and the American protection has been declared void on the ground, that a civil suit was still pending against the man in the Moorish courts when the Consul-General issued the patent of protection.

“ It is stated that the United States Consul-General has received a reply from the Moorish Government declining to accede to the demands made by the United States in reference to the dispute arising out of the imprisonment at Rabat by the Moorish authorities of a person under American protection.

“ Serious apprehension consequently exists here, that the United States Government will take rigorous measures against Morocco.”

It was hoped, that at the meeting of the Powers in the Madrid Convention of 1880, one of the first measures carried would have been the abolition of the *protégé* system ; but, on the contrary, the whole system has been consolidated. The Consuls of the thirteen powers have guaranteed to them very properly authority over their own countrymen, but also further wide privileges, which have given birth to cruel hardships. It is attested by independent Europeans residing at Tangier, that some persons make a regular system of bringing false charges, and that no native is safe. The Consul of the complainant transmits it to the Moroccan official ; he passes the order, without any investigation, for his arrest and imprisonment, and there he remains until his friends buy his release. It is clear, that the Emperor of Morocco is not the only offender against law and justice within his dominions.

It is necessary in this practical age to be practical ; the days of chivalry and crusades are past. “ Will it pay ? ” is the ultimate argument of the Commons of Great Britain. “ Can we not let affairs glide ? ” is the policy of our Statesmen. What should be the policy of Great Britain ? It has consistently maintained the integrity of the Moroccan Empire, on the double ground, that it safeguards the freedom of the navigation of the Mediterranean, and that it supplies the necessary victuals of the garrison of Gibraltar. The Moroccan nation suffers, because the geographical position of her country happens to affect in a certain way the interests of a powerful nation a long way off to the north, which has relations with provinces and nations in Asia a still farther way off to the east. It is openly asserted by some, that the centre of gravity of the political world is no longer in the Mediterranean, but in the Atlantic ; the alternative mails to China *via* North America may accentuate this conviction. Why then, say these critics, occupy Malta and Gibraltar ? Let them go ! The battles of the world will no longer be fought in that internal sea any more than in the Baltic. Italy, Austria, Greeco, and Turkey will hold their own against France ; if the worst comes to the worst, the British fleet

can seal up the Mediterranean by blocking the Straits of Gibraltar in Europe and the Straits of Perim, near Aden, in Asia. In these days of fleet steamers, our communication can be kept open with Asia *via* the Cape of Good Hope; and the petty States and companies, which now rival us by the help of the Suez Canal, would be extinguished, if the exit from the Red Sea were barred.

Other speculators have proposed to make over Gibraltar to Spain in exchange for Ceuta and a free hand in Morocco. This would be indeed the beginning of the end. France would be conciliated by the cession of Morocco up to the river Mulúwa, and the provinces of Figuig and Tuat in the Sahára, which she so much covets. The pride of Spain would be gratified by the cession of Gibraltar, and Italy appeased by a grant of Malta and a free hand over Tripolitana. The restoration of Morocco would then commence. A deputation of civil officers from British India, of the non-regulation type, under a capable chief, would soon know what they were about. The danger would not be so much from the people as from the alien immigrants from Europe, who would flock into the country.

All such speculations are mere dreams; and it would be an act of extreme folly on the part of Great Britain to part with her two fortresses, the legacies of past generations, or to have anything to do with the internal administration of Morocco; and the sooner that she gets out of Egypt the better. In the event of a great Continental war, her hands should be free from all such territorial embarrassments on the Mediterranean coasts. The outer world is her oyster, and the work already laid upon her is beyond her strength; but the retention of the two fortresses of Malta and Gibraltar is absolutely necessary to maintain her position as a maritime nation.

In late years some attempts have been made to carry a knowledge of saving truth to the poor Moroccans. Thousands of missionaries have sailed within view of the West Coast and North Coast of this Empire, on their way to the most distant countries of the world, to distribute translations of the Scriptures and carry the Gospel; but no one ever thought and cared for Morocco. Martyrs have died for Africa, but none for Morocco; no one knew what languages were spoken by the population. Mauretania had been the centre of a Christian Church up to the time of the Mahometan invasion. Christianity had been trodden out. The candlestick had been removed entirely, as entirely as those of the seven Churches in Asia, and no one cared to replace them. Nothing was done until 1875 for the lost sheep of the house of Israel, turned out of Europe by so-called Christian monarchs, Ferdinand and Isabella. Persecuted and insulted and trodden down by ignorant Mahometans, themselves more than half pagans, who knew little or nothing of the real nature of Islam, except that it tolerated slavery, concubinage, and unnatural crime, a toleration, which they freely

availed themselves of. There is now a mission to the Jews at Mogadór, which to be effective work must be conducted in the Jewish quarter as in a heathen village, for of Divine truth men, women, and children know nothing. The British and Foreign Bible Society has in the last few years opened an agency at Tangier, and commenced a translation of the New Testament in the Riff dialect of the "Berber" language, and supplies Arabic copies to the Arabic-speaking population. A great deal more has to be done as our knowledge becomes more accurate. The North African Mission has commenced its work at Tangier by founding a hospital, and sending out missionaries, male and female, lay and ordained. Already English women are occupied in their quiet work in the town of Fez and at Arzila on the coast. It is the day of small things; but the work has been commenced, and some have died of disease at their post. The Spanish Roman Catholic fraternities have not been behindhand; but their work lies chiefly among the low Spanish population of Tangier.

What is my final impression at the close of a study of this Empire and people, far lower than the people of Egypt and Algeria, and, owing to the loss of centuries of culture, than the people of Syria, Asia Minor, and Trans-Caucasia? I have visited them all. It would be an insult to the great Mahometan races of British India to compare noble, soldier, scholar, public official, merchant, common people, with the degraded representatives of similar Mahometan classes in Morocco. I feel sentiments of a very diverse nature: pity for the debasement and decay of a warlike race, which has lost even the memory of its past greatness; admiration for the virile and gracious majesty of their aspect, dress, demeanour, for this is all that remains in their sad and silent loss of dignity and simplicity. I feel something of indignation at the sight of so much festering barbarism at the door and within sight of Europe, and shame to think that it is owing to the jealousy of the great European powers, each seeking its own fancied interest, that the real, very real, misery of this country is indefinitely prolonged; and I see no prospect of any termination.

Against the Mahometans in Morocco it must be recollected, that their ancestors had no mercy on the unhappy Christian population, which they found in possession of the country on their arrival. Extermination, or acceptance of Islam, were the only alternatives offered; in no other Mahometan country was there such a complete annihilation: this must be recollected against them: they showed no mercy, and must expect none.

It marks, as with an iron line, that there is in very deed a geographical and ethnical limit to civilization; for the Moroccans neither desire it nor wish to have it. Foreign conquest, and a considerable change of the political atmosphere, must precede any improvement. The Augean stables of Fez and Morocco must be

swept clean by a very strong hand. The very *illuvies* of European nations, the scum of our towns, the escaped criminals from our prisons, men bankrupt in fortune and character, represent the European name and Christian religion; and, under the precious *protégé* system, the greater the dishonesty of the alien European, the more shameless and cynical is the protection afforded to him by the representative of his country.

Morocco had once a great history; it is now "*L'empire qui croule*." Its Mahometan rulers had wealth, power, and learning. Architectural remains witness to their civilization. The famous cathedral tower of Seville has no equal of its kind in Europe, but there are two of the same mould in Morocco. Granáda, Cordova, Seville, Tlemshin in Algeria, with their noble palaces, and the noble works of great Arabic authors, bear witness to a great past. The present dynasty, from Tafileet, south of the Atlas, called the Filili, have misruled the country for three centuries, and brought it very low indeed. The entire failure of the policy of isolation for a nation is a great moral lesson to rulers. Stagnation in a pond breeds evil diseases and filthy odours; so it is with stagnant national life. Of Morocco it may be said, that the heart is sick, and that the kingdom is one putrefying sore. A century ago Moroccan pirates were the scourge of the Mediterranean. Many a Christian man, woman, and child has, from no fault of their own, been captured at sea, or kidnapped from their own secluded village in some Christian land, and been condemned to death or a life of shame. We can scarcely now realize to ourselves what was the hopeless feeling of refined ladies, or the fearful future of poor Christian children, on whom such a chastisement fell. A Nemesis has fallen upon the nation that did such things.

I have sat and talked with Christians (out of Europe) in a very low state of culture, and far removed from the European level, at any rate they were monogamists: they knew what was right and what was hopelessly wrong, "*malum per se*." They may have been weak Christians; but the lowest of them had a conscience better instructed than the Emperor of Morocco, his wazir, and his officials, and his people. I have lived on intimate terms with the Hindu and Mahometan people of British India in their humble life, watched their ways in their families, listened to their words; but none are so fallen intellectually, socially, whether as men and citizens or fathers of families, as the wretched Moor, Berber, Arab, and Jew of Morocco. They sit on the very threshold of Europe, to warn the upheaving masses, who desire to rule their betters, as to what constitutes a State. Turkey's conquered provinces, Bulgaria, Servia, and Montenegro, had never fallen so low in the hour of their deep disgrace. What shall be said of a minister of State, who receives the cast-off wife of the Emperor as an honour, or considers the introduction of his own daughter into the imperial

harem as a stroke of business? States are built up of men, not of creatures vile in their family relations; for the family is the component part of a State, and a conglomerate of vile families must be a vile State. This has never been the case in British India. The endogamous characteristic of the Hindu is well known, and the Mahometans of India carefully marry among themselves; hence their race is reasonably pure, and at least free from the taint of the inferior non-Arian races, and of the Asiatic negrito, and the equatorial African negro.

It is not that the negro, in his pure state, with a favourable environment of gentle culture and sufficient nourishment, is not susceptible of education, moral and religious; and, with the restraining power of an European race, is not capable of becoming a good citizen, an educated man, and a believing Christian, surrounded by pure family ties. Experience on the coast of West Africa, and in the Southern States of the great American Republic, supply proof that it is so. But the negro-slave is ravished from her home beyond the Niger, dragged like a beast across the Sahára, exposed stark-naked as a slave for sale in the market-place, transferred as a machine from one brutal master to another, himself devoid of all culture, all respectful feeling towards the weaker sex, whom he would flog, strike, or kill without compunction. The issue of a strong race like that of the Anglo-Saxon from such a degraded consort might prove strong enough to resist the poisoned contact of such a confusion of distinct races; but the issue of a debased Hamitic or Semitic father from a negro-slave must be something worse than himself, and generation after generation there has been a process of discoloration of the skin and degradation of the type. The Emperor himself, and the Sharif of Wuzan, who married an American woman, were more than half negroes. The celebrated chief minister, who was the most powerful man in the kingdom, was a pure negro.

Matters cannot remain as they are, and he would be a bold prophet, who predicted, what will happen when the present Emperor terminates his unworthy life. There will be a bad quarter of an hour for the people when the event happens, and after that something may emerge from the future better: it cannot be worse.

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II.

LEPROSY AND LEPERS.

It is indeed a great thing when the heart of a nation is touched by hearing of a great and noble life and of a greater and self-sacrificing death, and I do not wish to diminish the legitimate

praise, which has been conferred upon Father Damien by Protestants and Romanists indiscriminately, because it is a tribute to the great corner-stone of our faith, Christ our Saviour. More than that, when in Mahometan and Pagan annals I come upon similar instances of devotion to suffering fellow-creatures (and they are not wanting), I rejoice, that God has put it into the hearts of His poor creatures to do Christ-like actions, even without knowing Christ, or being aware that it is His Holy Spirit working upon their unregenerate nature, that has led them to do such good things. But I do protest against the exclusive praises heaped by an ill-instructed public and sensational press upon one man, forgetting the long and patient services of an army of men and women who were faithful unto death. We must not forget, that these services have been rendered by Christian men alone upon the highest grounds of Christian love and duty, the desire being not only to minister to the material wants of the poor objects of our Father's chastening love, but to minister to the needs of their souls, and bring home to the sufferers, that they ought not to be angry with the Lord for the bitter trial, to which He has subjected them, though not more sinful than their brethren, but should rejoice at the blessed prospect, sometimes near, sometimes in a remote future, of being free from the, in their case, specially vile body, and being for ever with the Lord in a home, not made with hands, eternal in the heavens.

It is no new idea, this service of the lepers, for we read how the great Basil, Bishop of Cæsarea, founded a hospital for lepers, and himself attended upon them personally with sedulous and self-denying devotion. He is described by Gregory Nazianzen as the man, who embraced lepers to show his humility. Later on we find it recorded of Louis IX., King of France (commonly called St. Louis), that he made it part of his religious life to wait upon and eat with lepers, who at his epoch were abundant in Europe, and were one of the special objects of his charity.

I propose to make some few remarks on the ancient and modern history of this exceptional disease. I am assured by medical men of large experience, that it is not incurable. This fact is self-evident to any one, who reads the Old and New Testament; nor is it contagious in the sense, in which contagion is ordinarily used, for notoriously women have been the wives of two lepers in succession, and have never been affected. On the other hand, those, who shut themselves up to the exclusive care of lepers, sooner or later succumb to the disease; some after the lapse of twenty or more years. As regards the heredity of the disease, it is to be feared, that the children of parents who have themselves become leprous have a tendency to the same disease, though born before the parent became a leper.

To any one reading the Bible it is obvious, that leprosy is the first disease that is mentioned. Miriam was struck with leprosy by the

order of God. Chapters in the Book of Leviticus are devoted to the subject, proving that it was one of the leading features of Hebrew life, just as scarlet fever, or typhoid, or gout, are features of modern European life. How came this about? We have no reason to suppose that Jacob with his party of seventy took the disease into Egypt. We have no proof that the Egyptians were excessively liable to this disease. It is not stated so in the Old Testament, nor have we evidence of it in old Egyptian papyri or inscriptions until the year 1500 B.C., which is after the Exodus, and neither in classical nor modern time has Egypt been credited with this disease. It was not one of the ten plagues. The Roman poets do not spare the Egyptians, but, with the exception of Lucretius, they do not lay this sin at their door. During the last forty-seven years I have been repeatedly in Egypt, but never remarked leprosy as a feature of the streets or city gates. In Syria it cannot escape the observation of the most casual observer. In India it has at all times forced itself upon notice. How, then, can we explain the promulgation in the desert, before the occupation of Canaan, and while there were only three or four priests in existence, of such elaborate laws? No doubt in after-ages, down to the time of the destruction of Jerusalem, A.D. 70, these rules became of extreme importance.

Leprosy has been accepted as the type of sin. Not of any one particular sin, nor with all its foulness can it be credited to indulgence of the evil appetites of man, nor is it handed down to innocent children by licentious parents, but it is the type of the sinfulness of unregenerate man. "Oh! wretched man that I am, who shall deliver me from the body of this death?" Such is the cry of the leper and of the awakening sinner. It is a disease of the skin, the flesh, the bone, and the blood; it is painful to the poor sufferer, and disgusting to his friends. If cured, it must be by a cleansing and washing, and the sufferer becomes a new man, and returns glory to God for redemption from the chain in one case of physical and in the other of spiritual bondage. At the sight of a leper each sinner may cry out, "There goes such a one as myself, but for the Grace of God!" No tender-hearted Christian can pass by the sufferings of these afflicted ones and not feel himself called upon to do something to alleviate, if not heal, their sickness. I am glad that popular attention has been called to a form of Christian heroism, the very contemplation of which must lift up the heart, and in an age so specially self-seeking and luxurious remind us, that even in this world there is a platform higher than that which is built upon political power, dollars, and ephemeral rank.

The essential cause of leprosy is unknown. It is now endemic chiefly among people, who inhabit the sea-coast or the estuaries of rivers, who live much on fish (often putrid) and who closely

intermarry. There are two forms: (1) *Lepra maculosa*, or spotty; (2) *Lepra tuberculosa*, or nodular. The same person can have both, or both can exist in the same population. There is a white form and a black form. Herodotus, the father of history, knew about it in Persia, and it was known in Italy before the Christian era. Horace, in the "De Arte Poeticâ," line 453, alludes to "mala scabies," which may or may not be the disease. Pliny mentions it by name. It is asserted, but proof is not given, that the average life of a leper is only seven years. I fear that it is much longer, and, where comfortable hospitals are supplied, may be extended to the natural limits. Of course, remedies, or palliatives, of various kinds have been recommended. The Roman Catholic missionaries write a good deal about some particular medicine. Gurjun oil, produced from a fir-tree of the Andaman Islands, is mentioned as a specific. Some doctors suggest and practise a surgical operation.

Opinion of an Indian medical officer, dated August 20th, 1889:

"I have seen a good deal of leprosy in India, and have had abundant opportunities of observing the disease. I have tried Gurjun oil and carbolic acid, but I have only found two things at all effectual:

"(1.) Application of strong carbolic acid to the ulcer.

"(2.) Stretching the sciatic and other nerves.

"This last has cured several cases, and the cure seemed to be permanent. I have done this in sixty or seventy cases, and my successor in a greater number."

In Europe it was the greatest disease of mediæval Christendom. The responsibility of having introduced it is laid upon the Crusaders. The existence of leper-houses, built specially for them, and the leper-windows in churches, built so that the poor sufferer, when not admitted into the church, could see the elevation of the Host from the churchyard, are monuments of this plague. There were ninety-five leper-houses in England. The lepers were isolated, obliged to wear a particular dress, forbidden to enter bakehouses, or to touch people. The German word for leper is "Aussätziger," or "outcaste." There was a tax upon butchers and bakers to support them in France. The order of St. Lazarus was founded to look after the leper-asylums. They were generally treated with kindness and pity, as few villages could be without some representative, and they never formed a separate caste, like the Jews and Cagots, with both of whom they were sometimes confounded by ignorant people. In times of unreasonable panic false charges were made against them of poisoning the wells, and they then suffered cruelly, and were burnt to death in great numbers. It was a cruel and unreasoning age. The lepers were exempt from all taxation and military service, and had separate places of sepulture, separate portions of the church with separate doors, if admitted to the churches at all. Sometimes there were leper villages and even

leper farms. The disease died away in the fifteenth century. The last leper in Scotland died in the Shetlands in 1741 A.D. The disease still survives in Norway, the Baltic provinces of Russia, and on the coasts of France, Sicily, Spain, and Portugal. Numerous leper-hospitals are still maintained.

In the Archipelago, betwixt Europe and Asia, it prevailed in the Greek Islands in the seventeenth century, chiefly among Christians. In the island of Leros was a famous leper-asylum on Mount St. Lazarus, and male and female devotees, some in their youth untried by sorrow, some vexed by the world and its cares, consecrated themselves to the management and service. There was no year of probation, but there was a solemn and public ceremony of consecration, and, when they had passed the door of the convent, there was no withdrawal, as the institution was maintained by the State, and all the lepers of the region were conveyed thither. They were members of the Greek Church, and I lay stress on this fact and on the date to show, that Father Damien was but treading a path, which many a saint of God had trod before. His service was not less valuable, his reward will be not less great; but the servants of the Lord are a great army, and it is not just to extol one man, forgetting the rest.

No one can visit Syria and Palestine without thinking of lepers, and without seeing them. In my first pilgrimage in 1852 I threw coppers to the poor lepers, dwelling at the Zion-Gate in straw huts outside the city-walls of Jerusalem. In my second pilgrimage in 1865 I found a comfortable leper-house, but that has now been abandoned for a still more commodious building, on the road from Jerusalem to Bethlehem, bearing the name of "Jesus, Hülfe," the cry of the lepers to our Lord. It was founded by a benevolent couple, who were shocked by the sight, that had met my eyes in 1852, and is under the management of the Moravian Brotherhood, the funds being supplied from Great Britain, Germany, and Switzerland. The number of Mahometans here exceeds that of the Christians. In the report we read of the terrible effluvia, as one of the great trials of the nurses in the hot season, of the intellect of the poor sufferers being deadened by the disease, so that they are unable to learn to read; of the care taken to give them spiritual comfort, of happy deaths, and rejoicings to leave the decayed tenement of the flesh and depart. There is an account of four girls admitted in the early stage of the disease, when they had only spots in their fingers. It was sad to watch the change, which year by year made, as leprosy cramped their limbs, choked their voices, which were once so musical, and corrupted their bodies. But it was comforting to see, how they were being purified by the fire, and made ready as vessels for their Master's use. We read with indignation how a father turned his daughter of tender years, the offspring of a dead mother also leprous, out of his home, to take

her chance in the streets, because she was leprous. Will the door be left ajar for such as him at the last day? He seems to have sinned one of the greatest sins, and against his own offspring.

In British India, where statistics can be collected, it is admitted, that the number of lepers in a population of 250 millions amounts to 135,000. Some are eighty years of age; it is possible that the disease attacked them late in life. There are 17,000 above sixty; some were lepers from their birth. Though up to this time our experience is not complete, yet those who study the subject are distinctly of opinion, that it is the same as the disease, which met our Lord's eye, and that was the same one for which Moses legislated. Clearly we cannot hastily presume that it is incurable; if so, of what use was all the Mosaic ritual? We find that marriages take place after the native fashion, and children are born; this statement removes the previously-accepted impression that lepers were always sterile. The disease is distinctly on the increase in British India. After considerable hesitation the Government has decided to deal with the growing evil. A Bill will be shortly introduced giving district magistrates power to order the arrest of any leper found begging or wandering about without means of subsistence. Such lepers may be detained in a retreat for life or until their discharge is sanctioned, and if they escape may be recaptured by the police. No retreat will be sanctioned unless provision is made for the segregation of the sexes. The local Governments may establish retreats with any moneys placed at their disposal for hospitals, dispensaries, and lunatic asylums, and complete religious freedom will be assured to lepers in such institutions. The local Governments may make rules for the management, discipline, and inspection of retreats.

The Missionary Societies in India have not been wanting in their duty, and latterly there has been started a special mission to lepers, to organize, advise, and collect funds for the purpose. There are now eighteen stations, and there is a committee and travelling secretary. The extent and usefulness of this organization will no doubt increase year by year, and not only the sympathy but the fears of the British people will be roused, for the contact of India with Great Britain is now very close. If a few Crusaders brought the disease in centuries gone by, what escape will there be now? Who can prevent lepers of the better classes actually coming to London? Naaman the Syrian was a man of great power in Damascus, and still a leper. On July 17 of this very year a European soldier from Madras died of certified leprosy in St. George's Hospital, Hyde Park Corner.

I read of the disease in Ceylon, in China and Japan, and hospitals started by missionaries. In South Africa the Government have had the subject forced upon them. In the year 1818, fearing the spread of leprosy, they erected a temporary asylum in a valley

called Hemel-en-Aazde, far removed, and hemmed in by rocks, and Mr. Leitner, a Moravian missionary, in 1822 removed to it to dwell amongst the lepers. In 1829 he died, but other missionaries took his place. In 1846 the asylum was moved to Robben Island in Table Bay, seven miles from Cape Town. The number of lepers was 300. In 1867 the Colonial Government appointed a chaplain, and the Moravian missionaries were relieved of the duty, which, impelled by love of Christ and pity for their suffering fellow-creatures, both men and women had discharged for forty years. There was no flourish of drum and trumpets, when these good men died and were buried in the leper cemetery, but they gave up their lives joyfully.

In Madagascar the missionaries, Roman Catholic and Protestant, rendered the same services. In the West Indies the Moravians found similar employment in Surinam and elsewhere. In other parts of the world the same zeal has been shown, but it is unnecessary to go into further details. I have described the arrangements at Jerusalem, in India, and in South Africa, to show at once and for ever how far the laudation of Father Damien exceeded the necessities of the case.

In Oceania, one of the islands of the Marquesas group, under French protection, is set aside for lepers. This is a rough and ready way of disposing of them, and may mean starvation. In the Sandwich Islands, on the little peninsula of Kolowao, on the Island of Morokaï, the Government opened an establishment in 1864 after a great outburst of leprosy. In 1873 Father Damien, a Belgian, went to it, and died in 1889. In 1881 the Princess Like Like, regent of the islands, visited the asylum. In 1886 Father Conradi, a young American priest from Oregon, joined him. Buildings were erected in the settlement. Later on a third priest and three Franciscan Sisters joined the party. Absolute segregation and refusal to allow any one to leave the asylum was enforced by the State; there was no option in the matter. There were 1030 lepers. The number of lepers in British India exceeds the whole population of the Sandwich Islands. The example of devotion to these poor creatures had been set by other Churches, Greek and Protestant, and practised by Roman Catholics elsewhere. Other individuals, male and female, shared Father Damien's lot, and are still at work, undergoing the same peril, and awaiting the same fate. All virtue did not perish with one man. There was also a Protestant missionary on the island sharing the danger. After the above statements the sneer of the editor of the "*Missions Catholiques*" (1880, page 294) seems out of place, and outside the facts, and reflects little credit upon the Christianity of the priest, who writes from Morokaï as follows (I trust that it was not Father Damien himself who penned the letter):

"Les Catholiques forment le majorité de mes enfants : nous ne rencontrons pas ici beaucoup d'opposition du côté des Protestants : ils se soucient fort peu de leur adopter lepreux."

I must make one more quotation, because I read in the newspapers that it is proposed for Protestants to subscribe to the erection of a Roman Catholic Church.

At Madagascar the lepers were admitted to receive the Sacrament, and came up *first* in the Roman Catholic Chapel.

“C’était l’unique distinction, qu’on peut leur accorder. Dieu fort heureusement regarde le cœur, et non le visage, et il descend sans répugnance, il se repose même avec bonheur, si l’âme est pur, dans ces bouches à demi-putrifiées, sur cette langue, qui le mal a déjà dévorée à moitié.”

It would be wiser to devote Protestant alms to the erection of hospitals rather than of churches, where such doctrines as the above are taught, and transubstantiation affirmed in such gross material terms.

I close with a few remarks on the legal aspect of some of the measures proposed. It is suggested, that lepers be immediately arrested like mad dogs, hurried off to leper-prisons, separated from their husbands or wives for fear of their having children, and from their children already born, for fear of their society and contact developing the seeds of the disease presumed to be already in their constitution. No wonder that the Legislative Council hesitates. These poor creatures are not criminals; we may well ask the question, “Who did sin, this man or his parents, that he is a leper?” In the Panjâb, in India, when we occupied it in 1846, we assembled the leading landholders, and I called out to those of my own district, that they must no longer burn their widows, kill their daughters, or *bury alive their lepers*, which was their universal practice. It is proposed to arrive at the same end by a process of law. More than this, I read that in one asylum a young man was cured, but, when he expressed a desire to marry, the missionaries dissuaded him. We must think this problem carefully out. A lunatic, who endangers the lives of others and his own, is arrested and confined in an asylum with his or her own sex. A criminal has the same fate in prison. A pauper, who voluntarily seeks relief in the workhouse, undergoes the same restrictions, but he may leave the workhouse at his own pleasure. The leper is scarcely worse than the confirmed inebriate, the sufferer from loathsome disease the result of sin, the sufferer from consumption, or other hereditary complaints. He is not so dangerous as the hydrophobiate, or the violent inebriate, who is voluntarily a demon. Are we to imprison them, and separate them from their families, and add to the horrors of their already grievous misfortunes? In a free country it would not be possible to pass such a law, and India possesses all the substantial privileges of freedom in civil matters. Surely this is a matter for the exercise of benevolent principles of private societies, aided financially by the State. If these poor sufferers are kindly treated, they probably will remain willingly; they can with propriety be forbidden by law to enter

crowded cities, or touch passers-by, but they cannot without contempt of the law of morality and human kindness be separated from their families, if the families are willing to share their unhappy society. In the event of a leper making his escape, he can scarcely be shot down. We must reflect upon the frightful scene, which would be exhibited in the streets, if lepers were forcibly led along, like mad beasts, no one daring to touch them, and thrust into asylums, which will have to be erected at enormous expense if intended for forcible restraint. India has large open spaces, great sheets of water, and flowing rivers. In some secluded spots the retreats must be made, and the poor sufferers induced by free food and kind treatment to remain there, special taxes being levied on the large cities to maintain them and provide medical superintendence. If the State undertakes the control of such establishments, the missionaries must be excluded, as, under the unwritten law of British India, the State is prohibited from any act of direct or indirect proselytism, and the very *raison-d'être* of the missionary is to proselytize. It is all very well for the Government of the Cape Colony to lay hold of poor debased Hottentots, and convey them to an island under the charge of missionaries. A few hundred is the total. In India we are dealing with tens of thousands, Hindu and Mahometan, and the great Central Government cannot afford to move one inch from the grand position, which it has always occupied, as the impartial protector of each one of its meanest subjects in the observance of such religious duties and feelings, as he or she may please to practise or adopt, being of sufficient age to be a judge of the matter. This is the very mainspring of our power in India, and any attempt to depart from it on the solicitation of short sighted missionaries and ignorant philanthropists should be sternly resisted.

I add an illustration of the lepers' lot, as it once was in Europe :

"Sadder still is the poem entitled 'Happy.' In the middle ages was a form of ritual for the sequestration of the leprous, a ritual little different, in form as well as veritable significance, from the burial service. From home and kinsfolk, from the world and all the ways of men, he was sent forth. One earthly consolation remained; the Church pronounced the marriage tie indissoluble; and faithful wives went into perpetual banishment with their miserable spouses. Ghastly is the theme of 'The Leper's Bride,' who clings to her plague-struck husband, once a Crusader, now a pariah living in his hut on the solitary moor; we are spared no repulsive circumstances. Much is done in the treatment, but not ineffectually; the forbidding physical aspects are forgotten; and it is possible to contemplate that devotion, which cares nothing for foul disease, which remembers only that 'the fairest flesh at last is filth on which the worm will feast,' and which lifts up its eyes to

"The beauty that endures on the spiritual height,
When we shall stand transfigured like Christ on Hermon hill,
And moving each to music, soul in soul and light in light,
Shall flash thro' one another in a moment as we will.

Tennyson, Demeter, 1890."

I am thankful to be able to give an account of the decision of the Government of India, wise and cautious, watchful and sympathising :

"**THE ISOLATION OF LEPERS IN INDIA.**—A despatch from the Government of India to the Secretary of State, enclosing a draft Bill making provision for the isolation of lepers and the amelioration of their condition, has been issued. Referring to the alleged contagion of leprosy, the despatch says, that many of the highest medical authorities in India consider, that the evidence at present available goes to show, that leprosy is only contagious in the sense that it is inoculable, and that inoculation plays only a very subordinate part in the spread of the disease. The very small number of authentic and unequivocal cases of communication of the disease from one individual to another is considered as strongly supporting this view. The phenomena of the distribution of the disease in leprosy countries are thought also to be adverse to the theory, that contagion plays any important part in producing a general diffusion of the disease. In Norway, for instance, the disease seems to be almost limited to certain areas, and in India the very unequal incidence of the disease over different parts of the peninsula is equally striking. Dr. Cunningham, the chief scientific adviser of the Government, thinks the present evidence regarding the communicability of leprosy very imperfect; and that, such as it is, it is opposed to the theory that the disease is readily communicated by contagion in any stage, or that, even in the ulcerative stage, lepers are a source of any considerable danger to those, with whom they may associate. The views of the local Governments on the Bill exhibit great divergence, as might be expected in the present uncertainty as to the course and character of leprosy. The Madras Government thinks the small measure of seclusion proposed in the Bill will have no appreciable effect on the spread of leprosy; the Bombay Government is of much the same opinion. Both would have a more stringent control over the exercise of trades and the use of public conveyances, tanks, etc., by lepers. The Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal would accept the Bill as an experimental measure, for he finds a great division in public opinion on the subject of segregation. Natives of India do not regard the need for it as demonstrated, while Europeans think the measure too permissive. After considering a large number of very conflicting opinions, and having in view the scheme of the National Leprosy Fund in this country to carefully investigate the cause and incidence of the disease, and in consequence of the doubts which exist as to the contagious character of leprosy, even in an advanced stage, we have come to the conclusion, that it is expedient to postpone legislation for the present, and we hope that the investigations above referred to may provide more definite information as to the causes of leprosy and the best means to be adopted for its prevention."

The Churchman, London, 1890.

III.

GORDON PASHA GOVERNOR OF THE SUDÁN 1874-79.

WHEN the Church Missionary Society despatched four Agents to reinforce the Mission upon Victoria Nyanza, *vid* the Nile, in 1878, great assistance was received from Gordon Pasha, the Governor-General of the Sudán, the most southerly province of Egypt. The

idea of extending operations to Albert Nyanza was also suggested to the Society by the same authority, though fortunately not adopted, for nothing could have been more imprudent, indeed more foolhardy. It is, therefore, with some interest, that the present volume will be perused by all, who study the subject of the basin of the Equatorial Nile. An intense feeling of disappointment is the result of the perusal. In spite of all the weaknesses of the great Missionary, and the undoubted errors of the great Traveller, the characters of Livingstone and Stanley stand out as consistent and heroic as their great works were magnificent and complete, works done once and for ever. The character and work of the Statesman-Soldier, who is described in the volume before us, both fall far short of the ideal thus presented.

It is but just to the character of Gordon to state, that he had nothing whatever to do with this publication, except giving *carte blanche* to a personal stranger to do as he pleased with his letters and his journals. It would have been wiser, on the whole, to have left them in manuscript. A strange jumble of religious utterances, offhand remarks, moody speculations, and flippant criticisms of the acts of others, disfigure the narrative. The Governor of the Sudán had a great work to do. He was not deficient in resource, in mental and bodily activity, in firmness of purpose, and in independence of character. And all interested in Administration, Exploration, and many of the great modern problems of Social Economy, were ready to follow him with respectful admiration, and benevolent criticism in his many and momentous difficulties. But why dilute his pages with what can only be called vapid verbiage, and lower the Governor-General to the level of the inactive Day-Dreamer?

Gordon Pasha's great failing through life has been restlessness and inability to give a sufficient length of time to any work he was engaged in. It took Lord Lawrence fifteen years to learn *his* work, and then ten patient years to get the Panjáb into order. But then the work, when done, was done for all time. We hear of Gordon on the Danube, in China, in Egypt, on the staff of the Viceroy of India, in China again, on the eve of starting to Zanzibár, and so forth; nay, at this moment he may be starting to, returning from, or stationed at any post of danger in the world. But this is not ADMINISTRATION; and the severest satire upon the success, the permanent advantages of his Rule in the Sudán, is that he was replaced by Raouf Bey, whom he had twice dismissed from high posts, viz. from the Governorship of Gondokóro and of Harrár, as a thorough tyrant in both Dependencies. Indeed, throughout the pages of the whole volume we find nothing but dismissals, nothing but abuse of subordinates, and of all in authority, Christian or Mahometan, Egyptian or European, old or young. Now that, which invariably distinguishes a great Administrator, is, that he makes use of the subordinates, whom he finds to hand; teaches

them their work, and effectually controls them. A clean sweep of officials always leads to their return, when the tempest is past, and the new broom, which has swept them out, is broken.

Nothing of a permanent character has arisen, or can arise, from the short Rule of Gordon Pasha. Even the slave-trade has again raised its head, and a cloud has again fallen over the Sudán. It is possible, that the Egyptian frontier will be considerably reduced from sheer inability to maintain it. That there should only be one mention of the Church Missionary Society's operations is singular, considering that it was the timely appearance of this representative of England, from the Zanzibár side, at Rubága, the capital of U-Gandá, that peremptorily arrested the scheme, not concealed by Gordon, of occupying Rubága as a military post, the putting of steamers upon the Victoria Nyanza, the planting of the Mahometan flag of Egypt upon the Equator, and, at the same time, the opening up a flank route towards the East, *viâ* Mombása, on the Indian Ocean. All this implies exploration, annexation, earth-greed, unjust aggression, wanton enslavement of free nationalities, bloodshed, sacking of villages, carrying off of cows by the thousand, and the shooting of so-called rebels and plunderers. But it also implies a policy, which is unwise and un-Christian. Before Gordon had left the Sudán, he had drawn in his advanced posts to the north side of the Victoria Nile; and it will be well for the future Egyptian Governor, when on the war-path, to remember, that a little north of the Equator there is a change in the Race of the inhabitants. He may extend his depredations and annexations with impunity in the countries of the pure Negro; but when he comes into collision with the Bantu Races, south of the Equator, he will find a different stuff to deal with.

It is interesting to read the sentiments of Gordon and his Lieutenant, Gessi, towards the Church Missionary Society. Gordon writes thus: "The night before we were taken prisoners (in Abyssinia) I received the Post telling me, that the Nyanza Mission were prisoners at Rubága. *I rather laughed at this; for I had foretold it.* I was well paid off, when I had the same experience the next day. Mtesa and King Johannis are of the same family." Gessi Pasha, who was a very much better soldier than he was a French scholar, writes, Sept. 12, 1879: "*Je crois que leur Mission est terminée; et que c'est un un-succé (sic).* Lady Bertha Kutz "*(sic; quere: Burdett-Coutts?) aurait pu mieux employer son argent.*"

Poor Gessi, who had little religious knowledge, has found out the truth now, for he died very soon after; and I trust, that the Nyanza Mission has still, by God's Grace, a long and glorious career before it, which will outlive Mtesa and his barbarities, and the vain hopes and illusions, which have gathered round that atrocious heathen. I trust, that the Mission, which I speak of,

may outlive the dynasty of the late Khedive, as it has already outlived his Equatorial ambition, and that, under the guidance of Providence, and directed by God's Unerring Hand, there may be many enduring Missions planted. In spite of many trials, and shifting of stations, and changing of front, the sapling will take root upon the shore and grow to such dimensions, as to over-shadow the entire Nyanza.

Admitting, that Gordon struck a heavy blow at the Slave-trade, and uprooted two or three dens of iniquity, it is sad to reflect, that there is no permanence apparent in the work. So strong is the local feeling in favour of slavery that I read, p. 345 : " I got " the slave-dealers chained at once, and then decided about the " slaves. The men and boys were put into the ranks of the army, " and *the women were told off to be wives of the soldiers.*" Again : " Some of the poor women were quite nude ; I disposed of them in " *the same way*, for what else can I do ?" Again, p. 359 : " I heard a " tumult among the Arabs, and feared a fight. However, it turned " out to be caused by a division of these (released) slaves, among " the tribes they were scrambled for ! It is a horrid idea, for, of " course, whole families are separated, but I cannot help it." It is not intended to impute blame to the Governor-General, but a distribution of released females as wives to the Egyptian soldiers, or the objects of a *scramble in a crowd*, is not synonymous with Liberty, nor the object of the Anti-Slavery Society.

At Daza in Dar-Fúr Gordon had the Mosque, which had been turned by his predecessor, a Mahometan, into a powder-Magazine, cleaned out and restored for worship. And he endowed the Mahometan Officials and Crier, and had a great ceremony at the opening of it ! He adds : " This was a great *coup* ! To me it appears, that the " Mahometan worships God as well as I do, and is as acceptable, if " sincere, as any Christian." Toleration is indeed the great jewel of Empire, and true toleration implies the reservation of all religious buildings to their particular object. But the conduct of the Governor-General of the Sudán, in this particular, is such as, in British India, will be viewed with the highest condemnation.

At p. 100 Gordon remarks : " Sergee, the black boy I brought " down from Khartúm, has become a Mahometan, which evidently " shows, that he does not appreciate Modern Christianity. I " (Gordon) paid for the rite, and expect to be blamed by — for " doing so." No Englishman in British India would pay for the expenses of " Circumcision " of a fellow-creature, however degraded might be the religion from which he seceded. It was unjust of the Editor of Colonel Gordon's story to print such an extract from a letter written unadvisedly. At p. 409 we read : " I send you " Geem's letter, Oct. 12, 1879, which tells of the end of Sebéhr's " son, Sulimán (described previously as a nice-looking boy of " twenty, or twenty-two, but a spoilt child, who required shaking).

"I have no compunction about his death. I told him that, if he fought the Egyptian Government, *God would slay him*. Gessi only obeyed my orders in shooting him!" His father, Sebéhr, who was the real offender, as head of the Slave-trade interest, was apparently at Cairo with a pension of £1200 per annum, when the narrative of this volume ends. He had also been sentenced to death, deservedly; but had escaped on a pension, while his youthful son had perished!

Harún, the hereditary chief of Dar-Fúr, retired to his mountains, and the place, where his ancestors had been the rulers of the country for many generations, and for 400 years were buried. Gordon admits, that the people of Dar-Fúr had been cruelly used by the Egyptian soldiers, and their domestic ties totally disregarded, and yet at p. 248 he writes: "I have an expedition out against Harún. There will be no peace till he is caught or killed." And yet Harún was, at least, a patriot such as Bruce, or William Tell, or Schamyl. Gordon writes, p. 397: "To-day I had a telegram from Dar-Fúr. Harún had been killed and his forces dispersed. *God has been truly good to me!* . . . May I be ground to dust, if He will glorify Himself in me! but give me a humble heart, for where He dwells, there is comfort." Such acts, and such expressions, are very shocking.

The whole volume is replete with inopportune moralizing and eccentric remarks, with despondency, with wishing to be rid of the work, with hopelessness for the future, and with consciousness of the almost certain evil results of the work done. In many pages occur expressions almost of hatred to the Arab, and of almost the same feeling in regard to the people of the Sudán. And the reader looks in vain for those traits of sympathy with the poor native, which shine through every line of Livingstone, and now and then irradiate the stern business-paragraphs of Stanley. Yet Gordon constantly admits, that he is a poor Arabic scholar, and is utterly ignorant of the Vernacular, and dependent upon interpreters, whom he at length discovers to be scoundrels! Let us quote his own words: "God permits me to open the road to the interior (the Equator), but humanly speaking I see nothing to encourage the hope, that the occupation of these lands will be of any advantage towards civilizing them. In excuse for taking this employ I can only say, that I have accomplished that work with a minimum amount of suffering to natives and to soldiery, which would have been done by an Arab Pasha with a great amount of suffering to both."

It was, and it is, a useless work; a work, which had better have been left undone, and which has been entirely abandoned when accomplished. The long line of Posts from Lado to the Albert Nyanza, where are they? If they were in existence, *cui bono?* It does indeed require an excuse for a Christian Englishman to take

such service under such a base rule as that, which until lately obtained at Cairo with the late Khedive as sovereign, and with Nuba Pasha as his Prime Minister. The Governor-General of the Sudán had to burn houses, rob the people of cows by hundreds and thousands, and kill all, who opposed the black slave-recruited regiments, for the purpose of extending the power of a Mahometan Ruler, knowing that a Pasha of the old type would succeed him only a little better in degree than the Arab and Sudán slave-dealer, whom he desired to drive out. No wonder that the Natives were hostile; no wonder that they called in their medicine-men, like Balák did of old, to denounce the invader, for doing which Gordon covers them with ridicule. Their instinct told them, that a chain of Egyptian Military Posts meant the location of a body of plunderers and ravishers at an interval of two days' march through the whole length of their oppressed country.

A man so noble, so brave, so regardless of selfish interests; so simple of purpose, so enduring of fatigue, so reliant upon a Higher Power, and yet so full of mundane resources, under the supervision and checks of a Christian Administration, such as that of British India, and of the firm and strong Christian guidance, support, and counsel of such men as Dalhousie or Lawrence, might have restored order to the Sudán, in the same way as has been done to other Provinces, which in our own times we have seen pass from the state of a Den of Wild Beasts to that of a well-cultivated Garden. The iron hand in the velvet glove, the jealous abstinence from shedding of blood, the stern order, the rapid obedience, the sympathy with the conquered, the victory crowned by pardon, and reconciliation; the intelligent, honest, and well-paid subordinates; these are the elements of a strong, abiding, and yet benevolent domination. But in the annals of this Sudán-Administration all these characteristics are found wanting. And we rise from a perusal of this latest attempt at the civilization of the Upper Basin of the Nile with feelings of utter hopelessness and despair, and no little disgust.

Mission-Work, 1883.

Gordon had left Egypt and was alive, when these pages were written: subsequently he returned to the Sudán, and was killed at Khartúm in 1885. I was at the first Cataract in Upper Egypt, when the telegraphic news came, that all was over. I had followed Lord Wolseley's army up the Nile, as far as I could get.

"How shall we think of him tenderly enough,

"Who for his errors with his life has paid?

"Of such illogical heroic stuff,

"Britons are made."

The whole of the Sudán has been lost to civilization, and has gone back a century, the illusion about Emin Pasha has been dissipated.

Still, it is a comfort to think, that there are still manly independent races, who are able and willing to fight for their freedom, and hold their own against the tyranny of European States.

Mission-Work, London, 1890.

"Colonel Gordon in Central Africa, 1874-79. From Original Letters (to his "Sister) and Documents. Edited by George Birkbeck Hill, D.C.L." (Thos. de la Rue, London, 1881.)

IV.

CRIME IN WEST AFRICA.

I HAD the honour, some months ago, to bring to your Lordship's notice an atrocious case of Murder and Cannibalism, which took place at Nembé, on the Lower Niger, West Africa, within the territory under English protection, last year. I received a reply, that Consul Hewett would inquire into the subject.

I have the honour now to inform your Lordship that in the Annual Report of the Church Missionary Society for 1885, which has a large circulation among influential classes all over the world, is the following sentence, the truth of which cannot be disputed :

"Nembé has been the scene of a shocking outrage. Some men of a neighbouring village who, it was alleged, had insulted one of the Bruma Chiefs, were seized and murdered, and the murderers indulged even in Cannibalism, a crime formally rife in the Delta, but not known of late years."

Nembé is accessible by waterway to British Commerce and British Gunboats.

In the same Report appears the following passage :

"Neither was Mr. Wood more successful in his conference with the Ondo Authorities. A day before our return (March, 1886) a wealthy Ondo Chief died, and at his funeral, which took place on Good Friday, five persons were immolated. This stirred Mr. Wood's indignation, and, when he met the Authorities in the Council, he strongly denounced such wickedness, adverted upon their perfidy in upholding the abominable custom, after signing a treaty with the Lagos Government for its abolition, and told them, that such conduct would bring down God's judgment upon the country. Their replies were respectful, hopeful, but hypocritical.

"But when Mr. Wood spoke against their inhuman destruction of twins, they threw off the garb of hypocrisy, and rudely refused to allow any toleration to the Mission on the "twin"-question. All that they conceded was that the Mission Agents would be permitted to remove any twin-children, born in the (Mission) compound, safely from their territory."

Ondo is in the Yoruba Country, N. Longitude 7°, E. Latitude 5°, at some little distance from the Coast.

I beg to remind your Lordship, that in the late scramble of the European Powers for Africa, Great Britain has laid the dead hand upon Yoriba-Land, and Niger-land. Our occupation, or protection, excludes the interference of any other Power. This has brought

with it a responsibility, that we cannot escape from, of putting down, and forbidding, abominable crimes against human nature. If in the Regions occupied by France, Germany or Portugal, such atrocities were reported by the traveller or merchant, the British Press would denounce the mean selfishness of a great Power, asserting its right to annex, or protect, or at least exclude others, and yet making no attempt to arrest and punish atrocious customs. A Gunboat would without difficulty convey those Cannibal murderers to Sierra Leone to be tried and executed. A pressure brought upon the Ondo Chiefs would bring them to reason.

Forty years ago, when we annexed the Panjáb in India, we had the strength of our convictions. In the midst of a warlike population, with the support only of Hindu soldiers in our garrisons, Lord Lawrence summoned the Chiefs and Landholders, and told them that they must abstain from three things :

- 1 Burning widows.
- 2 Killing daughters.
- 3 Burying alive lepers.

I was present in my youth 40 years ago, and well recollect, how they passed by the British officers and touched the pen, which was held out, in token of obedience, and *they did obey, because they saw that we were resolute*, and their own consciences told them, that the thing was wrong.

Let us be resolute in this matter also; it seems intolerable that under the protecting flag of England such atrocities should continue.

Letter to the Secretary of State in Foreign Department, June 1, 1886.

V.

RESOLUTIONS AND MAXIMS,

FOR THE GUIDANCE OF A PUBLIC OFFICER IN BRITISH INDIA, RECORDED IN ENGLAND JUST BEFORE THE OUTBREAK OF THE INDIAN MUTINY IN 1857, AND ACTED UPON UNTIL SERVICE ENDED IN 1867.

A. Resolutions.

If I am to do anything in this world, if my faculties were given me for any purpose of benefit to my fellow-creatures: if the studies, and experiences, of the last fifteen years in the field, if the acquired knowledge of ten languages, and a wide reading of literature of all ages and countries, are to be of any practical good, now is the time. During the next decade, what is to be done must be done.

Let me consider calmly what ought to be done :

- I. Professionally, as a Member of Her Majesty's Civil Service in India.
- II. Intellectually, as a man of capacity and attainments.
- III. Spiritually, as one, who seeks for the Truth as a humble sinner before God.

Subjects belonging to these three heads are constantly before me : night and day I reflect on what I can do for the People of India : what employment I can give to the talents entrusted to my charge, what road I can find to the Truth, the great Truth, of the Lord.

I. I will, if possible, cause the Judicial Courts in India to be more respected, and more worthy of respect : they shall be no longer dilatory, uncertain, expensive, shackled by vain forms, and odious and ruinous to the poor people. I will expose their shortcomings, suggest reforms, introduce ideas from the British and French systems, and secure, that after seven years of joint service the Judicial Officers should be absolutely separated from the Executive, and legal Colleges founded for the training of Native Judges, and a Native Bar.

I must watch the proceedings of the Legislative Council of India, read their reports, weigh well every Bill affecting any Province, remembering, that this is the best training to fit me hereafter for the post of a Member of that Council.

I must urge the improvement of our Criminal Law, and the reformation of our Gaols. I trust to see the day, when there will be not a Prisoner seen outside the Gaol. I will never cease to urge a complete separation from the House of Detention of persons under trial from those who are convicted.

I must urge the examination of the fitness of all Servants of the State, European or Native. I will strive to curb the Demon of Patronage and Nepotism. I trust to see the day, when the State College will be the only door to Public Service. I trust to see the evil habit of prolix writing reduced, and the abominable mode of reading evidence, now in vogue, done away with. I hope to see more dignity in office on the part of the presiding officer.

II. Intellectually, I have much to do both in reading and writing : subjects crowd on my brain, and fill up my notebooks : lives of great Indians for a Vernacular series : a succession of descriptive pictures of the duties of each grade of Public Officers, with the object of inspiring the holders of office with nobler feelings, a greater love for the people, and a juster appreciation of their position as Rulers for good or ill, Judges of Life or Death, vested with the power of being an Angel of Wisdom and Goodness, or a Demon of Ignorance and Malignity. I wish to read more of the ancient literature of India both in its original and translation, to read more of Jurisprudence and Law. I wish to be on

a level with all the vast subjects discussed daily, to join in the strife of brave and earnest men battling for the advance of the interests of Mankind, and floating on the foremost wave of the stream of legitimate Reform. "Let nothing exist," say I, "which cannot justify its existence."

III. Spiritually, I must constantly read, mark, and learn: watch the great course of events, the customs, and modes of thought of Nations, the maxims inculcated in the Religious Books of all Nations, ponder on the opinions of all, avoid all dogmatic assertion, sweep away all fogs of mediæval and patristic tradition, grasp the whole of the Almighty Plan, the story of His dealings with the *whole* of His poor Children, for all of whom His Son died on the Cross, not for the poor unit, the mere cypher of the tiny Church, to which we happen by the mere chance of our parentage to belong, a mere fraction of divided Christianity. The whole term of life is not long enough for this consideration, and, if the whole business of life were centred in it, Life would not be thrown away. For why are we here for a brief period? How came we here? What should we do here? Where after life's short passage do we go, and what is Hereafter? These are the questions.

B. *Maxims.*

1. Take a general view of every subject, and consider how far it will affect the interests of others as well as your own.

2. Avoid even the appearance of prejudice: have before your eyes the emptiness of personal squabbles. Measures *not* men: it is never worth the while of a clever and earnest man to quarrel: it wastes time and ruffles temper, and disturbs the smooth lake-like placidity of the temper.

3. Write as briefly as possible: strike out every extra word, or superfluous sentence, if you wish your writings to be read. The reports of special correspondents, and the Leaders of a Newspaper, show you what ought to be avoided.

4. Never use uncommon, or foreign, or uncourteous, or sarcastic, words: never give even the chance of being charged with duplicity.

5. Never despatch a letter of reproof to a subordinate, or a reply to a reproof of your superior, until one night has elapsed after receipt of their letter. Consult your pillow.

6. If misinterpreted, reflect on the abuse and defamation, which every public man undergoes in Great Britain: let your character be known by the general tenour of the whole course of your actions, and writings. No one would believe a charge of injustice brought against Aristides, or of immodesty against a Vestal Virgin. Consider also that, if the world knew the secrets of your life, which you know, how easily you escape.

7. Never under any circumstance apply for any office, any

reward, or any honour, and never decline any office tendered to you *personally* by the Government.

8. Profit by the censure of others on your acts, and writings, if their knowledge of the facts compels you to admit, that they are qualified to form a judgment: pass quietly over the censure of the unqualified, but still reflect, whether you deserved it, or not, and take a hint for future guidance.

9. Nothing can be done without system and order, but do not let your routine degenerate into red-tape: your system indicates the means, and not the object: do not let the spirit of what has to be done degenerate into formalities: avoid delay: *bis dat qui cito dat*: dispose of everything at once: never let arrears accumulate: never touch up matters disposed of, and chew useless cuds: marshal your business, so as to dispose first of what is most urgent: do not let one tedious train of thought block your office-Railway: get rid of all your light business, so as to clear your table. "*Mens a mensd noscitur*:" an orderly mind has an orderly business-table, and the pigeon-holes of the writing-desk help the pigeon-holes of the brain.

10. Steer the middle-course betwixt ultra-liberalism, and stolid conservatism: do not assert that because a thing is, therefore it must be wrong: on the other hand, do not acquiesce in a thing remaining, unless sufficient reason can be shown for allowing it to remain.

11. Do not stick to your opinions for consistency's sake: the world is a stage, on which the scenes are always shifting: the basement of everlasting Truth remains: the environment from time to time is altered: the wisest live and learn: but before you change, see that you get no personal advantage from the change, for then you are selling yourself, and that your change is not sudden, and groundless, for then you act like a fool.

12. Keep clear of all intrigues: let your conduct be so clean and clear, that you would not care to show every letter public or private to your greatest enemy, and so act as to be perfectly indifferent to espionage.

13. But why have an enemy public or private? You cannot prevent others from hating you, but you can prevent yourself from hating them; if you cannot agree, keep clear of each other.

14. Jealousy is an ignoble weakness: take a wider view of the whole system: there is room for all: all have separate gifts, and Chance very much guides the disposal of appointments and opportunities of distinction. Some flower early; some late. Remember Metternich's remark, "*Le moins décorées le plus distinguées*."

15. In dealing with your subordinates give them the fullest credit for what they do, and do not swallow up their merit: it is a drop to you: it may be the germ of future greatness to them: be regular, indulgent, free from spite, conciliatory, courteous: mark

their characters: encourage the lethargic, restrain the over-zealous, support the timid: be it your constant pleasure to develop talent in others, remembering how much you owe to the illustrious men, who trained and fashioned you: never damp youthful energy, nor damn with faint praise.

16. Every letter deserves an answer; if possible, by next day's post: every visit deserves a return-visit: the more inferior the social position, the more necessary the attention both of letter and visit.

17. Temperate opposition, and temperate criticism, are the greatest safeguards of a public officer: how much cause for regret you would have, if all your crude ideas had at once been carried out! But give intelligent reasons for dissent, couched in courteous language, so that if the matter be handed up to the highest authority, the mettle of your judgment will be appreciated.

18. It is the natural tendency of the lapse of time to engender abuses. Reform therefore is the *sine quâ non* of existence: those are the real anarchists, who reject timely reform.

19. Act with strict justice with holders of public offices, and receivers of public money, who have outlived the necessity of their existence: but admit no pity or compassion: you have no right to be generous with public money.

20. Avoid Nepotism as you would the Devil: the names of some Governors, and their families, stink in India: those are the best public servants, who have won their positions off their own bats: it is strange, that many cannot see, that to provide for relations out of public funds is about as dishonourable, and dishonest, an act as a person placed in an important trust can commit.

21. Be very tolerant in everything: always hear the other side: turn over in your mind the reasons for or against any measure: remember that people's opinions are formed by their environment: questions open to you, are not open to them: a decision in one particular way may ruin them: you have nothing at stake. Again some men have not the capacity, or opportunity, to form an opinion, or even to consider the merits: they get into a groove early in life, and have not the force of character to get out of it: it is of no use discussing with them: a sieve will not hold water: they must go to their graves with their eyes unopened.

22. No law, ritual, or institution, secular, or religious, can be made permanent:

"Tempora mutantur: nos et mutamur in illis."

They must either be modified to suit the ever-widening, ever-changing feelings of mankind, or they will undergo the certain fate of being suppressed by violence, becoming obsolete by contempt, or avoided by subterfuge.

VI.

SYSTEMATIC CHARITY.

"The treasure-house of the Lord is full to overflowing." Such was the remark of a pious ecclesiastic in olden times, who commenced a grand work of charity with apparently inadequate means. He alluded, and not without reason, to the hearts and purses of true Christians, which are ever open at their Master's call.

The Briton is world-renowned for his charitable disposition, the British charities are a national glory; nor has the Anglo-Indian ever been found wanting in the disposition to reply to calls upon his bounty, but, where he has failed, and does fail, is in system, selection, and forethought. To many it appears to be enough to give, and an insufficient inquiry is made as to the worthiness of the object, or the more urgent calls of more important enterprises. And, in truth, Anglo-Indians should be ready to give. The majority, if not all of us, are the sons of poor parents, or parents with life-incomes, familiar to small things at home, and smaller prospects in Great Britain. In British India liberal allowances, paid monthly, attained at an early age, enable the youthful, or middle-aged, servants of the Government to lead a life of comparative ease and indulgence, unknown to their brothers at home, the curate with no interest, the briefless barrister, and the hard-working surgeon. All that we ask is, that a portion of this abundance (for when contrasted with their home circumstances, it is abundance) be devoted to the honour and service of Him, whose hand protects from the pestilence, whose good spirit holds them back from the thousand forms of professional shipwreck, to which the Anglo-Indian at any period of his career is liable.

We say, "a portion," but we do not pretend to lay down any rule as to the amount of that portion. The Lord loveth a cheerful giver; the poor widow dropped two mites into the treasury, and that one farthing outweighed the offerings of Kings. To each man are known his own circumstances, his own necessities, his own prospects. How often the young man, who was deemed penurious by his thoughtless contemporaries, has been found, years after, to have been supporting a mother and sister at home, or starting a brother in life! All that we ask is, that a man should settle with himself, at the beginning of each year, how much he can consecrate of his earning to the service of Him, who gave all.

Then come into force our rules of what we call "Systematic Charity." The sum for the year is assigned, and the pleasant task then remains to allot this sum in the mode most conformable to the donor's views of what is right. He will not forget the cries of the poor of his distant home in Great Britain, to which his heart still clings fondly; he will send something there. He will not forget

the cause of his Master, for which brave and noble men are fighting in this country in the face of the heathen idolater, and the Mahometan Unitarian, under the great Commission given on the day of the Ascension. He will not forget the wants of the Church of his own Communion, the Schools, the Bible and Tract-Societies, the City Missionary, who calls to those who are Christians by name, but from ignorance, or neglect, or misfortune, have fallen into Atheism, or Indifferentism; and the Native Pastor, who watches over the little flock, which has come out of the glare of the idolatry of the great city, and nestled in the midst of us under the shadow of the Cross. He will not forget the little comforts of the British Soldier, as far as it lies in his power to contribute to them, in the way of Lectures, Institutes, and Lending Libraries; nor will his heart harden against the shame and opprobrium of our name and nation, the British Loafer, but will assist him through those legitimate channels, and in that restricted way, which the necessity of the case has required. Lastly, he will not forget those, whom he has always with him, the poor, and those who are brought out of their cities and villages to be healed of their sicknesses in British Infirmaries, under the tender and skilful care of the Doctor. Special objects of interest and charity will spring up around him; he hears, while he is enjoying his meal daily, of thousands dying of famine; he hears, while he draws his salary regularly, of banks being broken, and the means of whole families becoming extinguished: while his prospects are bright, he sees his neighbour from some error, some ill-luck, some misconduct, or some sin, dashed down to penury, and dragging down helpless unoffending innocents with him.

When we mount the tower of our mind, and take a survey of the sorrows and wants of our fellow-creatures, we are too apt to descend heart-crushed and hopeless from the very thought, and distant view, of the gigantic proportions of the evil. This is want of Faith. The treasure-house of the Lord is full to overflowing, if there are found those, who are wise, and systematic, and self-denying, and all-sympathizing, and large-hearted, to administer to its never-failing abundance.

Southern Cross, Allahabad, 1866.

VII.

"SURSUM CORDA."

IN one of my earlier papers I impressed on my readers the duty of labour consecrated by prayer, "*ora et labora*," labour for the benefit of others, unremunerated, unpraised, and often unknown. I would now allude to the obstacles, which spring up in the way of such labour, however willing may be the labourer. All new-

comers arrive in British India overflowing with enthusiasm. Schemes of usefulness and benevolence are concocted on boardship during the outward voyage, which would occupy a long life. The young lady, who has taught herself from books to regard India from a too highly romantic point of view, plans to have the native servants assembled at prayers, to entertain a Scripture-Reader for the people, to visit the poor and sick in their humble homes, to assist at the Sunday-Schools, to play the harmonium in the Church, to visit the Missions, assist in the local Societies, and help the good cause by her advice, her money, her writings, and her prayers.

The young Missionary, or Chaplain, fresh from the perusal of the lives of Schwartz, Henry Martyn, and Raglan, conscious of his own natural shortcomings, but strong in Faith and the strength of Him, whom he lives only to serve, cherishes too sanguine views of the future; he will avoid all the errors, which have misled his predecessors; he will surmount all the difficulties, which held them back; he will bring his countrymen, too long forgetful of God, back to the services of the Church; he will add souls to that Church by preaching with force to amiable and simple indigines, assembled at sunset under the patriarchal fig-tree.

Short dream! Early disenchantment! Impediments offer themselves of the most provoking and unexpected character: difficulties in each work that is undertaken and in the worker, such as never could have happened before: faithless co-operators: unworthy suspicions and jealousies on the part both of lay and clerical brethren: headaches, quarrels, heat, flies, difficulties with regard to family-details at home, difficulties with regard to vehicles to get abroad. All must be familiar with such drawbacks, after a prolonged residence in India; but to the new-comer they seem the special machinations of Satan, and he droops under them. All we can say is "*Sursum Corda!*" Would you consecrate to God that, which cost you nothing? Through much tribulation, much sifting of wheat, you must enter into the Kingdom. Or the disappointment may be in the people: the anxious and ingenuous inquirer after Christian verities may develope into a rogue, or backslide into a libertine: the much trusted Vestry-Clerk, the highly valued Catechist, may prove an insolvent, or the weakest of weak and immoral Christians: the fine and over-refined mind may be wearied and disgusted by the endless, hopeless, profitless conflict with the coarsest and most unyielding forms of scepticism and materialism. Or the fault may be in the worker, a lack of temper, a want of tact, of patient faith and faithful patience, of loving persistence and persistent love: perhaps a too fond and selfish looking to results; a too great craving for success and praise, forgetful of the example of the Husbandman, who flings his seed on the furrow, trusting in due time to receive from it a tenfold return. To the labourer who is thus abashed and cast down, all that we can say is, "*Sursum Corda!*"

Or the labourer may be laid aside by illness, and may fret in his darkened chamber, magnifying in fond foolish dreams his own importance and the loss to the world and the work by his temporary, or permanent, withdrawal. To such we answer, that you must do God's work, as He wishes, as He thinks best: *you may think highly of what you were doing, God does not*: a new form of service is designed for you, of which you have as yet formed no conception. Think of Milton, who in his blindness was shut out from the world, to write his immortal poem; of Baxter, Bunyan, and Luther in their prisons; of Monod on his death-bed kept alive two years to do more in his sick-room towards the saving of souls than a whole life would have effected in the pulpit; of the precious life of Paul two years were spent in prison at Cæsarea, and two more tied by the arms to a heathen soldier at Rome. Perhaps there is a message to you in this sudden blow, that you must change your work, or the sphere of your work, or at any rate enjoy a pause in the ceaseless stream of life's occupation, that you may withdraw yourself for a season, that you may look forwards and backwards, seek a new plan, and by, as it were, stepping back, or rather aside, gather strength for a new and perhaps a more successful advance.

Southern Cross, Allahabad, 1866.

This was written a quarter of a century ago, and the truth of the last words have been realized by me personally. (God is very good in what He lends, in what He takes away, and in what He denies. He changes our sphere of usefulness by some tremendous blow; but after chastisement, a new field of Duty and Labour, previously undreamt of, is opened. His Holy Name be praised! "Sursum corda!")

London, 1890.

VIII.

IN TE DOMINE SPERAVI.

CHANGES of the most afflicting nature constantly occur in the circle of our Anglo-Indian community with a suddenness and bitterness, which is quite appalling. We look around, and those, who were our every-day companions, are gone. We hear of neighbours young and old, struck down by death, by disease, or incapacitated by blindness, or crushed by such bereavements, as carry with them all the bitterness, without the rest of death to the survivors. The air is indeed filled with farewells of the dying, and wailings of the dead; the casual acquaintance is disturbed by the complaints of the broken-hearted, and the burden of the disappointed, and we seem relieved, when the train carries off into space, no more to be heard of, the member of the community, who has ceased to be agreeable or useful. The turn of all comes, one by one; some

sooner, some later ; some oftener, some at long intervals : the same trite, well-meaning, but meaningless, consolation is tendered in all cases, whether on the death of an infant of a few weeks, of an aged parent, or one who hoped, and was hoped to be the loving partner of a long life. The only real consolation is contained in the words we have above quoted, " Lord, in Thee have I trusted." Trust in God always !

The path, which we have selected, may appear to be a promising one for God's work, and a useful one and an agreeable one ; but a wall is suddenly found, which interrupts onward progress. The heart sinks at the prospect of abandoning schemes of usefulness, labours of love, prospects of success, brightened by loving sympathy, hallowed by sweet companionship. If God's service be our real object, let us not be cast down. Whether the impediment be sickness, bereavement, or disappointment, the Lord will provide for the sacrifice in His own time and in His own place. Let our hearts only be ready. Or the path, into which we have strayed, may be one of thoughtlessness, if not sin ; of levity, if not an entire forgetfulness of God's service ; of undue devotion to the world, and its honours and its snares, and a too eager gathering of the treasures, which perish, or clog when obtained. Let us be thankful, if a lion obstruct such a path, and let us welcome the calamity, whatever it may be, as God's Messenger, believing, that our travel is afflicted with such trouble, lest the delight (over-delight in the provisions of the journey) should take away our desire for the Rest, which should be the journey's end. In such dark hours Trust in the Lord !

This is the last echo of a *voice, or rather of two voices* (one has been silent for three months in the grave, and the other will be heard here no more), which have striven to rouse their friends by advice, by illustration, by narratives, to a sense of a higher life, a nobler vocation, an obligation laid upon the British in India, to do something, each of us according to his ability, in the cause of our fellow-creatures, especially as regards spreading the Gospel among the people of India. The ardent desire to serve God here, longer and better, has not been gratified ; but the sphere alone has been changed, *and not the work*. We may humbly believe, that the blessed saints, and spirits of the just made perfect, have still a work of Love and Self-sacrifice to do in their Father's Kingdom on high, and in the presence of that Saviour, whose faithful service was the Law of their brief mortal life. And the sufferer, left for a season to fill up the measure of his sufferings alone, will surely in due time find a work to be done by him below, if his Faith remains unshaken, and if he trusts in the Lord.

Southern Cross, Allahabad, Nov. 1867 (on leaving India for ever).

So indeed, and more also, I have found it.

London, 1890.

IX.

DIEM PERDIDI.

THANKS are due to the glorious old heathen, who uttered these memorable words. No doubt, in the discharge of his Imperial duties, he had that day issued orders to his Proconsuls in every part of the Roman World; he had replied to the queries of his Generals, who commanded his scattered forces on the Euphrates, the Danube, and in distant Britain; he had received the Ambassadors of Sovereigns, who held their sceptres at his pleasure; he had given his sanction to new and wise laws regulating the affairs of the human race (as it appeared to him); he had worshipped devoutly at the altars of his country's gods; he had presided at the games in the Flavian Amphitheatre, and entertained the nobles of Rome at a banquet on the Palatine; he seemed in the eyes of his courtiers to have done a good day's work, and yet when, according to the golden precepts of Pythagoras, he counted up what he had done, or left undone, before he closed his eyes in sleep, he felt, and he exclaimed aloud, so loud that his words still ring in the hearts of men, that he *had lost a day*. He remembered, that he had on that day done no act of kindness; had said no word of mercy, consolation and love; had devised no scheme of benevolence and charity; had forgiven no personal injury; had returned good for no evil; had alleviated no life of sorrow, want, and disappointment; had by timely advice held back no rash spirit from the precipice of destruction; had by judicious suggestion turned into a happier and more hopeful channel the jaundiced thought of no broken-hearted one; had not ministered to any of the wants of his fellow-creatures; he had not helped to bear the burden of any brother, and thus fulfil the great law of his own life; and so the great Emperor, clothed in purple, sighed, because he had lost a day. We think, that his memory was bad, and that probably he had done much, but his inner consciousness was moved, that he had not done enough. Verily, of such men, who are thus moved, is the Kingdom of Heaven.

Life is like a basket, which every one must fill before night: let us put in something, that is really good, and be not content to exclude what is absolutely bad; something besides official reports, social conventionalities, and trivial amusements; let us put in this really good at once, for the night comes on apace, and the golden opportunity may be gone. The poor man may have moved on from your door with his wants unrelieved; the sick man may have died with his bedside unvisited; the neighbour, who might have been saved, may have erred beyond hope of recovery; Christ himself, in the form of a poor starving child, may have stood at the door and knocked, and not have been admitted. Do we ever ask ourselves, as the long tedious hours of the Indian summer day at length wear

themselves out, "Have I done anything, tried to do anything, said anything, thought anything, for the good of my fellow-creatures, and for the Glory of my Saviour?" No need to aspire to great things: little things make up the sum of life's history, and we are all capable of little things, so wisely typified in the cup of cold water, and the opportunity occurs so often, and in such multiform variety. We allude to the timely alms, the earnest co-operation, the word, only a word of sympathy, the tribute of respect shown to unfashionable merit and goodness; the manful standing up against error even in high places, and to the probable detriment of the opposer; the resistance to the current of down-grade morality, low religion, low public duty; the word of advice spoken just in time to save: the thought wrought out, which is able to breathe new life to others; the words put to paper, which will bring tears to the eyes, or burn the cheek of the reader, long after you are slumbering in your grave. Let each of us do each day something of this kind, or better, and he will not have lost a day; his labour will not be in vain in the Lord, and his works will follow him.

Southern Cross, Allahabad, 1867.

So be it!

London, August, 1890.

PART V.
PRIMITIÆ ET RELIQUÆ.

I.

Αγε σύννομε μου, παύσαι μεν ὕπνου.

ARISTOPHANES' BIRDS.

(TRANSLATION.)

Sleep! sleep, no more!

O Thou, who shar'st my daily song!

Untwist the chains of hidden harmony,

And let thy woodnotes float along

In strains of dulcet melody, as before,

When through thy golden-spangled throat

For lost Itys thrilled thy note

So mournfully!

Clear through the leafy woodbine-grove

The Echo floats to Heaven above:

Fired by the sound with ivory-lyre

Apollo leads th' immortal choir:

And hark at length the heavenly song

In tuneful cadence floats along.

ETON, 1839.

II.

AN OLD LATIN MONASTIC HYMN.

(TRANSLATION.)

On God's right hand, enthroned in light,

Encircled by the Angels bright,

Four animals of various dight

No human eye dare scan:

See foremost stands th' Imperial Bird,

A Lion's roaring next is heard,

A snow-white Bullock is the third,

The fourth the form of Man.

By types, such as these represent,

The four Evangelists are meant,

Whom once the blessed Saviour sent

The rising Church to guide:

See Mark, and Matthew, foremost stand,

And Luke, and He, whom God's right hand,

While fishing on the Jordan's strand,

Called from his father's side.

In human form they Matthew show,

Because he writes of Christ, as though

He really sprang from men below,

Was man, save only sin:

Hark ! like a Lion from his lair
 Mark with loud voice bids men prepare
 For Christ's forthcoming, and take care
 To cleanse their hearts within.

Under a Bullock's figure we
 The loved physician aptly see,
 Because he treats of God's decree,
 And Christ's great sacrifice :
 But Eagle's wings are placed upon
 The best beloved Apostle John,
 Because his Gospel purer shone,
 And spurned all earthly ties.

These four by various symbols may
 The attributes of Christ display,
 And show them in the separate way,
 Which God to each has given.
 A Man—his earthly Parents tell :
 A Bull—he at the Altar fell :
 A Lion—triumphed over Hell :
 An Eagle—springs to Heaven.

ERON, 1840.

III.

ON AN OAKEN CHIMNEY-PIECE FORMED FROM OCEAN-DRIFTED LOG.

Tellus me genuit : per secula plurima Venti
 In Pelago jactant : nunc tamen Ignis habet.

ERON, 1838.

IV.

TRANSLATION OF A PERSIAN POEM.

Te natum aspiciens, nudum, gremioque jacentem,
 Læta fuit genitrix, sed tibi luctus erat.
 Sic vivas, placidè ut morientis risus in ore
 Ludet, dum meriti conscia turba fleat.

Μήτηρον ἀρτιτόκον βρέφον ἐν γονατίσσειν ἰκαίσο,
 Μαιδώντων ἄλλων, αὐτον ὀδυρόμενον.
 Ὡς ζῇτι εὐδοκίμωι, ὅτ' ἀν' ἤλθαν τέρμα βιοίῳ,
 Εἴη μαν γινώστοιτι ἄλγεα, σοὶ δὲ γέλωα.

ERON, 1837.

V.

WEEP NOT THY DAUGHTER FADING.

(TRANSLATION.)

Ne fleas natâ subeunte mortem :
 Sors tua est communis, amabilesque
 Singuli nascuntur, euntque : vanos
 Mitte dolores.

Angor, et luctus violens, et ira
 Fervida, haud turbant placidam quietem :
 Illa, quâ nunquam est dolor, ad silentem
 Transiit oram.

HATLEY CHURCHYARD, 1868.

VI.

EARTH WALKETH ON EARTH.

(TRANSLATION.)

Terra premit terram gemmis auroque superba :
 Terra reedit terram spe citiorque suâ :
 Terra super terram turres et moenia condit :
 Telluri tellus " Omnia nostra " vocat.

INDIA, 1848.

VII.

DISTICH TO ACCOMPANY A PAINTED WINDOW
 PRESENTED TO MANTHORPE CHURCH IN
 LINCOLNSHIRE.

Exul in externis oris arma inter et hostes
 Hoc pignus fidei devovet esse suæ.

Midst arms, and war, far far from home and friends,
 This tribute of his Faith an exile sends !

INDIA, 1849.

VIII.

LINES TO ACCOMPANY MEDALS SENT TO MY FATHER.

Laurem militiæ Musarum adjungere palmis,
 Quas puer arripui, si mihi contigerit :
 Sique meis unquam fortuna arriserit actis,
 Sit mea lætitia, et sit decus omne tuum.

If to my share has come this meed of praise
 To twine one laurel midst my youthful bays,
 If on my pathway fortune's favours shine,
 Thine be the honour, and the joy be mine.

BATTLE-FIELD OF SOBRACK, INDIA, 1846.

IX.

INSCRIPTION ON A STICK PRESENTED TO MY FATHER.

Indica me genuit spissis Himalaiia silvis :
 Transi Panjâbi flumina quinque soli :
 Kashmîri novi, Peshôrique, ultima regna ;
 Quæ colet Ægyptus, quæ loca dives Arabs :
 Nunc adsum prope te : tua nunc vestigia servo,
 Præsidium dextræ, care, fidele tuæ.

ON BOARD HOME-GOING SHIP, 1851.

X.

"LIVE WHILE YOU LIVE."

(TRANSLATION.)

"Vivito dum vivas," Epicurus clamat, "et acri"
 "Carpe voluptates, quas sinit hora, manu :"
 "Vivito dum vivas" sacro canit Angelus ore,
 "Et momenta memor singula redde Deo."
 O Deus ! in nostrâ vitâ jungatur utrumque :
 Vivo voluptati, dummodo vivo Tibi.

ETON, 1840.

XI.

A PICTURE IN A GALLERY AT PARIS REPRESENTING
DAY, AND THE HOURS, IN A VESSEL.

Day, mournful day, we've borne thee over,
 Never, never to return :
 No more joys thou can'st discover,
 No more hearts with frenzy burn :
 Joy or sorrow
 May come to-morrow,
 But will not injure thee !
 We thy hours
 Have lost our powers,
 T'obey thy high decree.

Day, mournful day, o'er many a parting
 Have thy glorious sunbeams shone :
 Many a dearest heart-string's starting
 Thou hast seen, and smiled upon.
 Many a wretch, for death long pining,
 Many a youth in glorious morn,
 Many a soft heart unrepining,
 Many a babe but newly-born :
 Many a prayer has thy breeze wafted,
 Many an unrelenting curse :
 Many a fresh hope has engrafted,
 And many a sorrow rendered worse :
 How many a wretch, on whom stern Fortune lowers,
 Will date his misery from thy sad hours !

HATLEY, 1851.

XII.

"UNA LANTERNA NON PUO DAR DUE LUME."

(TRANSLATION FROM AN ITALIAN SONG.)

Lanterna bina non tenebit lumina,
 Et, si teneret, non forent lucentia :
 Fontana bina non creabit flumina,
 Et, si creârit, non forent fluentia :
 Duos amantes non tenebit fœmina,
 Et, si teneret, non foret concordia :
 Unum teneto : da altero licentiam,
 Si sors iniqua sit mihi, Patientia !

ITALY, 1837.

Aut carissimis semotus
Genus, et nomen ignotus?
Solutus tristes tollam motus?

An quod linguam remanebit;
Corda, quæis hoc cor hærebit,
Quæ relinquens delugebit?

An manebit nil quod plorem?
Omnes caræ res ad oram
Me præibunt lætiores?

* Inter homines pugnantes,
* Scuto gladios vibrantes,
* Sensus cedam anhelantes?

* Aut post pugnam tristiores
* Solus, nudus, per cruorem
* Gaudens ineam soporem?

Cadamve leniter sopore?
Me surrepet somni more
Mors profundo dulciore?

An se demum curâ plena
Expedibit multâ pœnâ
Semiruptâ Mens catenâ?

Quid intersit modus, hora,
Si nunc adsis, aut cum morâ
Blanda, aut sæva, gerens ora?

Est decretum cunctis fatum;
Tu, Salvator, mortis stratum
Fac, ut mihi sit beatum!

NAPLES, 1840.

The two stanzas, marked with an asterisk, are original, and not translations: they were written on the evening of the battle of Mûdki, India, Dec. 1845.

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ASIATIC SOCIETY, CALCUTTA

